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HAKLUYT'S

COLLECTION OF THE EARLY

VOYAGES, TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

OF THE

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ENGLISH NATION.

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G. WOODFALL.

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THE THIRD AND LAST VOLVME
OF THE
VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, TRAFFIQVES,
AND
DISCOUERIES,
OF THE
ENGLISH NATION,

AND IN SOME FEW PLACES, WHERE THEY HAUE NOT BEEN, OF STRANGERS,

PERFORMED WITHIN AND BEFORE THE TIME OF THESE HUNDRED YEERES,
TO ALL PARTS OF THE NEWFOUND WORLD OF AMERICA, OR THE WEST INDIES, FROM 73. DEGREES OF NORTHERLY
TO 57. OF SOUTHERLY LATITUDE:

AS NAMELY

TO ENGRONLAND, META INCOGNITA, ESTOTILAND, TIERRA DE LABRADOR, NEWFOUNDLAND,
VP THE GRAND BAY, THE GULFE OF S. LAURENCE, AND THE RIUER OF CANADA TO HOCHELAGA AND SAGUENAY,
ALONG THE COAST OF ARAMBEC.

TO THE

SHORES AND MAINES OF VIRGINIA AND FLORIDA, AND ON THE WEST OR BACKSIDE OF THEM BOTH,
TO THE RICH AND PLEASANT COUNTRIES OF NUEUA BISCAYA, CIBOLA, TIGUEX, CICUIC, QUIUIRA,
TO THE 15. PROUINCES OF THE KINGDOME OF NEW MEXICO, TO THE BOTTOME OF THE GULFE OF CALIFORNIA,
AND VP THE RIUER OF BUENA GUIA:

AND LIKEWISE TO ALL

THE YLES BOTH SMALL AND GREAT LYING BEFORE THE CAPE OF FLORIDA, THE BAY OF MEXICO, AND TIERRA FIRMA,
TO THE COASTS AND INLANDS OF NEWE SPAINE, TIERRA FIRMA, AND GUIANA,
VP THE MIGHTY RIUERS OF ORENOQUE, DESSEKEBE, AND MARANNON, TO EUERY PART OF THE COAST OF BRASIL,
TO THE RIUER OF PLATE, THROUGH THE STREIGHTS OF MAGELLAN FORWARD AND BACKWARD,
AND TO THE SOUTH OF THE SAID STREIGHTS AS FARRE AS 57. DEGREES:
AND FROM THENCE ON THE BACKSIDE OF AMERICA, ALONG THE COASTES, HARBOURS, AND CAPES OF CHILI, PERU,
NICARAGUA, NUEUA ESPANNA, NUEUA GALICIA, CULIACAN, CALIFORNIA, NOUA ALBION,
AND MORE NORTHERLY AS FARRE AS 43. DEGREES:

TOGETHER WITH

THE TWO RENOWMED, AND PROSPEROUS VOYAGES OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE AND M. THOMAS CANDISH
ROUND ABOUT THE CIRCUMFERENCE OF THE WHOLE EARTH,
AND DIUERS OTHER VOYAGES INTENDED AND SET FORTH FOR THAT COURSE.

COLLECTED BY **RICHARD HAKLVYT** PREACHER,
AND SOMETIMES STUDENT OF CHRIST-CHURCH IN OXFORD.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY GEORGE BISHOP, RALFE NEWBERIE,
AND ROBERT BARKER.
ANNO DOM. 1600.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR ROBERT CECIL KNIGHT.

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, MASTER OF THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIUERIES, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIUIE COUNCELL.

RIght honourable, your fauourable acceptance of my second volume of The English voyages offred vnto you the last yere, your perusing of the same at your conuenient leasure, your good testimony of my selfe and of my trauailes therein, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, brake forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects: these considerations haue throughly animated and encouraged me to present vnto your prudent censure this my third and last volume also. The subiect and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called America: but by the chiefest authors The new world. New, in regard of the new and late discouery thereof made by Christopher Colon, alias Columbus, a Genouois by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. And world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not throughly discouered, neither within the Inland nor on the coast, especially toward the North and Northwest, although on the hither side it be knowen vnto vs for the space of fiue thousand leagues at the least, compting and considering the trending of the land, and for 3000. more on the backeside in the South Sea from the Streight of Magellan to Cape Mendoçino and Noua Albion. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called A newe worlde. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and vnperfect notice thereof. Which may appeare by the relation of Plato in his two worthy dialogues of Timæus and Critias vnder the discourse of that mighty large yland called by him Atlantis, lying in the Ocean sea without the Streight of Hercules, now called the Streight of Gibraltar, being (as he there reporteth) bigger then Africa & Asia: And by that of Aristotle in his booke De admirandis auditionibus of the long nauigation of certaine Carthaginians, who sayling forth of the aforesaid Streight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean for the space of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would haue inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe gouernours. Moreouer, aboue 300. yeeres after these wee haue the testimony of Diodorus Siculus lib. 5. cap. 7. of the like mighty yland discouered in the Westerne Ocean by the Tyrrheni, who were forbidden for certaine causes to inhabite the same by the foresaid Carthaginians. And Seneca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold aboue 1500. yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discouer new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the vttermost limite of the earth. For whereas Virgile had said to Augustus Cæsar, Tibi seruiat vltima Thule. alluding thereunto he contradicteth the same, and saith, Nec sit terris vltima Thule. Yea Tertullian one of our most ancient and learned diuines, in the beginning of his treatise de Pallio alludeth vnto Plato his Westerne Atlantis, which there by another name he calleth Aeon, saying, Aeon in Atlantico nunc quæritur. And in his 40. chapter de Apologetico he reporteth the same to be bigger then all Africa and Asia. Of this New world and euery speciall part thereof in this my third volume I haue brought to light the best & most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoueries and serches of the same, giuing vnto euery man his right, and leauing euery one to mainteine his owne credit. The order obserued in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine vnto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lacke of sufficient store, in diuers places to vse the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occasion are enforced vnto) being now more plentifully furnished with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore proposing vnto my selfe the right situation of this New world, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe successiuely in one ranke or classis, according to the order aforesaide, all such voyages as haue bene made to the said part: which comming all together, and following orderly one vpon another, doe much more lighten the readers vnderstanding, and confirme his iudgement, then if they had bene scattered in sundry corners of the worke. Which methode I obserue from the highest North to the lowest South. Now where any country hath bene but seldome hanted, or any extraordinary and chiefe action occurreth, if I finde one voyage well written by two seuerall persons, sometimes I make no difficultie to set downe both those iournals, as finding diuers things of good moment obserued in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a souldier obserueth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus. But this course I take very seldome and sparingly. And albeit my worke do carry the title of The English voyages, aswell in regard that the greatest part are theirs, and that my trauaile was chiefly vndertaken for preseruation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defectiue, there I haue bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers. As in the discouery of the Grand Bay, of the mighty riuer of S. Laurence, of the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, of Florida, and the Inland of Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quiuira, of The gulfe of California, & the Northwesterne sea-coast to Cabo Mendoçino and Sierra Neuada: as also of the late & rich discouery of 15. prouinces on the backside of Florida and Virginia, the chiefest wherof is called the kingdome of New Mexico, for the wealth, ciuil gouernment, and populousnesse of the same. Moreouer, because since our warres with Spaine, by the taking of their ships, and sacking of their townes and cities, most of all their secrets of the West Indies, and euery part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the most part vnknowen vnto vs,) I haue vsed the vttermost of my best endeuour, to get, and hauing gotten, to translate out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way auaile vs or annoy them, if they driue and vrge vs by their sullen insolencies, to cōtinue our courses of hostilitie against them, and shall cease to seeke a good and Christian peace vpon indifferent and equal conditions. What these things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may vnderstand, if it please you to vouchsafe to reade the Catalogues cōteyning the 14 principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceiue that there is no chiefe riuer, no port, no towne, no citie, no prouince of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the seast-coast. And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene Noua Albion on the Northwest part of America, and the yle of Iapan lying ouer against the kingdomes of Coray and China, which vntil these foure yeeres was neuer reueiled vnto vs, being a point of exceeding great consequence, I haue here inserted the voyage of one Francis Gualle a Spaniard made from Acapulco an hauen on the South sea on the coast of New Spaine, first to the Philippinas, and then to the citie of Macao in China, and homeward from Macao by the yles of Iapan, and thence to the back of the West Indies in the Northerly latitude of 37. degrees $\frac{1}{2}$. In which course betweene the said ylands and the maine he found a wide and spacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene set out as a Streight, and called in most mappes The Streight of Anian. In which relation to the viceroy hee constantly affirmeth three seuerall times, that there is a passage that way vnto the North parts of Asia. Moreouer, because I

perceiue by a letter directed by her Maiestie to the Emperour of China (and sent in the
Fleet intended for those parts by The South Sea vnder the charge of Beniamin Wood, ch
set out at the charges of sir Robert Duddeley, a gentleman of excellent parts) that she w
her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for her marchants in hi
minions, for the better instruction of our people in the state of those countries, I h
brought to light certaine new aduertisements of the late alteration of the mightie monar
of the confronting yle of Iapan, and of the new conquest of the kingdome of Coray,
long since tributarie to the king of China, by Quabacondono the monarch of all the
and princedomes of Iapan; as also of the Tartars called Iezi, adioyning on the Eas
Northeast parts of Coray, where *I thinke the best vtterance of our natural and chiefe co*
moditie of cloth is like to be, if it please God hereafter to reueile vnto vs the passage thith
by the Northwest. The most exact and true information *of the North parts of China I fin*
in an history of Tamerlan, *which I haue in French, set out within these sixe yeres by th*
abbat of Mortimer, *dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confesseth that*
was long since written *in the Arabian tongue by one Alhacen a wise and valiant Captaine,*
employed by the said mighty prince in all his conquests of the foresaid kingdome. Which
history I would not haue failed to haue translated into English, if I had not found it learnedly
done vnto my hand.

And for an appendix vnto the ende of my worke, I haue thought it not impertinent, to
exhibite to the graue and discreet iudgements of those which haue the chiefe places in the
Admiraltie and marine causes of England, *Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation*
house of Siuil in Spaine, *touching their gouernment in sea-matters; together with*
The streight and *seuere examination of Pilots and Masters before they be admitted to take*
charge of ships, aswell by the *Pilot mayor, and brotherhood of ancient Masters, as by the*
Kings reader of The *lecture of the art of Nauigation, with the time that they be enioyned*
to bee his auditors, and some part of the questions that they are to answere vnto. Which
if they finde good and beneficial for our seamen, I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate,
or finding out some fitter course of their owne, will seeke to bring such as are of that calling
vnto better gouernment and more perfection in that most laudable and needfull vocation.
To leaue this point, I was once minded to haue added to the end of these my labours a short
treatise, which I haue lying by me in writing, touching The curing of hot diseases incident
to traueilers in long and Southerne voyages, which treatise was written in English, no doubt
of a very honest mind, by one M. George Wateson, and dedicated vnto her sacred Maiestie.
But being carefull to do nothing herein rashly, I shewed it to my worshipfull friend
M. doctour Gilbert, a gentleman no lesse excellent in the chiefest secrets of the Mathematicks
(as that rare iewel lately set foorth by him in Latine doeth euidently declare) then
in his owne profession of physicke: who assured me, after hee had perused the said treatise,
that it was very defectiue and vnperfect, and that if hee might haue leasure, which that argument
would require, he would either write something thereof more aduisedly himselfe, or
would conferre with the whole Colledge of the Physicions, and set downe some order by
common consent for the preseruation of her Maiesties subiects. Now as the foresaid treatise
touched the cure of diseases growing in hot regions, so being requested thereunto by some
in authoritie they may adde their iudgements for the cure of diseases incident vnto men employed
in cold regions, which to good purpose may serue our peoples turnes, if they chance
to prosecute the intermitted discouery by the Northwest, whereunto I finde diuers worshipfull
citizens at this present much inclined. Now because long since I did foresee, that my
profession of diuinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and diuert me
from these kinde of endeuours, I haue for these 3. yeeres last past encouraged and furthered
in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and
learned friend M. IOHN PORY, one of speciall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great
matters in the same, and beneficial for the common wealth.

Thus Sir I haue portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westerne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would haue limned her and set her out with farre more liuely and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receiue her with your wonted and accustomed fauour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and deuoted to do your honour any poore seruice that I may; and in the meane season will not faile vnfainedly to beseech the Almighty to powre vpon you the best of his temporall blessings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his ioyes eternall. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.

Your Honours most humble to
be commanded,

RICHARD HAKLVYT, Preacher.

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

VOYAGES, &c. OF THIS THIRD VOLUME.

A briefe Catalogue of the principall English voyages, made without the streight of Gibraltar to the South and Southeast quarters of the world, contained in the second part of this second volume immediately following.

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THE SECOND PART OF THIS SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING THE PRINCIPALL

NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOUERIES,

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

MADE TO THE SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST QUARTERS OF THE WORLD,

WITHOUT THE STRAIGHTS OF GIBRALTAR.

A relation sent by Melchior Petoney to Nigil de Moura at Lisbon, from the Iland and Castle of Arguin, standing a little to the southward of Cape Blanco, in the Northerly latitude of 19 degrees, concerning the rich and secret trade from the inland of Africa thither: Anno 1591.

AS concerning the trade to this Castle and Iland of Arguin, your worship is to vnderstand, that if it would please the kings maiesty to send hither two or three carauels once in a yeere with Flanders and Spanish commodities, as Bracelets of glasse, Kniues, Belles, Linnen-cloth, Looking-glasses, with other kinds of small wares, his highnesse might do great good here. For 50 leagues vp into the land the Moores haue many exceeding rich golde mines; insomuch that they bring downe their golde to this Castle to traffique with vs: and for a small trifle they will giue vs a great wedge of gold. And because here is no trade, the sayd Moores cary their golde to Fez being 250 leagues distant from hence, and there doe exchange the same for the foresayd kindes of commodities. By this meanes also his maiesty might stop that passage, and keepe the king of Fez from so huge a masse of golde. Scarlet-clothes, and fine Purples are greatly accepted of in these parts. It is a most fertile countrey within the land, and yeeldeth great store of Wheat, flesh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore, if it were possible, you should do well to deale with his maiesty, either himselfe to send a couple of carauels, or to giue your worship leaue to traffique here: for here is a very good harbour where ships may ride atancre hard by the Castle. The countrey where all the golde-mines are is called The kingdome of Darha. In this kingdome are great store of cities and townes; and in euery city and towne a Captaine with certaine souldiers; which Captaines are lords and owners of the sayd townes. One city there is called Couton, another Xanigeton, as also the cities of Tubguer, Azegue, Amader, Quaherque, and the towne of Faroo. The which townes and cities are very great and fairely built, being inhabited by rich Moores, and abounding with all kinde of cattell, Barley and Dates. And here is such plenty of golde found vpon the sands by the riuers side, that the sayd Moores vsually cary the same Northward

Commodities fit for Arguin.

Wedges of golde giuen for small trifles.

Scarlet & fine Purple cloth greatly accepted.

A good harbor before the Castle of Arguin.

Concerning this kingdome reade Leo Africanus a little after the beginning of his 6 booke.

ward to Marocco, and Southward to the city of Tombuto in the land of Negros, which city standeth about 300 leagues from the kingdome of Darha; and this kingdome is but 60 leagues from this Iland and Castle of Arguin. Wherefore I beseech your worship to put his maiesty in remembrance hereof; for the sayd cities and townes are but ten dayes iourney from hence. I heartily wish that his maiesty would send two or three marchants to see the state of the Countrey, who might trauell to the aforesayd cities, to vnderstand of their rich trade. For any man may go safe and come safe from those places. And thus without troubling of your worship any further, I humbly take my leaue. From the Iland and Castle of Arguin the 20 of Ianuary 1591.

Your worships seruant
Melchior Petoney.

The voyage of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Dassel to the riuers of Senega and Gambra adioyning vpon Guinea, 1591, with a discourse of the treasons of certain of Don Antonio his seruants and followers.

BY vertue of her Maiesties most gracious charter giuen in the yeere 1588, and in the thirtieth yeere of her Highnesse reigne, certaine English marchants are granted to trade, in and from the riuer of Senega to and in the riuer of Gambra, on the Westerne coast of Africa. The chiefest places of traffique on that coast betweene these riuers, are these:

The names of the chiefe places of traffike betweene Senega & Gambra.

1 Senega riuer: The commodities be hides, gumme, elephants teeth, a few graines, ostrich feathers, amber-griece, and some golde.

2 Beseguiache, a towne by Capo Verde * leagues from Senega riuer: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth.

3 Refisca Vieio, a towne 4 leagues from Beseguiache: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

4 Palmerin, a towne 2 leagues from Refisca: The commodities be small hides, and a few elephants teeth now and then.

5 Porto d'Ally, a towne 5 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be small hides, teeth, amber-griece, and a little golde: and many Portugals are there.

6 Candimal, a towne halfe a league from Porto d'Ally: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

7 Palmerin, a towne 3 leagues from Candimal: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

8 Ioala, a towne 6 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be hides, waxe, elephants teeth, rice, and some golde: and many Spaniards and Portugals are there.

9 Gambra riuer: The commodities are rice, waxe, hides, elephants teeth, and golde.

Our trade hither beganne 1587.

The Frenchmen of Diepe and New-hauen haue traded thither aboue thirty yeres: and commonly with foure or fiue ships a yere, whereof two small barks go into the riuer of Senega. The other were woont (vntill within these foure yeres, that our ships came thither) to ride with their ships in the road of Porto d'Ally and so sent their small shaloups of sixe or eight tunnes to some of these places on the Sea coast before repeated. Where in all places generally they were well beloued and as courteously entertained of the Negros, as if they had bene naturally borne in the countrey. And very often the Negros come into France and returne againe, which is a further increasing of mutuall loue and amity. Since our comming to that coast the Frenchmen ride with their shippes at Refisca Vieio, and suffer vs to ancre with our shippes at Porto d'Ally. The Frenchmen neuer vse to go into the riuer of Gambra: which is a riuer of secret trade and riches concealed by the Portugals. For long since one Frenchman entred the riuer with a small barke which was betrayed, surprised, and taken by two gallies of the Portugals.

Gambra a riuer of secret & rich trade concealed.

The second voyage. Forty English mē traiterously slaine and captiued.

In our second voyage and second yeere there were by vile trecherous meanes of the Portugals and the king of the Negros consent in Porto d'Ally and Ioala about forty Englishmen cruelly slaine and captiued, and most or all of their goods confiscated: whereof there returned onely two, which were the marchants. And also by procurement of Pedro Gonsalues, one of Don Antonio the kings seruants, Thomas Dassel and others had bene betrayed, if it had not pleased almighty God to reueale the same, whereby it was preuented.

From the South side of Senega riuer on the Sea coast vnto about Palmerin is all one kingdome of Negros. The kings name is Melick Zamba, who dwelleth two dayes iourney within the land from Refisca.

The 12 of Nouember 1591, I Richard Rainolds & Thomas Dassel factors in a ship called the Nightingale of London 125 tunnes, and a pinnesse called the Messenger of 40 tunnes arriued neere vnto Capo Verde at a little Iland called The Iland of liberty. At this Iland we set vp a small pinnesse, with which we cary our marchandise on land when wee traffique. And in the meane time Thomas Dassel went with the great pinnesse to traffike with Spaniards or Portugals in Porto d'Ally or Ioala. Ouer against the sayd Iland on the maine is an habitation of the Negros called Besegueache. The alcaide or gouernor thereof with a great traine came aboord in their canoas to receiue the kings duties for ankerage and permitting the quiet setting vp of our pinnesse: who liked passing well that no Portugall came in the shippe, saying, we should be better thought of by the king and people, if we neuer did bring Portugall, but come of our selues as the Frenchmen euer did and doe. And to purchase the more loue, I Richard Rainolds gaue him and all his company courteous entertainment. Also vpon his intreaty, hauing sufficient pledge aboord, I and others went on land with him. At this instant there was great warre betweene this alcaide and another gouernor of the next prouince. Neuerthelesse vpon our arriuall truce was taken for a space; and I with our company conducted among both enemies to the gouernors house in Besegueache, and were gently and friendly feasted after their maner, and with some presents returned safe aboord againe. The next day the alcaide came aboord againe, to wil me to send some yron and other commodities in the boat to traffike with the Negros, and also requested me that I would go to Refisca with the ship; which I did. And one thing I noted, that a number of Negros attended the alcaides landing in warlike maner with bowes and poisoned arrowes, darts poisoned, and swords, (because that the enemies by reason of the truce taken were there also to view the ship) who for the most part approched to him kneeling downe and kissed the backe of his hand.

Cape Verde.

Besegueache.

Besegueache.

The 17 of Nouember we weyed anker; and by reason no French ship was yet come, I went to the road of Refisca: where I sent for the alcaides interpretors, who came thither aboord, and receiued of me the kings duties for to haue free traffike with the Negros, with whom dayly I exchanged my yron & other wares for hides and some elephants teeth, finding the people very friendly and tractable. And the next day after our arriuall I went vp into the land about three miles to the towne of Refisca, where I was friendly vsed and well entertained of the alcaide, and especially of a yoong nobleman called Conde Amar Pattay, who presented me with an oxe for my company, goats and some yoong kids, assuring me that the king would be glad to heare of the arriuall of a Christians ship, whom they called Blancos, that is, white men: especially of an English ship. And so dayly the yong Conde came with a small company of horsemen to the sea side, feasting me very kindly and courteously. And the fift of December he with his traine came aboord to see the ship; which to them seemed woonderfull, as people that seldome had seene the like: who tolde me that his messenger from the king was returned; and the king reioyced much to heare that English men were come with a ship to trade in his ports; and being the first Englishman that euer came with a ship, I was the better welcome; promising that I or any Englishman hereafter should be wel intreated & find good dealing at their hands. And further the Conde on the kings behalfe and his owne, earnestly requested, that before my departure off the coast I would returne againe to his road to conferre with him for the better continuance and confirming of amity betweene them and Englishmen: which I agreed vnto. And so shewing him and his company the best friendship and courtesie I could, he went on shore, and should haue had

Refisca.

the honor of our ordinance but that he desired the contrary, being amazed at the sight of the ship and noise of the gunnes, which they did greatly admire.

Porto Dally.

The Comand a ship of Richard Kelley.

The mõstrous lies of a Portugall.

Port Dally the chiefe place of trade.

The 13 of December at night we weighed anker, and arriued the 14 day at the road of Porto d'Ally, which is another kingdome: the king thereof is called Amar Meleck, & sonne to Meleck Zamba the other king, and dwelleth a dayes iourney and an halfe from Porto d'Ally. When we had ankered, the kings kinsmen being gouernors, with all the officers of that towne came aboord to receiue all duties for the ship & licence to traffike due to the king; who there generally seemed to be very glad that no Portugall was come in our ship out of England; saying it was the kings pleasure we should bring none hereafter; for that the king did esteeme them as people of no truth; and complained of one Francisco de Costa seruant to Don Antonio, how he had often and the last yere also abused and deluded their king Amar Meleck in promising to bring him certaine things out of England, which he neuer performed, and deemed that to be the cause of his staying behinde this voyage, and that neither Spaniard nor Portugall could abide vs, but reported very badly and gaue out hard speeches tending to the defamation & great dishonor of England: and also affirmed that at the arriuall of an English ship called The Command, of Richard Kelley of Dartmouth, one Pedro Gonsalues a Portugall that came in the sayd ship from Don Antonio reported vnto them, that we were fled out of England and come away vpon intent to rob and do great spoile vpon this coast to the Negros and Portugals, and that Thomas Dassel had murdered Francisco de Acosta since our comming from England, who was comming to their king in our ship with great presents from Don Antonio, and desired that at our arriuall stay might be made of our goods and our selues in secret maner; which they denied, not giuing credit to his report, hauing bene often abused by such friuolous and slanderous speeches by that nation; telling me their king was sory for the former murder and captiuity of our nation, and would neuer yeeld to the like, hauing the Portugals and Spaniards in generall hatred euer since, and conceiueth much better of our countrey, and vs, then these our enemies report of. For which I yeelded them hearty thanks, assuring them they should finde great difference betweene the loyalty of the one and disloyalty of the other; and so payed their dueties: and for that it was the chiefe place of trade, I shewed them how I was resolued to goe to their king with certaine presents which we had brought out of England; which we determined for the more honor and credit of our countrey, and augmenting of their better affection toward vs.

Ioala.

The Cherubin of Lime at Ioala.

All this while Thomas Dassel was with our great pinnesse at the towne of Ioala, being in the kingdome of king Iocoel Lamiockeric, traffiking with the Spaniards & Portugals there. And the forenamed Pedro Gonsalues, which came out of England, was there also with other English marchants about the busines of Rich. Kelley; and as it should seeme, for that he could not obtaine his mischieuous pretended purpose against Thomas Dassel and others at the towne of Porto d'Ally, where I Richard Rainolds remained, he attempted with consent of other Portugals which were made priuy to his intent to betray the sayd Thomas Dassel at this towne, & had with bribes seduced the chiefe commanders and Negros to effect his wicked & most villanous practise: which as God would, was reuealed to the sayd Thomas Dassel by Rich. Cape an Englishman and seruant to the forenamed Rich. Kelley; to whom this sayd Pedro Gonsalues had disclosed his secret treachery, willing him with all expedition to stand vpon his guard. Whereupon Thomas Dassel went aboord a small English barke called The Cherubin of Lime, and there one Iohn Payua a Portugall and seruant of Don Antonio declared, that if he & one Garcia a Portugall of the sayd towne would haue consented with Pedro Gonsalues, the sayd Thomas Dassel had bene betrayed long before. And vpon this warning Thomas Dassel the next day hauing gotten three Portugals aboord, aduised for our better securities to send two on land, & detained one with him called Villa noua, telling them that if the next day by eight of the clocke, they would bring Pedro Gonsalues aboord to him, he would release the sayd Villa noua, which they did not. And Thomas Dassel hauing intelligence that certaine Negros and Portugals were ridden post ouerland

land to Porto d'Ally with intent to haue Richard Rainolds and his company stayd on land, being doubtfull what friendship soeuer the vnconstant Negros professed (by reason they be often wauering being ouercome with drinking wine) how they would deale, to preuent the dangerous wiles that might be effected in the road by Portugals, and for better strength, the 24 of December he came with his pinnesse & Portugall to ride in the road of Porto d'Ally, where our great shippe the Nightingall was: who was no sooner arriued but he had newes also from the shore from Iohn Baily Anthony Dassels seruant, who was there with our goods detained by the Portugals means, that aboue 20 Portugals and Spaniards were come from Ioala by land, and Pedro Gonsalues in their company, to take order for the releasing of Villa noua. So hauing had conference two or three dayes with the Commanders, the Negros, some Spaniards, and some Portugals, in the end by due examination of the matter the Negros seeing how vilely Pedro Gonsalues had delt, he being in their power, sayd he should suffer death or be tortured, for an example to others. But we in recompense of his cruelty pitied him and shewed mercy, desiring the Negros to intreat him well though vndeserued: and thereupon the Commanders brought him aboord the pinnesse to Thomas Dassel to do with him what he would: where at his comming from the shore, for lauish speeches which he used of Princes, he was well buffetted by a Spaniard, and might haue bene slaine, if for our sakes he had not bene rescued.

While I went on shore with Villa noua, the sayd Pedro Gonsalues confessed vnto Thomas Dassel that he did enquire of some Negros and Portugals if he might not stay him and his goods in the land, and that he did nothing but by commission from his king by his letters which he receiued from London in Dartmouth after we were departed from London, for that we presumed to come to Guinea to traffike without a seruant of his: and further, that he had power or procuration from Francisco de Costa the Portugall that stayed behinde in England to detaine the goods of Anthony Dassel in Guinea.

Nota.

By consent of M. Francis Tucker, Iohn Browbeare, and the rest of the factours of Richard Kelley, with whom this Pedro Gonsalues came, for auoiding further mischiefe that might be practised, we agreed that the sayd Pedro Gonsalues should stay aboord our shippe, and not goe any more on land vntill they departed. So the ninth of Ianuary he was deliuered aboord to goe for England in the same ship wherein he came: who was all the time of his abode in our shippe both courteously and friendly vsed at my hands, much against the mariners willes, who could not abide such a wicked creature and caitiue, that is nourished and relieued in our countrey, and yet by villanous meanes sought the destruction of vs all.

The Spaniards and Portugals though they be dissemblers and not to be trusted, when they perceiued how king Amar Melicks Negros befriended and fauored vs, and that it would be preiudiciall to their trade for diuers respects, if we should any way be iniuried, renounced the sayd practises, detesting the author, and protested to defend vs in such cases with all faithfulnesse: desiring we would, as the king of Negros had commanded vs, neuer bring Portugal with vs more: vsing this phrase in disdaine of such as came out of England, let your Portugals be barres of yron: for in trueth in regard of the rich trade maintained by Frenchmen and by vs of late, they esteeme more of one barre of yron then of twenty Portugals which we should bring out of England: who at their comming thither very subtilly disaduantage vs, and doe great hurt to euery party.

At the beginning of these broiles the king Amar Melick had sent his chiefe secretary and three horses for me Richard Rainolds: but I denied to goe by reason of the hurley burley, though I might haue had Negros of account for pledges aboord: yet we sent the presents vnto the king; who so soone as he vnderstood the cause why I came not to him, being sory and offended thereat, commanded presently by proclamation, that no iniury should be offered vs in his dominions by his owne people, or suffered to be done by Spaniards or Portugals. And if the Negros ioyning to his kingdome should confederate with the Spaniards and Portugals to molest or trouble vs; that his subiects the Negros should be ready to ayde, succor and defend vs. In which people appeared more confident loue and good will towards vs, then euer we shall finde either of Spaniards or Portugals, though we should relieue them of the greatest misery that can be imagined.

In the riuer of Senega no Spaniard or Portugall vse to trade: and onely one Portugall called Ganigoga dwelleth farre within the riuer, who was maried to a kings daughter.

San Domingo. Rio grande. Note this trade.

A rich trade for golde in Rio grande.

In the townes of Porto d'Ally and Ioala, being townes of chiefest trade, and in the townes of Canton and Cassan in the riuer of Gambra are many Spaniards and Portugals resident by permission of the Negros; who haue rich trades there along the coast, especially to San Domingo and Rio grande, not far distant from Gambra riuer; whither they transport the yron which they buy of Frenchmen and vs, and exchange it for Negros; which be caried continually to the West Indies in such ships as came from Spaine. Also by the gouernors order and Renters of Castel de Mina and other places, where golde is, vpon the coast of Guinea, they haue a place limited how farre they must go to trade within the riuer of Gambra; and further they may not go vpon paine of confiscation of their goods, and losse of life: for that the Renters themselues send at certaine times their owne barks within the riuer to such places, where as they haue great store of golde. And in all these places hereabouts, where we vse to trade, they haue no Fort, Castle, or place of strength, but onely trading by the Negros safeconduct and permission. And the most part of the Spaniards and Portugals that be resident in these places be banished men or fugitiues, for committing most hainous crimes and incestuous acts, their life & conuersation being agreeable; and they are of the basest behauiour that we haue euer seene of these nations in any other countrey.

A briefe relation concerning the estate of the cities and prouinces of Tombuto and Gago written in Marocco the first of August 1594, and sent to M. Anthony Dassel marchant of London.

Commodities for Gago.

MY hearty commendations premised: your letter of late I receiued, and found that you would haue me discouer vnto you the estate & quality of the countreyes of Tombuto and Gago. And that you may not thinke me to slumber in this action, wherein you would be truely and perfectly resolued, you shall vnderstand, that not ten dayes past here came a Cahaia of the Andoluzes home from Gago, and another principall Moore, whom the king sent thither at the first with Alcaide Hamode, and they brought with them thirty mules laden with gold. I saw the same come into the Alcasaua with mine owne eies: and these men themselues came not poore, but with such wealth, that they came away without the kings commandement; and for that cause the king will pay them no wages for the time they haue beene there. On the other side they dare not aske the king for any wages. And when Alcaide Hamode saw that the Cahaia of the Andoluzes would not stay in Gago with him, he thought good to send these thirty mules laden with golde by him, with letters of commendations, by which the king smelled their riches that they brought with them: and this was the cause of the kings displeasure towards them. So now there remaineth in Gago Alcaide Hamode, and Alcaide Iawdara, and Alcaide Bucthare. And here are in a readinesse to depart in the end of this next September Alcaide Monsor, Ben Abdrahaman Allies, Monsor Rico with fiue thousand men, most of the fettilase, that is to say, of fier-match, & muskets. There is gone good store of reds & yellowes: and this yere here was want of the same commodity; but I trust the next yere wil be no want. But in fine the king doth prosper wel in those parts, and here are many pledges come hither, and namely three of the kings sonnes of Gago and the Iustice; I saw them come in with the treasure. Now when Alcaide Monsor commeth to Gago, the which will be in Ianuary next, then returneth hither Alcaide Hamode with all the treasure, and Alcaide Monsor is to keepe Gago vntill the king take further order. And thus much for Gago. Thus not hauing any other thing to write at this present, I commend you to the mercifull tuition of the almighty. From Marocco the first of August 1594.

Your assured friend Laurence Madoc.

Another briefe relation concerning the late conquest and the exceeding great riches of the cities and prouinces of Tombuto and Gago, written from Marocco the 30 August 1594, to M. Anthony Dassel marchant of London aforesayd.

LOuing friend M. Dassel, two of your letters I haue receiued, one by the shippe called The Amity, the other by The Concord: the chiefest matter therein was to be satisfied of the king of Marocco his proceedings in Guinea. Therefore these are to let you vnderstand that there went with Alcaide Hamode for those parts seuenteene hundred men: who passing ouer the sands, for want of water perished one third part of them: and at their comming to the city of Tombuto, the Negros made some resistance; but to small purpose, for that they had Tombuto taken. no defence but with their asagaies or iauelings poisoned. So they tooke it, and proceeded to the city of Gago, where the Negros were in number infinite, and meant to stand to the Gago taken. vttermost for their countrey; but the Moores slew them so fast, that they were faine to yeeld, and do pay tribute by the yere. The rent of Tombuto is 60 quintals of golde by the yeere: the goodnesse whereof you know. What rent Gago will yeeld, you shall know at the Spring, for then Alcaide Hamode commeth home. The rent of Tombuto is come by the cafelow or carouan, which is, as aboue mentioned, 60 quintals. The report is, that Mahomed bringeth with him such an infinite treasure as I neuer heard of: it doth appeare that they haue more golde then any other part of the world beside. The Alcaide winneth all the countrey where he goeth without fighting, and is going downe towards the sea coast. This king of Marocco is like to be the greatest prince in the world for money, if he keepe this countrey. But I make account assoone as the king of Spaine hath quietnesse in Christendome, he wil thrust him out: for that the kings force is not great as yet; but he meaneth to be stronger. There is a campe ready to go now with a viceroy: the speech is with 3000 men: but I thinke they will be hardly 2000; for by report, 3000 men are enough to conquer all the countrey: for they haue no defence of importance against an enemy. I thinke Hamode will be returned home in Ianuary or thereabout: for he stayeth but for the comming of the viceroy. Mulley Balasen the kings sonne of Marocco was slaine in Guinea by his own men, and they were presently killed, because they should tell no tales. And thus leauing to trouble you, I commit you to God, who prosper you in all your proceedings. From Marocco the first of August 1594.

Yours to command for euer Laurence Madoc.

Of these two rich cities and kingdomes of Tombuto and Gago Leo Africanus writeth at large in the beginning of his seuenth booke of the description of Africa, which worthy worke is to be annexed vnto the end of this second volume.

A briefe extract of a patent granted to M. Thomas Gregory of Tanton, and others, for traffique betweene the riuer of Nonnia and the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona on the coast of Guinea, in the yeere 1592.

IN May the 34 yeere of our gracious soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, a patent of speciall licence was granted to Thomas Gregory of Tanton in the county of Somerset, and to Thomas Pope, and certaine other marchants to traffique into Guinea from the Northermost part of the riuer of Nonnia to the Southermost parts of the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona, and to other parts aswell to the Southeast as to the Northwest, for a certaine number of leagues therein specified which amount to an hundred or thereabout. Which patent was granted for the terme of ten yeeres: as appeareth at large in the sayd patent recorded in the Rolles in her Maiesties Chancery.

The maner of the taking of two Spanish ships laden with quicksiluer & the Popes bulles, bound for the West Indies, by M. Thomas White in the Amity of London. 1592.

THe 26 of Iuly 1592, in my returning out of Barbary in the ship called the Amity of

London, being in the height of 36 degrees or thereabout, at foure of the clocke in the morning we had sight of two shippes, being distant from vs about three or foure leagues: by seuen of the clocke we fetched them up, and were within gunshot: whose boldnesse, hauing the king of Spaines armes displayed, did make vs iudge them rather ships of warre, then laden with marchandise. And as it appeared by their owne speeches, they made full account to haue taken vs: it being a question among them, whether it were best to cary vs to S. Lucar, or to Lisbon. We waued ech other a maine. They hauing placed themselues in warlike order one a cables length before another, we began the fight. In the which we continued, so fast as we were able to charge and discharge, the space of fiue houres, being neuer a cables length distant either of vs from other. In which time we receiued diuers shot both in the hull of our ship, masts, and sailes, to the number of 32 great, besides 500 musket shot and harquebuzes a crocke at the least, which we tolde after the fight. And because we perceiued them to be stout, we thought good to boord the Biscaine, which was on head the other: where lying aboord about an houre, and plying our ordinance and small shot; in the end we stowed all his men. Now the other in the flieboat, thinking we had entred our men in their fellow, bare roome with vs, meaning to haue layed vs aboord, and so to haue intrapped vs betwixt them both: which we perceiuing, fitted our ordinance so for him, as we quitted our selues of him, and he boorded his fellow: by which meanes they both fell from vs. Then presently we kept our loofe, hoised our top-sailes, and weathered them, and came hard aboord the flieboat with our ordinance prepared, and gaue her our whole broad side, with the which we slew diuers of their men; so as we might see the blood run out at the scupper holes. After that we cast about, and new charged all our ordinance, and came vpon them againe, willing them to yeeld, or els we would sinke them: wherupon the one would haue yeelded, which was shot betweene winde and water; but the other called him traitor. Vnto whom we made answere, that if he would not yeeld presently also, we would sinke him first. And thereupon he vnderstanding our determination, presently put
Marke this othe. out a white flag, and yeelded, and yet refused to strike their own sailes, for that they were sworne neuer to strike to any Englishman. We then commanded their captaines and masters to come aboord vs; which they did. And after examination & stowing them, we sent certaine of our owne men aboord them, and strook their sailes, and manned their ships: finding in them both 126 persons liuing, & 8 dead, besides those which they themselues had cast ouerboord. So it pleased God to giue vs the victory being but 42 men and a boy, whereof 2 were killed and 3 wounded: for the which good successe we giue God the only praise. These two rich prizes laden with 1400 chests of quicksiluer with the armes of Castile and Leon fastened vpon them, and with a great quantity of bulles or indulgences, and guilded Missals or Seruice books, with an hundred tunnes of excellent wines, we brought shortly after into the riuer of Thames vp to Blacke-wall.

By the taking of this quicksiluer, about 1400 chests, the king of Spaine loseth for euery quintall of the same a quintall of siluer, that should haue beene deliuered him by the masters of the mines there, which amounteth to 600000 pounds.

More by taking of his bulles, to wit, two millions and 72 thousand for liuing and dead persons for the prouinces of Noua Hispania, Iucatan, Guatimala, the Honduras, and the Phillippinas, taxed at two reals the piece. And more for eighteene thousand bulles taxed at foure reals, amounteth all to 107700 pounds. Summa totalis 707700 li.

More there were taken ten fardels of gilt missals and breuiaries sent for the kings account.

So the hindrance that the king receiueth by the losse of his bulles and quicksiluer amounteth as is abouesaid: besides the sacking of his wines, about 100 tunnes, whereby his fleet is disappointed of a great part of their prouision.

A true

A true report of the honourable seruice at Sea perfourmed by Sir Iohn Burrough Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honour. Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Lord warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Deuon. Wherin chiefly the Santa Clara of Biscay, a ship of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the Santa Cruz and the Madre de Dios were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into Dartmouth the seuenth of September, 1592.

SIr Walter Ralegh vpon cōmission receiued from her Maiesty for an expedition to be made to the West Indies, slacked not his vttermost diligence to make full prouision of all things necessary, as both in his choise of good ships, and sufficient men to performe the action euidently appeared. For his shippes which were in number 14 or 15, those two of her Maiesties, the Garland & the Foresight were the chiefest; the rest either his owne or his good friends or aduenturers of London. For the gentlemen his consorts and officers, to giue them their right, they were so well qualited in courage, experience, & discretion, as the greatest prince might repute himselfe happy to be serued with their like. The honor of Lieutenant generall was imposed vpon sir Iohn Burrough, a gentleman, for his manifold good and heroicall parts, thought euery way worthy of that commandement: with whom after sir W. R. returned was ioyned in commission sir Martin Frobisher, who for his speciall skill & knowledge in marine causes had formerly caried imploiments of like or greater place. The rest of the captaines, souldiers, and sailers were men of notable resolution, and for the most part such as heretofore had giuen to the world sufficient proofe of their valour in diuers seruices of the like nature. With these ships thus manned sir Walter Ralegh departed towards the West countrey, there to store himselfe with such further necessaries as the state of his voyage did needfully require: where the Westerly windes blowing for a long time contrary to his course, bound and constrained him to keepe harborough so many weeks, that the fittest season for his purpose was gone, the mindes of his people much altered, his victuals consumed; and withall, her Maiesty vnderstanding how crosly all this sorted, began to call the proceeding of this preparation into question: insomuch that, whereas the sixt of May was first come before sir Walter could put to sea, the very next day sir Martin Frobisher in a pinnesse of my lord Admirals called The Disdaine, met him, and brought to him from her Maiesty letters of reuocation, with commandement to relinquish (for his owne part) the intended attempt, and to leaue the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of sir Iohn Burrough and sir Martin Frobisher. But sir Walter finding his honor so farre engaged in the vndertaking of this voyage, as without proceeding he saw no remedy either to salue his reputation, or to content those his friends which had put in aduentures of great summes with him; and making construction of the Queenes letters in such sort as if her commandement had bene propounded in indifferent termes, either to aduance forward or to retire, at his owne discretion; would in no case yeeld to leaue his fleet now vnder saile. Wherefore continuing his course into the sea, he met within a day or two, with certaine sailes lately come from Spaine: among which was a ship appertaining to Monsieur Gourdon gouernor of Caleis, and found aboord her one M. Neuel Dauies an Englishman, who hauing endured a long and miserable captiuity for the space of twelue yeeres, partly in the inquisition in Spaine, was now by good fortune escaped, and vpon returne to his countrey. This man, among other things reported for certaine, that there was little hope of any good this yeere to be done in the West India; considering that the king of Spaine had sent expresse order to all the Ports both of the Ilands and of Terra firma, that no ship should stirre that yeere, nor any treasure be layed aboord for Spaine. But neither this vnpleasant relation nor ought els could stay hi proceedings, vntill a tempest of strange and vncouth violence arising vpon Thursday the 11 of May, when he was athwart the Cape Finister, had so scattered the greater part of th fleet, and sunke his boats and pinnesses, that as the rest were driuen and seuered, some thi way and some that, sir Walter himselfe being in the Garland of her Maiesty was in dange to be swallowed vp of the Sea. Whereupon sir W. Ralegh finding that the season of th yer yere was too farre gone to proceed with the enterprise which he had vpon Panama, hauing bene held on the English coast from February till May, and thereby spent three moneths victuals; and considering withall, that to lie vpon the Spanish coast or at the Ilands to attend the returne of the East or West Indian fleets was rather a worke of patience then ought els: he gaue directions to sir Iohn Burgh and sir M. Frobisher to diuide the fleet in two parts; sir M. with the Garland, cap. George Gifford, cap. Henry Thin, cap. Grenuile and others to lie off the South cape, thereby to amaze the Spanish fleet, and to holde them on their owne coast; while sir I. Burgh, capt. Robert Crosse, capt. Tomson, & others should attend at the Ilands for the caraks or any other Spanish ships comming from Mexico or other parts of the West Indies Which direction tooke effect accordingly; for the king of Spaines Admirall receiuing intelligence that the English fleet was come on the coast, attended to defend the South parts of Spaine, & to keepe himselfe as nere sir Mart. Frobisher as he could, to impeach him in all things which he might vndertake; and thereby neglected the safeconduct of the caraks, with whom it fared as hereafter shall appeare. Before the fleet seuered themselues they mette with a great Biscain on the Spanish coast called Santa Clara a ship of 600 tunnes.

The Santa Clara a Biscain ship of 600 tunnes taken.

The noise of the artillery on both sides being heard, immediatly they drew to their fleet; where after a reasonable hot fight, the ship was entred and mastered, which they found fraighted with all sorts of small yron-worke, as horse-shoes, nailes, plough-shares, yron barres, spikes, boults, locks, gimbols, & such like, valued by vs at 6000 or 7000 li. but woorth to them treble the value. This Biscain was sailing towards S. Lucar, there to take in some further prouision for the West India. This ship being first roomaged, and after sent for England, our fleet coasted along towards the Southcape of S. Vincent, and by the way, about the Rocke neere Lisbon, sir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke spying a saile a farre off, gaue her present chase; which being a flieboat and of good saile, drew him farre Southwards before he could fetch her; but at last she came vnder his lee and strooke saile. The master of which flieboat comming aboord him, confessed that the king indeed had prepared a great fleet in S. Lucar and Cadiz, and (as the report in Spaine was currant) for the West Indies. But indeed the Spanish king had prouided this fleet vpon this counsell. He receiued intelligence, that sir Walter Ralegh was to put out strong for the West India: to impeach him, and to ranconter his force he appointed this fleet; although looking for the arriuall of his East Indian caraks, he first ordained those ships to waft them from the Açores. But perswading himselfe, that if the fleet of sir Walter Ralegh did go for the West India, then the Ilands should haue none to infest them but some small men of warre, which the caraks of themselues would be well able to match; his order was to Don Alonso de Baçan brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz, and Generall of his armada, to pursue sir Walters fleet, and to confront him, what course soeuer he held. And that this was true, our men in short time by proofe vnderstood: for sir Iohn Burrough, not long after the taking of his last prize the flieboat, as he sailed backe againe towards the rest of his company, discouered the Spanish fleet to sea-ward of him: which hauing likewise espied him betwixt them and the shore, made full account to bring him safe into Spanish harbour; and therefore spred themselues in such sort before him, that indeed his danger was very great: for both the liberty of the sea was brought into a narrow straight, and the shore being enemy could giue him no comfort of reliefe: so that trusting to Gods helpe onely and his good saile, he thrust out from among them in spight of all their force, and to the notable illusion of all their cunning, which they shewed to the vttermost, in laying the way for his apprehension. But now sir Iohn Burrough hauing happily escaped their clouches, finding the coast guarded by this fleet, and knowing it was but folly to expect a meeting there with sir Martin Frobisher (who vnderstanding of this armada aswell as himselfe, would be sure not to come that way) beganne to shape his course to the Açores according to sir W. Raleghs direction, and came in sight of S. Michael, running so neere by Villa Franca, that he might easily discerne the shippes lying there at anker. Diuers small carauels both here and betweene S. Georges and the Pike in his course toward Flores he intercepted; of which no great intelligence for his affaires could be vnderstood.

Sir Iohn Burrough in great danger of the Spanish fleet.

The Ile of S. Michael.

Diuers small ships taken.

derstood. Arriuing before Fleres vpon Thursday the 21 of Iune, towards euening, accompanied onely with captaine Caufield and the Master of his shippe, the rest not being yet arriued, he made towards the shore with his boat, finding all the people of Santa Cruz, a village of that Iland, in armes, fearing their landing, and ready marshalled to defend their towne from spoile. Sir Iohn contrariwise made signes of amity vnto them by aduancing a white flagge, a common token of peace, which was answered againe of them with the like: whereupon ensued entercourses of good friendship; and pledges were taken on both sides, the captaine of the towne for them, and captaine Caufield for ours: so that whatsoeuer our men wanted, which that place could supply either in fresh water, victuals, or the like, was very willingly granted by the inhabitants: and good leaue had they to refresh themselues on shore as much and as oft as they would without restraint. At this Santa Cruz sir Iohn Burrough was informed, that indeed there was among them no expectation of any fleet to come from the West, but from the East, that no longer since then three dayes before his arriuall a carak was passed by for Lisbon, and that there were foure caraks more behinde, of one consort. Sir Iohn being very glad of this newes, stayed no longer on shore, but presently imbarqued himselfe, hauing onely in company a small barke of threescore tunnes belonging to one M. Hopkins of Bristoll. In the meane while that these things thus passed at Flores, part of the rest of the English fleet, which sir Iohn Burrough had left vpon the coast of Spaine, drew also towards the Açores: and whereas he quickly at sea had discouered one of the caraks, the same euening he might descry two or three of the Earle of Cumberlands ships (whereof one M. Norton was captaine) which hauing in like sort kenned the carak, pursued her by that course which they saw her to runne towards the Ilands. But on no side was there any way made by reason of a great calme which yeelded no breath to spread a saile. Insomuch that fitly to discouer her what she was, of what burthen, force, and countenance, sir Iohn Burrough tooke his boat, and rowed the space of three miles, to make her exactly: and being returned, he consulted with the better sort of the company then present, vpon the boording her in the morning. But a very mighty storme arising in the night, the extremity thereof forced them all to wey ankers, yet their care was such in wrestling with the weather not to lose the carak, that in the morning, the tempest being qualified, and our men bearing againe with the shore, they might perceiue the carak very neere the land, and the Portugals confusedly carrying on shore such things as they could any maner of way conuey out of her; and seeing the haste our men made to come vpon them, forsooke her: but first, that nothing might be left commodious to our men, set fire to that which they could not cary with them, intending by that meanes wholly to consume her; that neither glory of victory nor benefit of shippe might remaine to ours. And least the approch and industry of the English should bring meanes to extinguish the flame, thereby to preserue the residue of that which the fire had not destroyed; being foure hundred of them in number and well armed, they intrenched themselues on land so neere to the carak, that she being by their forces protected, and our men kept aloofe off, the fire might continue to the consumption of the whole. This being noted by sir Iohn Burrough he soone prouided a present remedy for this mischiefe. For landing one hundred of his men, whereof many did swim and wade more then brest high to shore, and easily scattering those that presented themselues to guard the coast, he no sooner drew toward their new trenches, but they fled immediatly, leauing as much as the fire had spared to be the reward of our mens paines. Here was taken among others one Vincent Fonseca a Portugall, Purser of the carak, with two others, one an Almaine and the second a Low-dutchman, canoniers: who refusing to make any voluntary report of those things which were demanded of them, had the torture threatened, the feare whereof at the last wrested from them this intelligence, that within fifteene dayes three other greater caraks then that lately fired would arriue at the same Iland: and that being fiue caraks in the fleet at their departure from Goa, to wit, the Buen Iesus admirall, the Madre de Dios, the S. Bernardo, the S. Christophoro, and the S. Cruz, (whose fortune you haue already heard) they had receiued speciall commandement from the king not to touch in any case at the Iland of S. Helena, where the Portugall caraks in their re-

Santa Cruz a village in the Ile of Flores.

Newes of the East Indian caraks.

A carak called The Santa Cruz set on fire

An hundred of our men land.

Angola a new watering place for the caraks.

turne from the East India were alwayes till now woont to arriue to refresh themselues with water and victuals. And the kings reason was; because of the English men of warre, who (as he was informed) lay there in wait to intercept them. If therefore their necessity of water should driue them to seeke supply any where, he appointed them Angola in the maine of Africa, with order there to stay onely the taking in of water to auoid the inconuenience of infections, wherunto that hot latitude is dangerously subiect. The last rendeuous for them all was the Iland of Flores, where the king assured them not to misse of his armada thither sent of purpose for their wafting to Lisbon. Vpon this information sir Iohn drew to counsel, meeting there captaine Norton, captain Dounton, captain Abraham Cocke, captaines of three ships of the Earle of Cumberland, M. Tomson of Harwich cap. of the Dainty of sir Iohn Haukins, one of sir W. Raleghs fleet, and M. Christopher Newport cap. of the Golden dragon newly returned from the West India, and others. These being assembled, he communicated with them what he had vnderstood of the foresaid examinates, and what great presumptions of trueth their relation did cary: wishing that forasmuch as God & good fortune had brought them together in so good a season, they would shew the vttermost of their indeuors to bring these Easterlings vnder the lee of the English obedience. Hereupon a present accord on all sides followed not to part company or leaue of those seas till time should present cause to put their consultations in execution. The next day her Maiesties good ship the Foresight commanded by sir Rob. Crosse came in to the rest: and he likewise informed of the matter was soone drawen into this seruice. Thus sir Iohn with al these ships departing thence 6 or 7 leagues to the West of Flores, they spread themselues abroad from the North to the South, ech ship two leagues at the least distant from another. By which order of extension they were able to discouer the space of two whole degrees at sea. In this sort they lay from the 29 of Iune to the third of August, what time cap. Thomson in the Dainty had first sight of the huge carak called the Madre de Dios, one of the greatest receit belonging to the crowne of Portugall. The Dainty being of excellent saile got the start of the rest of our fleet, and began the conflict somewhat to her cost, with the slaughter and hurt of diuers of her men. Within a while after, sir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke of sir W. Raleghs, was at hand to second her, who saluted her with shot of great ordinance, and continued the fight within musket shot assisted by cap. Tomson and cap. Newport till sir R. Crosse viceadmirall of the fleet came vp being to leeward, at whose arriuall sir I. Burgh demanded of him what was best to be done, who answered, that if the carak were not boorded she would recouer the shore and fire herselfe as the other had done. Whereupon sir I. Burgh concluded to intangle her; and sir R. Crosse promised also to fasten himselfe to her together at the instant; which was performed: but after a while sir Iohn Burgh receiuing a shot with a canon perier vnder water, and ready to sinke, desired sir R. C. to fall off, that he might also cleere himselfe, and saue his ship from sinking, which with difficulty he did: for both the Roebucke and the Foresight were so intangled, as with much adoe could they cleere themselues.

The Madre de Dios taken.

The same euening sir R. Crosse finding the carak then sure & drawing neere the Iland perswaded his company to boord her againe, or els there was no hope to recouer her: who after many excuses & feares, were by him incouraged, and so fell athwart her foreships all alone; and so hindered her sailing that the rest had time to come vp to his succour, & to recouer the carak yer she recouered the land: and so toward the euening after he had fought with her alone three houres single, my lord of Cumberlands two ships came vp, & with very litle losse entred with sir R. Crosse, who had in that time broken their courages, and made the assault easie for the rest.

The generall hauing disarmed the Portugals, and stowed them for better security on all sides, first had presented to his eyes the true proportion of the vast body of this carak, which did then and may still iustly prouoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with such a sight. But albeit this first apparance of the hugenesse thereof yeelded sights enough to entertaine our mens eyes; yet the pitifull obiect of so many bodies slaine and dismembred could not but draw ech mans eye to see, and heart to lament, and hands to helpe those miserable people, whose limnes were so torne with the violence of shot, and paine made grieuous with the multitude of woundes. No man could almost steppe but vpon a dead carkase or a bloody floore, but specially about the helme, where very many of them fell suddenly from stirring to dying. For the greatnesse of the stirrage requiring the labour of twelue or foureteene men at once, and some of our shippes beating her in at the sterne with their ordinance often times with one shot slew foure or fiue labouring on either side of the helme; whose roomes being still furnished with fresh supplies, and our artillery still playing vpon them with continuall volleys, it could not be but that much bloud should be shed in that place. Whereupon our Generall moued with singular commiseration of their misery, sent them his owne chyrurgions, denying them no possible helpe or reliefe that he or any of his company could affoord them. Among the rest of those, whose state this chance had made very deplorable, was Don Fernando de Mendoça Grand captaine and Commander of this Carake: who indeed was descended of the house of Mendoça in Spaine; but being married into Portugall, liued there as one of that nation; a gentleman well stricken in yeeres, well spoken, of comely personage, of good stature, but of hard fortune. In his seuerall seruices against the Moores he was twise taken prisoner, and both times ransomed by the king. In a former voyage of returne from the East India he was driuen vpon the Baxos or sands of Iuda nere the coast of Cephala, being then also captaine of a caracke which was there lost, and himselfe, though escaping the sea-danger, yet fell into the hands of infidels on land; who kept him vnder long and grieuous seruitude. Once more the king carying a louing respect to the man, and desirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this Easterly nauigation, and committed vnto him the conduct of this caracke, wherein he went from Lisbon Generall of the whole fleet, and in that degree had returned, if the Vice-rey of Goa embarked for Portugall in the Bon Iesus had not, by reason of his late office, bene preferred. Sir Iohn intending not to adde too much affliction to the afflicted, mooued with pity and compassion of humane misery, in the end resolued freely to dismisse this captaine & the most part of his followers to their owne countrey, and for the same purpose bestowed them in certaine vessels furnished with all kindes of necessary prouision. This businesse thus dispatched, good leasure had he to take such view of the goods as conueniency might affoord. And hauing very prudently (to cut off the vnprofitable spoile & pillage whereunto he saw the minds of many inclined) seised vpon the whole to her Maiesties vse, after a short & slender romaging & searching of such things as first came to hand, he perceiued that ŷ wealth would arise nothing disanswerable to expectation; but that the variety and grandure of all rich commodities would be more then sufficient to content both the aduenturers desire & the souldiers trauell. And here I cannot but enter into the consideration and acknowledgement of Gods great fauor towards our nation, who by putting this purchase into our hands hath manifestly discouered those secret trades & Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden, and cunningly concealed from vs; whereof there was among some few of vs some small and vnperfect glimse onely, which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it should seeme that the will of God for our good is (if our weaknesse could apprehend it) to haue vs communicate with them in those East Indian treasures, & by the erection of a lawfull traffike to better our meanes to aduance true religion and his holy seruice. The caracke being in burden by the estimation of the wise and experienced no lesse then 1600 tunnes had full 900 of those stowed with the grosse bulke of marchandise, the rest of the tunnage being allowed, partly to the ordinance which were 32 pieces of brasse of all sorts, partly to the passengers and the victuals, which could not be any small quantity, considering the number of the persons betwixt 600 and 700, and the length of the nauigation. To giue you a taste (as it were) of the commodities, it shall suffice to deliuer you a generall particularity of them, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden hall the 15 of September 1592. Where vpon good view it was found, that the principall wares after the iewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they neuer came to light) consisted of spices, drugges, silks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The spices were pepper, cloues, maces, nutmegs, cinamom, greene ginger: the drugs were ben-

Exceeding humanity shewed to the enemy.

A briefe catalogue of ŷ sundry rich commodities of ŷ Madre de Dios.

iamim, frankincense, galingale, mirabolans, aloes zocotrina, camphire: the silks, damasks, taffatas, sarcenets, altobassos, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, vnwrought China silke, sleaued silke, white twisted sike, curled cypresse. The calicos were book-calicos, calico-launes, broad white calicos, fine starched calicos, course white calicos, browne broad calicos, browne course calicos. There were also canopies, and course diaper-towels, quilts of course sarcenet and of calico, carpets like those of Turky; wherunto are to be added the pearle, muske, ciuet, and amber-griece. The rest of the wares were many in number, but lesse in value; as elephants teeth, porcellan vessels of China, coco-nuts, hides, eben-wood as blacke as iet, bedsteads of the same, cloth of the rindes of trees very strange for the matter, and artificiall in workemanship. All which piles of commodities being by men of approued iudgement rated but in reasonable sort amounted to no lesse then 150000 li. sterling, which being diuided among the aduenturers (whereof her Maiesty was the chiefe) was sufficient to yeeld contentment to all parties. The cargazon being taken out, and the goods fraighted in tenne of our ships sent for London, to the end that the bignesse, heigth, length, bredth, and other dimensions of so huge a vessell might by the exact rules of Geometricall obseruations be truly taken, both for present knowledge, and deriuation also of the same vnto posterity, one M. Robert Adams, a man in his faculty of excellent skill, omitted nothing in the description, which either his arte could demonstrate, or any mans iudgement thinke woorthy the memory. After an exquisite suruey of the whole frame he found the length from the beak-head to the sterne (whereupon was erected a lanterne) to containe 165 foote. The breadth in the second close decke whereof she had three, this being the place where there was most extension of bredth, was 46 foot and 10 inches. She drew in water 31 foot at her departure from Cochin in India, but not aboue 26 at her arriuall in Dartmouth, being lightened in her voyage by diuers meanes, some 5 foote. She caried in height 7 seuerall stories, one maine Orlop, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spar-decke of two floores a piece. The length of the keele was 100 foote, of the maine-mast 121 foot, and the circuite about at the partners 10 foote 7 inches, the maine-yard was 106 foote long. By which perfect commensuration of the parts appeareth the hugenesse of the whole, farre beyond the mould of the biggest shipping vsed among vs either for warre or receit.

The capacity and dimensions of the Madre de Dios.

Don Alonso de Baçan hauing a great Fleet and suffering these two caraks, the Santa Cruz to be burnt, and the Madre de Dios to be taken, was disgraced by his prince for this negligence.

The firing and sinking of the stout and warrelike Carack called Las Cinque Llaguas, or, The fiue Wounds, by three tall Ships set foorth at the charges of the right honorable the Erle of Cumberland and his friends: Written by the discreet and valiant captaine M. Nicholas Downton.

IN the latter ende of the yeere 1593. the right honourable Erle of Cumberland, at his owne charges and his friends, prepared 3 ships all at equall rate, and either of them had like quantitie of victuals, and like numbers of men, there being embarked in all 3 ships 420 men of al sorts. The Roial Exchange went as Admirall, wherein M. George Caue was captaine. The May-flower Viceadmirall vnder the conduct of William Anthonie: and the Sampson, the charge whereof it pleased his honour to commit vnto me Nicholas Dounton. Our directions were sent vs to Plimmouth, and we were to open them at sea.

Besides these 3 ships there was a pinnas called the Violet, or the Why not I.

The sixt of Aprill 1594 we set sayle in the sound of Plimmouth, directing our course toward the coast of Spaine.

The 24 of the sayd moneth at the Admirals direction wee diuided our selues East and West from ech other, being then in the heigth of 43 degrees, with commaundement at night to come together againe.

The 27 day in the morning we descried the May-flower and the litle Pinnasse with a Prise that they had taken, being of Viana in Portugall, and bound for Angola in Africa. This Barke was of 28 tunnes, hauing some 17 persons in the same. There were in her some 12 Buts of Galicia wine, whereof we tooke into euery shippe a like part, with some Ruske in chests

Commodities fit for Angola.

chests and barrels, with 5 buts of blew course cloth, and certaine course linnen-cloth for Negros shirts, which goods were diuided among our fleet.

The 4 of May we had sight of our Pinnasse, and the Admirals Shallop which had taken three Portugall Carauels, whereof they had sent two away and kept the third.

The second of Iune we had sight of S. Michael. The third day in the morning wee sent our small pinnasse, which was of some 24 tunnes, with the small Carauell which we had taken at the Burlings to range the road of all the Ilands, to see if they could get any thing in the same: appointing them to meet vs W. S. W. 12 leagues from Faiall. Their going from vs was to no purpose. They missed comming to vs whē we appointed, as also we missed them, when we had great cause to haue vsed them.

The 13 of Iune we met with a mightie Carack of the East Indies, called Las cinque Llagas, or The fiue wounds. The May-flower was in fight with her before night. I, in the Sampson, fetched her vp in the euening, and as I commanded to giue her the broad side, as we terme it, while I stood very heedefully prying to discouer her strength: and where I might giue counsel to boord her in the night when the Admirall came vp to vs, and as I remember at the very first shot she discharged at vs, I was shot in a litle aboue the belly, whereby I was made vnseruiceable for a good while after, without touching any other for that night. Yet by meanes of an honest truehearted man which I had with me, one captaine Grant, nothing was neglected: vntill midnight when the Admirall came vp, the May-flower, and the Sampson neuer left by turnes to ply her with their great ordinance; but then captaine Caue wished vs to stay till morning, at what time each one of vs should giue her three bouts with our great ordinance, & so should clap her aboord: but indeed it was long lingered in the morning vntill 10 of the clocke before wee attempted to boord her. The Admirall laid her a boord in the mid ship: the May-flower comming vp in the quarter, as it should seeme, to lie at the sterne of the Admirall on the larboord side. The captaine of the sayd May-flower was slaine at the first comming vp: whereby the ship fell to the sterne of the out-licar of the Carack, which (being a piece of timber) so wounded her foresaile, that they sayd they could come no more to fight, I am sure they did not, but kept aloofe from vs. The Sampson went aboord on the bow, but hauing not rome enough, our quarter lay on the Exchāges bow, and our bowe on the Caracks bowe. The Exchange also at the first comming had her captaine M. Caue shot into both the legs, the one whereof he neuer recouered, so he for that present was not able to doe his office, and in his absence he had not any that would vndertake to lead out his company to enter vpon the enemie. My friend captaine Grant did lead my men on the Caracks side, which being not manfully backed by the Exchanges men, his forces being smal, made the enemie bolder then he would haue bene, whereby I had sixe men presently slaine and many more hurt, which made them that remained vnhurt to returne aboord, and would neuer more giue the assault. I say not but some of the Exchanges men did very well, and many more (no doubt) would haue done the like, if there had bene any principall man to haue put them forward, and to haue brought all the company to the fight, and not to haue run into corners themselues. But I must needs say, that their ship was as well prouided for defence, as any that I haue seene. And the Portugals peraduenture encouraged by our slacke working, plaied the men and had Barricados made, where they might stand without any danger of our shot. They plied vs also very much with fire, so that most of our men were burnt in some place or other: & while our men were putting out of the fire, they would euer be plying them with small shot or darts. This vnusuall casting of fire did much dismay many of our men and made them draw backe as they did. When we had not men to enter, we plied our great ordinance much at them as high vp as they might be mounted, for otherwise we did them litle harme, and by shooting a piece out of our forecastle being close by her, we fired a mat on her beak-head, which more and more kindled, and ran from thence to the mat on the bow-sprit, and from the mat vp to the wood of the bow-sprit, and thence to the top-saile yard, which fire made the Portugals abaft in the ship to stagger, and to make shew of parle. But they that had the charge before encouraged them, making shew, that it might easily be put out, and that it was nothing. Whereupon againe they stood stiffly to their defence. Anone the fire grew so strong, that I saw it beyond all helpe, although she had bene already yeelded to vs. Then we desired to be off from her, but had litle hope to obtaine our desire; neuerthelesse we plied water very much to keep our ship well. Indeed I made litle other reckoning for the ship, my selfe, and diuers hurt men, then to haue ended there with the Carak, but most of our people might haue saued themselues in boats. And when my care was most, by Gods prouidence onely, by the burning asunder of our spritsaile-yard with ropes and saile, and the ropes about the spritsaile-yard of the Carack, whereby we were fast intangled, we fell apart, with burning of some of our sailes which we had then on boord. The Exchange also being farther from the fire, afterward was more easily cleared, and fell off from abaft. And as soone as God had put vs out of danger, the fire got into the fore-castle, where, I thinke, was store of Beniamin, and such other like combustible matter, for it flamed and ran ouer all the Carack at an instant in a maner. The Portugals lept ouer-boord in great numbers. Then sent I captaine Grant with the boat, with leaue to vse his owne discretion in sauing of them. So he brought me aboord two gentlemen, the one an old man called Nuno Velio Pereira, which (as appeareth by the 4 chapter in the first booke of the woorthy history of Huighen de Linschoten) was gouernour of Moçambique and Cefala, in the yeere 1582. and since that time had bene likewise a gouernour in a place of importance in the East Indies. And the shippe wherein he was comming home was cast away a litle to the East of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and from thence he traueiled ouer-land to Moçambique, and came as a passenger in this Carack. The other was called Bras Carrero, and was captaine of a Carack which was cast away neere Moçambique, and came likewise in this ship for a passenger. Also three men of the inferior sort we saued in our boat, onely these two we clothed and brought into England. The rest which were taken vp by the other ship boats, we set all on shore in the Ile of Flores, except some two or three Negros, whereof one was borne in Moçambique, and another in the East Indies. This fight was open off the Sound betweene Faial and Pico 6 leagues to the Southward. The people which we saued told vs that the cause why they would not yeeld, was, because this Carack was for the king, and that she had all the goods belonging to the king in the countrey for that yeere in her, and that the captaine of her was in fauour with the king, and at his returne into the Indies should haue bene Viceroy there. And withall this ship was nothing at all pestered neither within boord nor without, and was more like a ship of warre then otherwise: moreouer, she had the ordinance of a Carak that was cast away at Moçambique, and the company of her, together with the company of another Carack that was cast away a litle to the Eastwards of the Cape of Buona Speranza. Yet through sicknesse which they caught at Angola, where they watered, they say, they had not now aboue 150 white men, but Negros a great many. They likewise affirmed that they had three noblemen and three ladies in her, but we found them to differ in most of their talke. All this day and all the night she burned, but the next morning her poulder which was lowest being 60 barrels blew her abroad, so that most of the ship did swim in parts aboue the water. Some of them say, that she was bigger then the Madre de Dios, and some, that she was lesse: but she was much vndermasted, and vndersailed, yet she went well for a ship that was so foule. The shot which wee made at her in great Ordinance before we layde her aboord, might be at seuen bouts which we had, and sixe or 7 shot at a bout, one with another, some 49 shot: the time we lay aboord might be two houres. The shot which we discharged aboord the Carack might be some twentie Sacars. And thus much may suffice concerning our daungerous conflict with that vnfortunate Carack.

The last of Iune after long trauersing of the seas we had sight of another mightie Carack which diuerse of our company at the first tooke to be the great S. Philip the Admiral of Spaine, but the next day being the first of Iuly fetching her up we perceiued her indeede to be a Carack, which after some few shot bestowed vpon her we summoned to yeeld; but they standing stoutly to their defence vtterly refused the same. Wherefore seeing no good could be done without boording her I consulted what course we should take in the boording. But by reason that wee which were the chiefe captaines were partly slaine and partly wounded in the former conflict, and because of the murmuring of some disordered and cowardly companions, our valiant and resolute determinations were crossed: and to conclude a long discourse in few wordes, the Carack escaped our hands. After this attending about Coruo & Flores for some West Indian purchase, and being disappointed of our expectation, and victuals growing short, we returned for England, where I arriued at Portesmouth the 28 of August.

The casting away of the Tobie neere Cape Espartel corruptly called Cape Sprat without the Straight of Gibraltar on the coast of Barbarie. 1593.

THe Tobie of London a ship of 250 tunnes manned with fiftie men, the owner whereof was the worshipful M. Richard Staper, being bound for Liuorno, Zante and Patras in Morea, being laden with marchandize to the value of 11 or 12 thousand pounds sterling, set sayle from Black-wall the 16 day of August 1593, and we went thence to Portesmouth where we tooke in great quantitie of wheate, and set sayle foorth of Stokes bay in the Isle of Wight, the 6. day of October, the winde being faire: and the 16 of the same moneth we were in the heigth of Cape S. Vincent, where on the next morning we descried a sayle which lay in try right a head off vs, to which we gaue chase with very much winde, the sayle being a Spaniard, which wee found in fine so good of sayle that we were faine to leaue her and giue her ouer. Two dayes after this we had sight of mount Chiego, which is the first high-land which we descrie on the Spanish coast at the entrance of the Straight of Gibraltar, where we had very foule weather and the winde scant two dayes together. Here we lay off to the sea. The Master, whose name was George Goodley, being a young man, and one which neuer tooke charge before for those parts, was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to discharge, neither would take any counsel of any of his company, but did as he thought best himselfe, & in the end of the two dayes of foule weather cast about, and the winde being faire, bare in with the straights mouth. The 19 day at night he thinking that he was farther off the land than he was, bare sayle all that night, & an houre and an halfe before day had ranne our shippe vpon the ground on the coast of Barbarie without the straight foure leagues to the South of Cape Espartel. Whereupon being all not a litle astonied, the Master said vnto vs, I pray you forgiue me; for this is my fault and no mans else. The company asked him whether they should cut off the main maste: no said the Master we will hoyse out our boate. But one of our men comming speedily vp, said, Sirs, the ship is full of water, well sayd the Master, then cut the mayne-mast ouer boord: which thing we did with all speede. But the afterpart suddenly split a sunder in such sort that no man was able to stand vpon it, but all fled vpon the foremast vp into the shrouds thereof; and hung there for a time: but seeing nothing but present death approch (being so suddenly taken that we could not make a raft which we had determined) we committed our selues vnto the Lord and beganne with dolefull tune and heauy hearts to sing the 12 Psalme. Helpe Lord for good and godly men &c. Howbeit before we had finished foure verses the waues of the sea had stopped the breathes of most of our men. For the foremast with the weight of our men & the force of the sea fell downe into the water, and vpon the fall thereof there were 38 drowned, and onely 12 by Gods prouidence partly by swimming and other meanes of chests gote on shoare, which was about a quarter of a mile from the wracke of the ship. The master called George Goodley, and William Palmer his mate, both perished. M. Cæsar also being captaine and owner was likewise drowned: none of the officers were saued but the carpenter.

We twelue which the Lord had deliuered from extreme danger of the Sea, at our comming ashore fell in a maner into as great distresse. At our first comming on shore we all fell downe on our knees, praying the Lord most humbly for his merciful goodnesse. Our prayers being done, we consulted together what course to take, seeing we were fallen into a desert place, & we traueled all that day vntill night, sometimes one way and sometimes another, and could finde no kinde of inhabitants; onely we saw where wilde beasts had bene, and places where there had bene houses, which after we perceiued to haue bene burnt by the Portugals. So at night falling into certaine groues of oliue trees, we climed vp and sate in them to auoid the danger of lions and other wilde beasts, whereof we saw many the next morning. The next day we trauelled vntill three of the clocke in the afternoone without any food but water and wilde date roots: then going ouer a mountaine, we had sight of Cape Espartel; whereby we knew some what better which way to trauell, and then we went forward vntill we came to an hedgerow made with great long canes; we spied and looked ouer it, and beheld a number of men aswell horsemen as footmen, to the number of some fiue thousand in skirmish together with small shot and other weapons. And after consultation what we were best to do, we concluded to yeeld our selues vnto them, being destitute of all meanes of resistance. So rising vp we marched toward them, who espying vs, foorthwith some hundred of them with their iauelings in their hands came running towards vs as though they would haue run vs thorow: howbeit they onely strooke vs flatling with their weapons, and said that we were Spaniards: and we tolde them that we were Englishmen; which they would not beleeue yet. By and by the conflict being ended, and night approching, the captaine of the Moores, a man of some 56 yeres olde, came himselfe vnto vs, and by his interpretor which spake Italian, asked what we were and from whence we came. One Thomas Henmer of our company which could speake Italian, declared vnto him that we were marchants, and how by great misfortune our ship, marchandise, & the greatest part of our company were pitifully cast away vpon their coast. But he void of humainity & all manhood, for all this, caused his men to strip vs out of our apparel euen to our shirts to see what money and iewels we had about vs: which when they had found to the value of some 200 pounds in golde and pearles they gaue vs some of our apparel againe, and bread and water onely to comfort vs. The next morning they carried vs downe to the shore where our shippe was cast away, which was some sixteene miles from that place. In which iourney they vsed vs like their slaues, making vs (being extreame weake,) to carry their stuffe, and offering to beat vs if we went not so fast as they. We asked them why they vsed vs so, and they replied, that we were their captiues: we said we were their friends, and that there was neuer Englishman captiue to the king of Marocco. So we came downe to the ship, and lay there with them seuen dayes, while they had gotten all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongst them. After the end of these seuen dayes the captaine appointed twenty of his men wel armed, to bring vs vp into yͤ countrey: and the first night we came to the side of a riuer called Alarach, where we lay on the grasse all that night: so the next day we went ouer the riuer in a frigate of nine oares on a side, the riuer being in that place aboue a quarter of a mile broad: and that day we went to a towne of thirty houses, called Totteon: there we lay foure dayes hauing nothing to feed on but bread and water: and then we went to a towne called Cassuri, and there we were deliuered by those twenty souldiers vnto the Alcaide, which examined vs what we were: and we tolde him. He gaue vs a good answere, and sent vs to the Iewes house, where we lay seuen dayes. In the meane while that we lay here, there were brought thither twenty Spaniards and twenty Frenchmen, which Spaniards were taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foule weather cast on land within the Straights about Cape de Gate, and so made captiues. Thus at the seuen dayes end we twelue Englishmen, the twelue French, and the twenty Spaniards were all conducted toward Marocco with nine hundred souldiers horsemen and fotmen, and in two dayes iourney we came to the riuer of Fez, where we lodged all night, being prouided of tents. The next day we went to a towne called Salle, and lay without the towne in tents. From thence we trauelled almost an hundred miles without finding any towne, but euery night we came to fresh water, which was partly running water and sometime raine water. So we came at last within three miles of the city of Marocco, where we pitched our tents: and there we mette with a carrier which did trauel in the countrey for the English marchants: and by him we sent word vnto them of our estate; and they returned the next day vnto vs a Moore, which brought vs victuals, being at that instant very feeble and hungry; and withall sent vs a letter with pen, inke, and paper, willing vs to write vnto them what ship it was that was cast away, and how many and what men there were aliue. For said they we would knowe with speed, for to morow is the kings court: and therefore we would know, for that you should come into the citie like captiues. But for all that we were carried in as captiues and with ropes about our neckes as well English as the French and Spaniards. And so we were carried before the king: and when we came before him he did commit vs all to ward, where wee lay 15 dayes in close prison: and in the end we were cleared by the English Marchants to their great charges: for our deliuerance cost them 700 ounces, euery ounce in that country contayning two shillings. And when we came out of prison we went to the Alfandica, where we continued eight weekes with the English marchants. At the end of which time being well apparelled by the bountie of our marchants we were conueyed downe by the space of eight dayes iourney to S. Cruz, where the English ships road: where we tooke shipping about the 20 of March, two in the Anne Francis of London, and fiue more of vs fiue dayes after in the Expedition of London, and two more in a Flemish flie-boat, and one in the Mary Edward also of London, other two of our number died in the countrey of the bloodie fluxe: the one at our first imprisonment at Marocco, whose name was George Hancock, and the other at S. Cruz, whose name was Robert Swancon, whose death was hastened by eating of rootes and other vnnaturall things to slake their raging hunger in our trauaile, and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without tents. Thus of fiftie persons through the rashnesse of an vnskilfull Master ten onely suruiued of vs, and after a thousand miseries returned home poore, sicke, and feeble into our countrey.

Richard Iohnson.
William Williams Carpenter.
Iohn Durham.
Abraham Rouse.
Iohn Matthewes.
Thomas Henmore.
Iohn Siluester.
Thomas Whiting.
William Church.
Iohn Fox.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie sent by one **Laurence Aldersey** vnto the Emperour of Aethiopia, 1597.

Inuictissimo potentissimóq; Abassenorum regi, magnóq; vtriusq; Aethiopiæ imperatori &c.

ELizabetha Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor &c. summo ac potentissimo Æthiopiæ imperatori salutem. Quod ab omnibus qui vbiuis terrarum ac gentium sunt regibus principibúsq; præstari par & æquum est, vt quanquàm maximo locorum interuallo dissiti, & moribus ac legibus discrepantes, communem tamen generis humani societatem tueri & conseruare, mutuáq; vt occasio ferret, charitatis & beneuolentiæ officia velint exercere: in eo nos de vestra fide atque humanitate spem certissimam concipientes huic subito nostro Laurentio Alderseio in regnum vestrum proficiscenti, hasce literas nostras, quibus & nostra erga vos beneuolentia testata sit, & illum hinc profectū esse constet, potissimùm vobis indicandas dedimus. Qui cùm orbis terrarum perscrutandi cognoscendíq; studio permotus, multis antehàc regionibus peragratis, iam tandem in eas regiones, quæ vestræ ditionis sunt, longum, periculosúmq; iter instituat: cùm ipse existimauit, tum nos etiam sumus in eadem opinione, ad incolumitatem suam, atque etiam ad gratiam apud vos, plurimum illi profuturum, si diplomate nostro munitus, beneuolentiæ nostræ & profectionis hinc suæ testimonium ad vos deferret. Nam cum summus ille mundi conditor rectórq; præpotens Deus, regibus principibúsq; qui suam vicem gerunt, orbem terrarum, suis cuique finibus pro rata portione designatis, regendum atque administrandum dederit; eóq; munere ius quoddam inter eos fraternæ necessitudinis, æternúmq; fœdus ab illis colendum sanxerit: non erit (vt arbitramur) ingratum vobis, cùm beneuolentiæ nostræ significationem, tàm immensa maris ac terrarum spatia transgressam, ab vltima Britannia ad vos in Aethiopiam perferri intellexeritis. Nobísq; rursùs erit iucundum, cùm subditorum nostrorum prædicatione, ab ipsis Nili fontibus, & ab ijs regionibus quæ solis cursum definiunt, fama vestri nominis ad nos recurret. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ huic subdito nostro eam largiri gratiam, vt in ditionem vestram sub præsidio ac tutela vestri nominis intrare, ibique saluus & incolumis manere possit: quod ipsum etiam ab aliis principibus, per quorum regiones illi transeundum erit, magnoperè petimus, nobísq; ipsis illud honoris causa tributum existimabimus: néq; tamèn maiorem hac in re gratiam postulamus, quàm vicissìm omnium principum subditis, omniúmq; gentium hominibus ad nos commeantibus liberrimè concedimus. Datum Londini quinto die Nouembris: anno regni nostri tricesimo nono: annóq; Dom. 1597.

The same in English.

To the most inuincible and puissant king of the Abassens, the mightie Emperour of Aethiopia the higher and the lower.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the most high and mightie Emperour of Aethiopia greeting. Whereas it is a matter requisite and well beseeming all kings and princes of what lands or nations soeuer, be they neuer so much disseuered in place or differing in customes and lawes, to maintaine and preserue the common societie of mankinde, and, as occasion shall be offered, to performe mutuall duties of charitie and beneuolence: we for that cause conceiuing most vndoubted hope of your princely fidelity and courtesie, haue giuen vnto this our subiect Laurence Aldersey intending to trauell into your dominions, these our letters to be deliuered without faile vnto your Highnesse, to the end they may be a testimony of our good will towards you and of our saide subiect his departure from England. Who, after his trauels in many forren countreys, being as yet enflamed with a desire more throughly to surueigh and contemplate the world, and now at length to vndertake a long and daungerous iourney into your territories and regions: both the sayd Laurence thought, and our selues also deemed, that it would very much auaile him, as well for his owne safetie as for the attayning of your fauour, if, being protected with our broad seale, hee might transport vnto your Highnesse a testimony of our louing affection & of his departure from hence. For sithence almightie God the highest creatour and gouernour of the world hath allotted vnto kings and princes his vicegerents ouer the face of the whole earth, their designed portions and limits to be ruled and administred by them; and by this his gift hath established among them a certaine law of brotherly kindnesse, and an eternall league by them to be obserued: it will not (we hope) seeme vnpleasant vnto your highnesse, when you shall haue intelligence of our louing letters sent so huge a distance ouer sea and land, euen from the farthest realme of England vnto you in Aethiopia. On the other side our selues shall take great solace and delight, when as by the relation of our owne subiects, the renowme of your name shall be brought vnto vs from the fountains of Nilus, and from those regions which are situate vnder the Southerne Tropike. May it please you therefore of your princely clemencie to vouchsafe so much fauour on this our subiect, that he may, vnder the safeguard and protection of your name, enter into your highnesse dominions, and there remaine safe and free from danger. Which fauour and courtesie wee doe likewise most earnestly request at the hands of other princes, through whose Seigniories our said subiect is to passe; and we shall esteeme it as done vnto our selfe and for our honours sake.

Neither do we require any greater fauour in this behalfe, then we are vpon the like occasion most ready to graunt vnto the subiects of all princes and the people of all Nations, traueiling into our dominions. Giuen at London the fift day of Nouember, in the thirtie and ninth yeere of our reigne: and in the yeare of our Lord 1597.

THE THIRD AND LAST VOLUME

OF THE PRINCIPALL

NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOUERIES,

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

MADE TO THE NORTHWEST, WEST, AND SOUTHWEST PARTS OF THE WORLD,

WITH THE

LETTERS, PRIUILEGES, DISCOURSES, OBSERUATIONS, AND OTHER NECESSARY THINGS CONCERNING

THE SAME.

The most ancient Discouery of the West Indies by Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth Prince of North-wales, in the yeere 1170: taken out of the history of Wales, lately published by M. Dauid Powel Doctor of Diuinity.

AFter the death of Owen Guyneth, his sonnes fell at debate who should inherit after him: for the eldest sonne borne in matrimony, Edward or Iorweth Drwydion, was counted vnmeet to gouerne, because of the maime upon his face: and Howell that tooke vpon him all the rule was a base sonne, begotten vpon an Irish woman. Therefore Dauid gathered all the power he could, and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him; and afterwards inioyed quietly the whole land of Northwales, vntil his brother Iorwerths sonne came to age. Madoc another of Owen Guyneth his sonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, & prepared certaine ships, with men and munition, and sought aduentures by Seas, sailing West, and leauing the coast of Ireland so farre North, that he came vnto a land vnknowen, where he saw many strange things.

Madoc the son of Owen Guyneth.

This land must needs be some part of that Countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themselues to be the first finders since Hannos time. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Britaines discouered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

Hum. Lloyd.

Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people doe vse in distance of place and length of time rather to augment then to diminish: but sure it is there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countreys that he had seene without inhabitants, and vpon the contrary part, for what barren & wild ground his brethren and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietnesse: and taking leaue of his friends, tooke his iourney thitherward againe. Therefore it is to be supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by

The second voyage of Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth.

Francis

Gomara. lib. 2. cap. 16.

Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the crosse. Wherby it may be gathered that Christians had bene there before the comming of the Spanyards. But because this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land which they came vnto, & vsed the language they foūd there.

M. Powels addition.

Gutyn Owen.

This Madoc arriuing in that Westerne countrey, vnto the which he came in the yere 1170, left most of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance & friends to inhabit that faire & large countrey, went thither againe with ten sailes, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the West Indies.

Carmina Meredith filij Rhesi mentionem facientia de Madoco filio Oweni Guynedd, & de sua nauigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini 1477.

These verses I receiued of my learned friend M. William Camden.

MAdoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,	The same in English.	Madoc I am the sonne of Owen Gwynedd
Iawn genau, Owyn Guynedd:		With stature large, and comely grace adorned:
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd		No lands at home nor store of wealth me please,
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.		My minde was whole to search the Ocean seas.

The offer of the discouery of the West Indies by Christopher Columbus to king Henry the seuenth in the yeere 1488 the 13 of February: with the kings acceptation of the offer, & the cause whereupon hee was depriued of the same: recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the history of Don Fernand Columbus of the life and deeds of his father Christopher Columbus.

CHristophoro Colon temendo, se parimente i Re di Castiglia non assentissero alla sua impresa, non gli bisognasse proporla di nuouo à qualche altro principe, & cosi in cio passasse lungo tempo; mando in Inghilterra vn suo fratello, che haueua appresso di se, chiamato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual, quantunque non hauesse lettere Latine, erà però huomo prattico, & giudicioso nelle cose del mare, & sapea molto bene far carte da nauigare, & sphere, & altri instrumenti di quella professione, come dal suo fratello era instrutto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la sua sorte, che desse in man di corsali, i quali lo spogliarono insieme con gli altri della sua naue. Per la qual cosa, & per la sua pouertà & infirmità, che in cosi diuerse terre lo assalirono crudelmente, prolungo per gran tempo la sua ambasciata, fin che, aquistata vn poco di faculta con le carte, ch' ei fabricaua, cominció a far pratiche co' il Re Enrico settimo padre de Enrico ottauo, che al presente regna: a cui appresentò vn mappamondo, nel quale erano scritti questi versi, che fra le sue scriture Io trouai, & da me saranno qui posti piu tosto per l'antichità, che per la loro eleganza.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius, atque
Isidorus: non vno tamen sententia cuique.
Pingitur hìc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

Et piu di sotto diceua.

Pro Authore siue Pictore.

Ianua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit istud,
Londonijs anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno
Octauo, decimáque die cùm tertia mensis
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.

Et, percioche auuertirà alcuno, che dice Columbus de Terra Rubra, dico, che medesimamente lo viddi alcune sotto scritioni dell' Ammiraglio, primo che acquistasse lo stato, ou' egli si sotto scriueua, Columbus de Terra Rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d'Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappamondo veduto, & cio che l'Ammiraglio gli offeriua, con allegro volto accettò la sua offerta, & mandolo a chiamare. Ma, percioche Dio l'haueua per Castiglia serbata, gia l'Ammiraglio in quel tempo era andato, & tornato con la vittoria della sua impresa, secondo che per ordine si racconterà. Lasciarò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negociato in Inghilterra, & tornarò all'Ammiraglio, &c.

The same in English.

CHristopher Columbus fearing least if the king of Castile in like maner (as the king of Portugall had done) should not condescend vnto his enterprise, he should be inforced to offer the same againe to some other prince, & so much time should be spent therein, sent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whose name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neuerthelesse was a man of experience and skilfull in Sea causes, and could very wel make sea cards & globes, and other instruments belonging to that profession, as he was instructed by his brother. Wherefore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which spoiled him with the rest of them which were in the ship which he went in. Vpon which occasion, and by reason of his pouerty and sicknesse which cruelly assaulted him in a countrey so farre distant from his friends, he deferred his embassage for a long while, vntill such time as he had gotten somewhat handsome about him with making of Sea cards. At length he began to deale with king Henry the seuenth the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this present: vnto whom he presented a mappe of the world, wherein these verses were written, which I found among his papers: and I will here set them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodnesse.

The occasion why the West Indies were not discouered for England.

Thou which desireth easily the coasts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the same to thee will shew:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Isodore maintaine:
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.
Here also is set downe the late discouered burning Zone
By Portingals, vnto the world which whilom was vnknowen,
Whereof the knowledge now at length thorow all the world is blowen.

And a little vnder he added:

For the Author or the Drawer.

He, whose deare natiue soile hight stately Genua.
Euen he whose name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra,
The yeere of Grace a thousand and foure hundred and fourescore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
In London published this worke. To Christ all laud therefore.

And because some peraduenture may obserue that he calleth himselfe Columbus de Terra Rubra, I say, that in like maner I haue seene some subscriptions of my father Christopher Columbus, King Henry the seuenth his acceptation of Columbus offer.

Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherein he signed his name thus, Columbus de Terra Rubra. But to returne to the king of England, I say, that after he had seene the map, and that which my father Christopher Columbus offered vnto him, he accepted the offer with ioyfull countenance, and sent to call him into England. But because God had reserued the sayd offer for Castile, Columbus was gone in the meane space, and also returned with the performance of his enterprise, as hereafter in order shall be rehearsed. Now will I leaue off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne vnto the Admirall, &c.

Another testimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foresayd history of Ferdinando Columbus, concerning the offer that Bartholomew Columbus made to king Henry the seuenth on the behalfe of his brother Christopher.

TOrnato adunque l'Ammiraglio dallo scoprimento di Cuba & di Giamaica, tronò nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon suo fratello, quello, che era già andato a trattare accordo col Re d'Inghilterra sopra lo scoprimento delle Indie, come di sopra habiam detto. Questo poi, ritornando sene verso Castiglia con capitoli conceduti, haueua inteso a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia, l'Ammiraglio suo fratello hauer gia scoperte l'Indie: per che gli souenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento scudi. Et, Auenga che per cotal nuoua egli si fosse molto affrettato, per arriuar l'Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dimeno giunse a Siuiglia, egli era gia tornato alle Indie co' 17 nauigli. Perche, per asseguir quanto ei gli haueua lasciato, di subito al principio dell' anno del 1494 sen' andò a i Re Catholici, menando seco Don Diego Colon, mio fratello, & me ancora, accioche seruissimo di paggi al serenissimo principe Don Giouanni, il qual viua in gloria, si come hauea commandato la Catholica Reina donna Isabella, che alhora era in Vagliadolid. Tosto adunque che noi giungemmo, i Re chiamarono Don Bartolomeo, & mandaronlo alla Spagnuola contre naui, &c.

The same in English.

CHristopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the discouery of Cuba and Iamayca, found in Hispaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene sent to intreat of an agreement with the king of England for the discouery of the Indies, as we haue sayd before. This Bartholomew therefore returning vnto Castile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, vnderstood at Paris by Charles the king of France that the Admirall his brother had already performed that discouery: whereupon the French king gaue vnto the sayd Bartholomew an hundred French crownes to beare his charges into Spaine. And albeit he made great haste vpon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Siuil his brother was already returned to the Indies with seuenteene saile of shipps. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repaired to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me also, which were to be preferred as Pages to the most excellent Prince Don Iohn, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholic Queene Lady Isabell, which was then in Validolid. Assoone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and sent him to Hispaniola with three ships, &c.

THE ENGLISH VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS,

AND DISCOUERIES

(INTENDED FOR THE FINDING OF A NORTHWEST PASSAGE) TO THE NORTH PARTS OF AMERICA, TO META INCOGNITA, AND THE BACKESIDE OF GRONLAND, AS FARRE AS 72 DEGREES AND 12 MINUTS: PERFORMED FIRST BY SEBASTIAN CABOTA, AND SINCE BY SIR MARTIN FROBISHER, AND M. IOHN DAUIS, WITH THE PATENTS, DISCOURSES, AND ADUERTISEMENTS THERETO BELONGING.

The Letters patents of King Henry the seuenth granted vnto Iohn Cabot and his three sonnes, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius for the discouerie of new and vnknowen lands.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus, ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ peruenerint, salutem.

Notum sit & manifestum, quòd dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentes damus & concedimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, dilectis nobis Ioanni Caboto ciui Venetiarum, Lodouico, Sebastiano, & Sancio, filijs dicti Ioannis, & eorum ac cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, plenam ac liberam authoritatem, facultatem & potestatem nauigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, & sinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, & septentrionalis, sub banneris, vexillis, & insignijs nostris, cum quinque nauibus siue nauigijs, cuiuscúnque portituræ & qualitatis existant, & cum tot & tantis nautis & hominibus, quot & quantos in dictis nauibus secum ducere voluerint, suis & eorum proprijs sumptibus & expensis, ad inueniendum, discooperiendum, & inuestigandum quascunque insulas, patrias, regiones siue prouincias gentilium & infidelium quorumcúnque, in quacunque parte mundi positas, quæ Christianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerint incognitæ. Concessimus etiam eisdem & eorum cuilibet, eorúmque & cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prædictas banneras nostras & insignia in quacunque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma à se nouiter inuentis. Et quòd prænominatus Ioannes, & filij eiusdem, seu hæredes & eorum deputati, quascunque huiusmodi villas, castra, oppida, & insulas à se inuentas, quæ subiugari, occupari, possideri possint, subiugare, occupare, possidere valeant tanquam vasalli nostri, & gubernatores, locatenentes, & deputati eorundem, dominium, titulum & iurisdictionem earundem villarum, castrorum, oppidorum, insularum, ac terræ firmæ sic inuentorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, vt ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, & obuentionibus ex huiusmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, præfatus Iohannes, & filij ac hæredes, & eorum deputati, teneantur & sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur & sint astricti) deductis omnibus sumptibus & impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, siue in mercibus, siue in pecunijs persoluere: Dantes nos & concedentes eisdem suisque hæredibus & deputatis, vt ab omni solutione custumarum omnium & singulorum bonorum & mercium, quas secum reportarint ab illis locis sic nouiter inuentis, liberi sint & immunes. Et insuper dedimus & concessimus eisdem ac suis hæredibus & deputatis, quòd terræ omnes firmæ, insulæ, villæ, oppida, castra, & loca quæcunque a se inuenta, quotquot ab eis inueniri contigerit, non possint ab alijs quibusuis nostris subditis frequentari seu visitari, absque licentia prædictorum Ioannis & eius filiorum, suorúmque deputatorum, sub pœna amissionis tam nauium quàm bonorum omnium quorumcúnque ad ea loca sic inuenta nauigare præsumentium. Volentes & strictissimè mandantes omnibus & singulis nostris subditis, tam in terra quàm in mari constitutis, vt præfato Ioanni, & eius filijs ac deputatis, bonam assistentiam faciant, & tam in armandis nauibus seu nauigijs, quàm in prouisione commeatus & victualium pro sua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum

Ann. Dom. 1495.

rerum sibi prouidendarum pro dicta nauigatione sumenda suos omnes fauores & auxilia impertiant. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium quinto die Martij anno regni nostri vndecimo.

The same in English.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Bristol thought ye meetest port for Westerne discoueries.

Freedome frõ custome.

Be it knowen that we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents do giue and grant for vs and our heires, to our welbeloued Iohn Cabot citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian, and Santius, sonnes of the sayd Iohn, and to the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, full and free authority, leaue, and power to saile to all parts, countreys, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, vnder our banners and ensignes, with fiue ships of what burthen or quantity soeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the sayd ships, vpon their owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discouer, and finde whatsoeuer isles, countreys, regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoeuer they be, and in what part of the world soeuer they be, which before this time haue bene vnknowen to all Christians: we haue granted to them, and also to euery of them, the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, and haue giuen them licence to set vp our banners and ensignes in euery village, towne, castle, isle, or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes, or their heires and assignes may subdue, occupy and possesse all such townes, cities, castles and isles of them found, which they can subdue, occupy and possesse, as our vassals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iurisdiction of the same villages, townes, castles, & firme land so found. Yet so that the aforesayd Iohn, and his sonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of such nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they shall arriue at our port of Bristoll (at the which port they shall be bound and holden onely to arriue) all maner of necessary costs and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten. We giuing and granting vnto them and to their heires and deputies, that they shall be free from all paying of customes of all and singular such merchandize as they shall bring with them from those places so newly found. And moreouer, we haue giuen and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, isles, villages, townes, castles and places whatsoeuer they be that they shall chance to finde, may not of any other of our subiects be frequented or visited without the licence of the foresayd Iohn and his sonnes, and their deputies, vnder paine of forfeiture aswell of their shippes as of all and singuler goods of all them that shall presume to saile to those places so found. Willing, and most straightly commanding all and singuler our subiects aswell on land as on sea, to giue good assistance to the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships or vessels, as in prouision of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be prouided necessary for the sayd nauigation, they do giue them all their helpe and fauour. In witnesse whereof we haue caused to be made these our Letters patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.

Billa signata anno 13 Henrici septimi.

A record of the rolls touching the voyage of Iohn Cabot and Sebastian his sonne.

REx tertio die Februarij, anno 13, licentiam dedit Ioanni Caboto, quod ipse capere possit sex naues Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, siue portibus regni Angliæ, ita quod sint de portagio 200. doliorum, vel subtùs, cum apparatu requisito, & quod recipere possint in dictas naues omnes tales magistros, marinarios, & subditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

The same in English.

THe king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to Iohn Cabot to take sixe English ships in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the said ships all such masters, mariners, and subiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discouery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in her Maiesties priuie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses.

ANno Domini 1497 Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, & Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus priùs adire ausus fuit, die 24 Iunij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellauit Terram primùm visam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos iniecerat. Nam quæ ex aduerso sita est insula, eam appellauit insulam Diui Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer Diuo Ioanni Baptistæ: Huius incolæ pelles animalium, exuuiásque ferarum pro indumentis habent, easque tanti faciunt, quanti nos vestes preciosissimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clauis ligneis & fundis. Tellus sterilis est, neque vllos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt vrsis albo colore, & ceruis inusitatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta sit: piscibus abundat, ijsque sane magnis, quales sunt lupi marini, & quos salmones vulgus appellat; soleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, vt vlnæ mensuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna est copia eorum piscium, quos vulgari sermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea insula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum similitudinem mirum in modum exprimant, perdices autem & aquilæ sunt nigri coloris.

The same in English.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1497 Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristoll) discouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune, about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. Iohn vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island vse to weare beasts skinnes, and haue them in as great estimation as we haue our finest garments. In their warres they vse bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, woodden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, & yeeldeth litle fruit, but it is full of white beares, and stagges farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also aboue a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Sauages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hauks, but they are so blacke that they are very like to rauens, as also their partridges, and egles, which are in like sort blacke.

A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discouery of part of the West India out of England in the time of king Henry the seuenth, vsed to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort.

DOe you not vnderstand sayd he (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the Northwest, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to nauigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in Spaine, insomuch that for his vertues he is preferred aboue all other pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we sayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Siuil, and desirous to haue some knowledge of the nauigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an expert man in that science, and one that coulde make

This discourse is taken out of the second volume of yᵉ voyages of Baptista Ramusius.

Sebastian Cabot Pilot mayor of Spaine.

Cardes for the Sea, with his owne hand, and by this report, seeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle person, who intertained him friendly, and shewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particuler Nauigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he spake further vnto him to this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuerthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genuese had discouered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7. who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more diuine then humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the King to be aduertised of my deuise, who immediatly commanded two Caruels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, & from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sayling along by the coast to see if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande still continent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to finde the saide passage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is nowe called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage.

The second voyage of Cabot to the land of Brazil, and Rio de Plata.

Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertised what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furnished certaine ships, wherewith they caused me to saile to discouer the coastes of Brazile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this present Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of siluer, into the which I sailed and followed it into the firme land, more then sixe score leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ships. Into this Riuer runne so many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible.

The office of Pilote maior.

After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I giue myselfe to rest from such trauels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.

* The foresaide Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the thirde volume of the Nauigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Vararzana, Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iaques Cartier a Briton, who sailed vnto the land situate in 50. degrees of latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not throughly knowen, whether they doe ioyne with the firme lande of Florida and Noua Hispania, or whether they bee separated and diuided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea vnto the country of Cathaia. As many yeeres past it was written vnto mee by Sebastian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this lande of New France, at the charges of King Henry the seuenth king of England: and he aduertised mee, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North, beyond those Ilands vnto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe,

The great probabilitie of this Northwest passage.

vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of Iune finding still the open Sea without any maner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would haue done it, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserue this great enterprise for some great prince to discouer this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easy and shortest of all other wayes hitherto found out. And surely this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which dayly are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people.

Another testimonie of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest, taken out of the sixt Chapter of the third Decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria.

SCrutatus est oras glaciales Sebastianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, sed à parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus (vti moris est Venetorum, qui commercij causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites) transportatus penè infans. Duo is sibi nauigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, & primò tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Iulio mense vastas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes, & lucem ferè perpetuam, tellure tamen libera, gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, vti ait, vela vertere & occidentem sequi: tetendítque tantum ad meridiem littore sese incuruante, vt Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus æquarit: ad occidentémque profectus tantum est vt Cubam Insulam à læua, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrens, quæ Baccalaos appelauit, eosdem se reperisse aquarum, sed lenes delapsus ad Occidentem ait, quos Castellani, meridionales suas regiones adnauigantes, inueniunt. Ergò non modò verisimilius, sed necessario concludendum est, vastos inter vtrámque ignotam hactenus tellurem iacere hiatus, qui viam præbeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulsu cœlorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terræ globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomi, absorberíque vt nonnulli senserunt, quod influxu, & refluxu forsan assentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipse terras illas appellauit, eò quod in earū pelago tantam repererit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos æmulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, vt etiam illi interdum nauigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines pellibus tantum coopertos reperiebat, rationis haudquaquam expertes. Vrsorum inesse regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui & ipsi piscibus vescantur. Inter densa namque piscium illorum agmina sese immergunt vrsi, & singulos singuli complexos, vnguibúsque inter squammas immissis in terram raptant & comedunt. Propterea minimè noxios hominibus visos esse ait. Orichalcum in plerisque locis se vidisse apud incolas prædicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cabotum ipsum, & contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à Rege nostro Catholico, post Henrici Maioris Britanniæ Regis mortem, concurialis noster est, expectátque indies, vt nauigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturæ latens iam tandem detegatur.

The same in English.

THese North Seas haue bene searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents carried with them into England, hauing occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandise, as is the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnsearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furnished two ships in England at his owne charges, and first with 300 men directed his course so farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Iuly he found monstrous heapes of ice swimming on the sea, and in maner continuall day light, yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus seeing such heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his sailes and follow the West, so coasting still by the shore, that hee was thereby brought so farre into the South, by reason of the land bending so much South-

wards,

A current toward the West.

The people of Island say the Sea and yce setteth also West, Ionas Arngrimus.

Copper found in many places by Cabote.

wards, that it was there almost equal in latitude, with the sea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the Northpole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sailed likewise in this tract so farre towards the West, that hee had the Island of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the same degree of longitude. As hee traueiled by the coastes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he saith that hee found the like course of the waters toward the West, but the same to runne more softly and gently then the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southwards. Wherefore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought also of necessitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknowen, there should be certaine great open places whereby the waters should thus continually passe from the East vnto the West: which waters I suppose to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the vncessant mouing and impulsion of the heauens, and not to bee swallowed vp and cast vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some haue imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to ebbe and flowe. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those lands Baccalaos, because that in the Seas thereabout hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos) that they sometimes stayed his shippes. He found also the people of those regions couered with beastes skinnes, yet not without the vse of reason. He also saieth there is great plentie of Beares in those regions which vse to eate fish: for plunging themselues into ẏ water, where they perceiue a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so draw them to land and eate them, so (as he saith) the Beares being thus satisfied with fish, are not noisome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of these Regions he saw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vse familiarly, and delight to haue him sometimes keepe mee company in mine owne house. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Castile, after the death of King Henry the seuenth of that name King of England, he was made one of our council and Assistants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ships dayly to be furnished for him to discouer this hid secret of Nature.

The testimonie of Francis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard, in the fourth Chapter of the second Booke of his generall history of the West Indies concerning the first discouerie of a great part of the West Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by Sebastian Cabota out of England.

HE which brought most certaine newes of the countrey & people of Baccalaos, saith Gomara, was Sebastian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged vp two ships at the cost of K. Henry the 7. of England, hauing great desire to traffique for the spices as the Portingals did. He carried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Island from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill he found himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of Iuly it was so cold, and the ice so great, that hee durst not passe any further: that the dayes were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that short night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the West, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he sayled along the coast vnto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

A note of Sebastian Cabots first discouerie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of M. Iohn Stow a diligent preseruer of Antiquities.

Cabots voyage from Bristol wherein he discouered Newfound land & the Northerne parts of that land, and from thence as farre almost as Florida.

IN the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Ilands of the same, as by a Sea card and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the King caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said hee knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which shippe thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, diuers Marchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also out of

Bristow three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse marchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points & other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Of three Sauages which Cabot brought home and presented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his reigne, mentioned by the foresaid Robert Fabian.

THis yeere also were brought vnto the king three men taken in the Newfound Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beasts skins, & did eate raw flesh, and spake such speach that no man could vnderstand them, and in their demeanour like to bruite beastes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I saw two apparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discerne from Englishmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for speach, I heard none of them vtter one word.

A briefe extract concerning the discouerie of Newfound-land, taken out of the booke of M. Robert Thorne, to Doctor Leigh, &c.

I Reason, that as some sickenesses are hereditarie, so this inclination or desire of this discouery I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot, were the discouerers of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the West Indies, from whence all the golde cometh, had bene ours; for all is one coast as by the Card appeareth, and is aforesaid.

The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to Sebastian Cabota, constituting him grand Pilot of England.

EDwardus sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ rex, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsentes hæ literæ nostræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos in consideratione boni & acceptabilis seruitij, nobis per dilectum seruientem nostrum Sebastianum Cabotam impensi atque impendendi, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostro, nec non de aduisamento, & consensu præclarissimi auunculi nostri Edwardi Ducis Somerseti personæ nostræ Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, subditorúmque nostrorum protectoris, & cæterorum consiliariorũ, nostrorum, dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentes damus, & concedimus eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, quandam annuitatem siue annualem reditum, centum sexaginta & sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorum sterlingorum, habendam, gaudendam, & annuatìm percipiendam prædictam annuitatem, siue annalem reditum eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, durante vita sua naturali, de thesauro nostro ad receptum scacarij nostri Westmonasterij per manus thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum, ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad festa annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, natiuitatis sancti Ioannis Baptistæ, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Natalis Domini per æquales portiones soluendam. Et vlteriùs de vberiori gratia nostra, ac de aduisamento, & consensu prædictis damus, & per præsentes concedimus præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ, tot & tantas Denariorum summas, ad quot & quantas dicta annuitas siue annalis reditus centum sexaginta sex librarũ, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorũ, à festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli vltimò præterito huc vsq; se extendit, & attingit, habendas & recipiendas præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ & assignatis suis de thesauro nostro prædicto per manus prædictorum Thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum de dono nostro absque computo, seu aliquo alio nobis, hæredibus, vel successoribus nostris proinde reddendo, soluendo, vel faciendo: eo quòd expressa mentio, &c. In cuius rei testimonium, &c. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium 6. die Ianuarij, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi sexti. Anno D. 1549.

The same in English.

EDward the sixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Know yee that we, in consideration of the good and acceptable seruice done, and to be done, vnto vs by our beloued seruant Sebastian Cabota, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the aduice and counsel of our most honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerset gouernour of our person, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and subiects, and of the rest of our Counsaile, haue giuen & granted, and by these presents do giue and graunt to the said Sebastian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yerely reuenue of one hundreth, threescore & sixe pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence sterling, to haue, enioy, and yerely receiue the foresaid annuitie, or yerely reuenue, to the foresaid Sebastian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treasurie at the receit of our Exchequer at Westminster, at the hands of our Treasurers & paymasters, there remayning for the time being, at the feasts of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, S. Michael ẏ Archangel, & the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions.

And further, of our more speciall grace, and by the aduise and consent aforesaide wee doe giue, and by these presents doe graunt vnto the aforesaide Sebastian Cabota, so many, and so great summes of money as the saide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundreth, threescore and sixe pounds, thirteene shillings 4. pence, doeth amount and rise vnto from the feast of S. Michael the Archangel last past vnto this present time, to be had and receiued by the aforesaid Sebastian Cabota, and his assignes out of our aforesaid Treasurie, at the handes of our aforesaide Treasurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing else therefore to be yeelded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or successours, forasmuch as herein expresse mention is made to the contrary.

In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witnesse the King at Westminster the sixt day of Ianuarie, in the second yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

A discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight, to proue a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies.

¶ The Table of the matters in euery Chapter of this discourse.

Capitulo 1.

TO proue by authoritie a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India.

Capitulo 2.

To proue by reason a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, Moluccæ, &c.

Capitulo 3.

To proue by experience of sundry mens trauailes the opening of this Northwest passage, whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Capitulo 4.

To proue by circumstance, that the Northwest passage hath bene sailed throughout.

Capitulo 5.

To proue that such Indians as haue bene driuen vpon the coastes of Germanie came not thither by the Southeast, and Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America.

Capitulo 6.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow passage nauigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

To proue that these Indians came by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of this passage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What seueral reasons were alleaged before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of her Highnesse priuie Council, by M. Anth. Ienkinson a Gentleman of great trauaile and experience, to proue this passage by the Northeast, with my seuerall answeres then alleaged to the same.

Capitulo 9.

How that this passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeast, if there were any such.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discouered.

To proue by authoritie a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cathaia, and the East India.

Chapter 1.

WHen I gaue my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia & Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to bee an Iland enuironed round about with Sea, hauing on the Southside of it the frete or straight of Magellan, on the West side Mar del Sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East parts of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North side the sea that seuereth it from Groneland, thorow which Northern Seas the Passage lyeth, which I take now in hand to discouer.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Iland then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straights of Gibraltar, nauigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis did as well enioy the gouernance of all Affrike, and the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to proue Platos opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinæus Siculus in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there haue bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money ingraued with the Image of Augustus Cæsar: which pieces were sent to the Pope for a testimonie of the matter, by Iohn Rufus Archbishop of Consentinum.

Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philosopher, Crantor the Græcian, and Proclus, and Philo the famous Iew (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato,) to be ouerflowen and swallowed vp with water, by reason of a mightie earthquake, and streaming downe of the heauenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened vnto some part of Italy, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut off Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iustine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chanced the like in Zeland a part of Flanders.

Proclus pag. 24

Iustine Lib. 4.

And also the Cities of Pyrrha and Antissa, about Meotis palus: and also the Citie Burys, in the Corynthian bosome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene swallowed vp with the Sea, and are not at this day to be discerned: By which accident America grew to be vnknowen of long time, vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately discouered againe, by Americus Vespucius, in the yeere of our Lord 1497. which some say to haue bene first discouered by Christophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno 1492.

Plinie.

The same calamitie happened vnto this Isle of Atlantis 600. and odde yeres before Plato his time, which some of the people of the Southeast parts of the world accompted as 9000. yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is our vsual moneth, depending à Luminari minori.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Islande be found or iudged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then those Westerne Islands, which beare now the name of America: counteruailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.

Then, if when no part of the sayd Atlantis, was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coast round about the same were nauigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was (since that time) swallowed vp with water, which could not vtterly take away the olde deeps and chanels, but rather be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many new: why then should we now doubt of our Northwest passage and nauigation from England to India? &c. seeing that

A minore ad maius.

Atlantis now called America, was euer knowen to be an Island, and in those dayes nauigable round about, which by accesse of more water could not be diminished.

Also Aristotle in his booke De Mundo, and the learned Germaine Simon Gryneus in his annotations vpon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby, as manifestly doth appeare, Asia, Africk and Europe, being all the countreys then knowen) is but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the sea Atlantine: which likewise prooueth America to be an Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia, or the rest.

Strabo lib. 15.

Also many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean sea, (which lieth East of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that sea also on the West coasts of Spaine and Africk, Mare Atlanticum: the distance betweene the two coasts is almost halfe the compasse of the earth.

Valerius Anselmus in Catalogo annorum & principum. fol. 6. Gen. 9. 10.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the sea adioining to Africk, had the name Oceanus Atlanticus of the same mountaine: but that those seas and the mountaine Atlas were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memorial of the mighty prince Atlas, sometime king thereof, who was Iaphet yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was diuided between the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest will be found fauourable to this our enterprise, and am the rather imboldened to beleeue the same, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Phylosophers: but also by all the best moderne Geographers, as Gemma Frisius, Munsterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gastaldus, Guyccardinus, Michael Tramasinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauasor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Ortelius, who doth coast out in his generall Mappe set out Anno 1569, all the countreys and Capes, on the Northwest side of America, from Hochalega to Cape de Paramantia: describing likewise the sea coastes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Islands disioyned by a great Sea, from any part of Asia.

All which learned men and paineful trauellers haue affirmed with one consent and voice, that America was an Island: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with small danger passe to Cataia, the Moluccæ, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portugal doeth, or may doe, from the neerest parte, of any of their countreys within Europe.

We ought by reasons right to haue a reuerent opinion of worthy men.

What moued these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende so many and sundry trauellers of both ages haue allowed the same: But I coniecture that they would neuer haue so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to haue lead them therevnto.

A Nauigation of one Ochther made in king Alfreds time.

A perfect description of our Moscouie voyage.

Now least you should make small accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongst fables of no importance: I haue for the better assurance of those proofes, set downe some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue and translated into English by M. Nowel seruant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer of England, wherein there is described a Nauigation which one Ochther made, in the time of king Alfred, king of Westsaxe Anno 871. the words of which discourse were these: Hee sailed right North, hauing alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine sea, continuing his course, vntill hee perceiued that the coast bowed directly towards the East, or else the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to stay vntil he had a westerne winde, or somewhat vpon the North, and sayled thence directly East alongst the coast, so farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill hee had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not howe farre into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauell in the space of fiue dayes, where hee discouered a mighty riuer, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.

Whereby it appeareth that he went the very same way, that we now doe yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Moscouia, which no man in our age knew for certaintie to be by sea, vntil it was since discouered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt; but thought before that time that Groneland had ioyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accompted a new discouery, being nothing so indeede, as by this discourse of Ochther it appeareth.

By Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, Chancellor and Borough.

Neuerthelesse if any man should haue taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely author, he should haue bene thought but simple; considering that this Nauigation was written so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obscure author, and yet we in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleeue this passage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainely set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables & discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denied but left as a matter doubtfull.

To prooue by reason, a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, &c.

Chap. 3.

FIrst, all seas are maintained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the end any Riuer, Bay or Hauen is, the shallower it waxeth, (although by some accidentall barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you sayle West from Island towards the place, where this fret is thought to be, the more deepe are the seas: which giueth vs good hope of continuance of the same Sea with Mar del Sur, by some fret that lyeth betweene America, Groneland and Cataia.

Experimented by our English fishers.

2 Also if that America were not an Island, but a part of ÿ continent adioyning to Asia, either the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, & Quinsay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would before this time haue made some road into it, hoping to haue found some like comodities to their owne.

3 Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which often times heretofore haue sought farre and neere for new seats, driuen therevnto through the necessitie of their cold and miserable countreys) would in all this time haue found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene neuer so straite or difficult; the countrey being so temperate, pleasant and fruitfull, in comparison of their owne. But there was neuer any such people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who first discouered the Inland of that countrey: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen must then of necessitie haue seene some one ciuil man in America, considering how full of ciuill people Asia is: But they neuer saw so much as one token or signe, that euer any man of the knowen part of the world had bene there.

Neede makes the old wife to trotte.

4 Furthermore it is to be thought, that if by reason of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America haue entred Asia, if it were so ioyned: yet some one sauage or wandring beast would in so many yeres haue passed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Asia. Which thing proueth America, not onely to be one Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia: But also that the people of those Countreys, haue not had any traffique with each other.

5 Moreouer at the least some one of those paineful trauellers, which of purpose haue passed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to discouer, would as it is most likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Isthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or els haue declared some cause to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus Venetus, who liued and dwelt a long time in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the sea coastes of Mangia, ouer against it where he was embarked, and perfourmed a great Nauigation along those seas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciscus Vasques de Coronado, who trauelled the North part of America by land, euer found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

The Sea hath three motions.
1 Motum ab oriente in occidentem.
2 Motum fluxus & refluxus.
3 Motum circularem.
Ad cœli motum elementa omnia (excepta terra) mouentur.

7 Also it appeareth to be an Island, insomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly from the East to the West, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carieth with it all inferiour bodies moueable, aswel celestiall as elemental: which motion of the waters is most euidently seene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southside of Afrike where the current that runneth from the East to the West is so strong (by reason of such motiō) that the Portugals in their voyages Eastward to Calicut, in passing by Cap. de buona Sperança are inforced to make diuers courses, the current there being so swift as it striketh from thence all along Westward vpon the fret of Magellan, being distant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth; and not hauing free passage and entrance thorow the fret towards the West, by reason of the narrownesse of the sayd Straite of Magellan, it runneth to salue this wrong, (Nature not yeelding to accidentall restraints) all along the Easterne coastes of America, Northwards so far as Cape Fredo, being the farthest knowne place of the same continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithall the trending of the land.

Posita causa, ponitur effectus.

8 So that this current being continually maintained with such force, as Iaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who met with the same being at Baccalaos, as he sayled along the coastes of America, then either it must of necessitie haue way to passe from Cape Fredo, thorow this fret, Westward towards Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salue his former wrongs, by the authority before named: or els it must needes strike ouer, vpon the coast of Island, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, (which are East from the sayd place about 360 leagues) with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Sperança, vpon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, vpon which coastes Iaques Cartier met with the same, considering the shortnesse of the Cut from the sayd Cape Fredo, to Island, Lappia, &c. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coasts, through the narrow seas, which it doth not, but is disgested about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there thorow this fret.

Conterenus.

The like course of the water in some respect happeneth in the Mediterrane sea, (as affirmeth Conterenus) whereas the current which cometh from Tanais, & Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coasts of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the straitnesse of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coastes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

An obiection answered.
The sea doth euermore performe this circular motion, either in Suprema, or concaua superficie aquæ.

It may (peraduenture) bee thought that this course of the sea doth sometime surcease, and thereby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Iaques Cartier found it: Wherevnto I answere this: that albeit, in euery part of the Coast of America, or elswhere this current is not sensibly perceiued, yet it hath euermore such like motion, either in the vppermost or nethermost part of the sea; as it may be proued true, if ye sinke a sayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, fastening to the nethermost corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driuing whereof you shall plainely perceiue, the course of the water, and current running with such course in the bottome.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the sea, in the Ocean: howe farre soeuer you be off the land.

The yce set westward euery yeere from Island. Auth. Iona Arngrimo.

9 Also there commeth another current from out the Northeast from the Scythian Sea (as M. Ienkinson a man of rare vertue, great trauaile and experience, told me) which runneth Westward towardes Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these currents, must haue way thorow this our fret, or else encounter together and runne contrarie courses, in one line, but no such conflicts of streames, or contrary courses are found about any part of Labrador, or Terra noua, as witnesse our yeerely fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there disgested, as aforesayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

10 Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not haue beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world vnto this day, had there not beene some thorow passage by the fret aforesayd, and so by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it selfe: For the Tides and courses of the sea are maintayned by their

interchangeable motions: as fresh riuers are by springs, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condensation.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reaccesse of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by such circular motion as aforesayd. And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur is prooued by the testimonie and experience, of Bernard de la Torre, who was sent from P. de la Natiuidad to the Moluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hispania, which Bernard sayled 750. Leagues, on the Northside of the Aequator, and there met with a current, which came from the Northeast, the which droue him backe againe to Tidore.

The flowing is occasioned by reason that the beate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction.

An experience to prooue the falling of this current into Mar del Sur.

Wherfore, this current being proued to come from C. de buona Sperança to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straite, is by the necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iaques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike ouer vpon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backeside of America: therefore this current (hauing none other passage) must of necessity, fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and so trending by the Moluccæ, China, and C. de buona Sperança, maintaineth it selfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we haue now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shall be sufficiently remooued. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded vpon experience, assureth vs of this passage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I haue added in this chapter following, some further proofe hereof, by the experience of such as haue passed some part of this discouerie: and in the next adioining to that the authority of those, which haue sailed wholy, thorow euery part thereof.

To proue by experience of sundry mens trauels, the opening of some part of this Northwest passage: wherby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Chap. 3.

PAulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that hee sayled 1500 miles vpon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but also as farre as he could discerne.

2 Also Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passing from Mexico by Ceuola, through the country of Quiuira, to Siera Neuada, found there a great sea, where were certaine ships laden with Merchandise, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrarzi, part whereof were made of golde, and part of siluer, who signified by signes, that they were thirty dayes comming thither: which likewise proueth America by experience to be disioyned from Cataia: on that part by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues thereof: for that, so farre as is discouered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

Alcatrazi be Pellicanes.

3 In like maner, Iohn Baros testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where he himselfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coast trendeth from thence Northeast, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furthest part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the said Cosmographers knew no cause to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

Baros lib. 9. Of his first Decas cap. 1.

By whose experiences America is prooued to be separate from those parts of Asia, directly against the same. And not contented with the iudgements of these learned men only, I haue searched what might be further sayd for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciscus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an Island, and likewise Gronland: and that Gronland is distant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreouer, Aluarus Nunnius a Spaniard, and learned Cosmographer, and Iacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into those parts, and sayled 900 miles vpon the Northeast coastes of America doe in part confirme the same.

6 Likewise Hieronymus Fracastorius, a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North parts of the same land.

7 Also Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard say at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they presupposed to be the passage to Cataia.

Written in the discourses of Nauigation.

Furthermore, Sebastian Cabota by his personal experience and trauel hath set foorth, and described this passage in his Charts, which are yet to be seene in the Queens Maiesties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discouery by king Henrie the seuenth, and entred the same fret: affirming that he sayled very farre Westward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northside of Terra de Labrador the eleuenth of Iune, vntill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe, and finding the Seas still open, sayd, that he might, & would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Master and Mariners had not bene.

Now as these mens experience hath proued some part of this passage: so the chapter following shal put you in full assurance of the rest, by their experiences which haue passed through euery part thereof.

To prooue by circumstance that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled throughout.

Chap. 4.

Quinque sensus.
1 Visus.
2 Auditus.
3 Olfactus.
4 Gustus.
5 Tactus.
Singularia sensu, vniuersalia verò mente percipiuntur.

THe diuersitie betwene bruite beastes and men, or betweene the wise and the simple is, that the one iudgeth by sense onely, and gathereth no surety of any thing that he hath not seene, felt, heard, tasted, or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of things by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added proofes of both sorts, that the one and the other might thereby be satisfied.

1 First, as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

2 Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ) that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempest, vpon the coast of Germanie which were presented by the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconsull of France.

Lib. 2. cap. 66.

3 And Plinie vpon the same sayth, that it is no maruell though there be Sea by the North, where there is such abundance of moisture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a nauigable passage that way, through which those Indians came.

Pag. 590.

4 And for the better proofe that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to proue my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth it selfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coastes of Germany, by great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of marchandize.

Auouched by Franciscus Lopes de Gomara in his historie of India, lib. 1. cap. 10.

5 Also while Frederic Barbarossa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160. there came certaine other Indians vpon the coast of Germanie.

6 Likewise Othon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, vpon the coast of the sayd countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly haue come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

To

To prooue that these Indians aforenamed came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Afrike, or America.

Cap. 5.

FIrst, they could not come from the Southeast by the Cape de bona Sperança, because the roughnes of the Seas there is such (occasioned by the currents and great winds in that part) that the greatest armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could liue in those outragious seas without shipwracke (being a vessel of very small burden) and haue conducted themselues to the place aforesayd, being men vnexpert in the Arte of nauigation.

2 Also, it appeareth plainely that they were not able to come from alongst the coast of Afrike aforesayd, to those parts of Europe, because the winds doe (for the most part) blow there Easterly off from the shore, and the current running that way in like sort, should haue driuen them Westward vpon some part of America: for such winds and tides could neuer haue led them from thēce to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforesayd, keeping the seas alwayes, without skilful mariners to haue conducted them such like courses as were necessary to performe such a voiage.

3 Presupposing also, if they had bene driuen to the West (as they must haue bene, comming that way) then they should haue perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not hauing any place (once leauing the coast of Afrike) vntill they came to America, nor from America vntill they arriued vpon some part of Europe, or the Islands adioyning to it, to haue refreshed themselues.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might haue recouered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt haue strickn vpon some other part of Europe before their arriuall there, as the Isles of the Açores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would haue departed vndiscouered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in those dayes any such ship or men but only vpon the coasts of Germanie, where they haue bene sundry times and in sundry ages cast aland: neither is it like that they would haue committed themselues againe to sea, if they had so arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

5 And by the Southwest it is vnpossible, because the current aforesayd which cōmeth from the East, striketh with such force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ship (but not possibly a Canoa, with such vnskilfull mariners) can come into our Westerne Ocean through that fret, from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.

This fift reason by later experiēces is proued vtterly vntrue.

6 And further, to prooue that these people so arriuing vpon the coast of Germany, were Indians, & not inhabiters of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifest, because the natiues both of Africa and America neither had, or haue at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then such as do beare neither mastes nor sailes, (except onely vpon the coasts of Barbarie and the Turkes ships) but do carie themselues from place to place neere the shore by the ore onely.

That the Indians could not be natiues either of Africa, or of America.

To prooue that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow nauigable passage that way.

Cap. 6.

IT is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas (as aforesayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelffie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciali, towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be nauigable towards the East, sufficient to saile thereby round about the world.

Quicquid naturali loco priuatur, quam citissime corrumpitur.

2 Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians dwelling vnder Torrida Zona,

could

Qualis causa talis effectus.

could endure the iniurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which eleuation the passage by the Northeast cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South parts of it sheweth) seeing that some of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whose Summer is to them an extreme Winter) haue bene stroken to death with the cold damps of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental mishap, and yet the aire in such like Eleuation is alwaies cold, and too cold for such as the Indians are.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the grosse thicke aire so neere the Pole wil so stiffen and furre the sailes and ship tackling, that no mariner can either hoise or strike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to be, hath taught vs) without the vse whereof no voiage can be performed.

4 Also, the aire is so darkened with continuall mists and fogs so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his ship, or direct his course.

5 Also the compasse at such eleuation doth very suddenly vary, which things must of force haue bene their destructions, although they had bene men of much more skill then the Indians are.

Similium similis est ratio.

6 Moreouer, all baies, gulfes, and riuers doe receiue their increase vpon the flood, sensibly to be discerned on the one side of the shore or the other, as many waies as they be open to any main sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamesis, and all other knowen hauens or riuers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine sea, doe likewise receiue their increase vpon the flood the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the West; as M. Ienkinson affirmed vnto me: and therfore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiuing increase but onely from the West, cannot possibly open to the maine Ocean by the East.

7 Moreouer, the farther you passe into any sea towards the end of it, on that part which is shut vp from the maine sea (as in all those aboue mentioned) the lesse and lesse the tides rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which proueth but small continuance of that Sea toward the East.

Quicquid corrumpitur à contrario corrumpitur.

8 Also, the further yee goe toward the East in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the salt Sea towards the East, as it is to the West only, seeing Euery thing naturally ingendreth his like: and then must it be like salt throughout, as all the seas are, in such like climate and eleuation.

Omne simile gignit sui simile.

And therefore it seemeth that this Northeast sea is maintained by the riuer Ob, and such like fresshets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermost parts thereof by the riuers Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais, &c.

9 Furthermore, if there were any such sea at that eleuation, of like it should be alwaies frozen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) because the extreme coldnes of the aire being in the vppermost part, and the extreme coldnesse of the earth in the bottome, the sea there being but of small depth, whereby the one accidentall coldnesse doth meet with the other, and the Sunne not hauing his reflection so neere the Pole, but at very blunt angels, it can neuer be dissolued after it is frozen, notwithstanding the great length of their day: for that the sunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of sufficient force in that eleuation, to preuaile against this ice, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolued, which cannot be but through the long continuance of the sunne aboue their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be so farre spent, and so great darkenes and cold ensue, that no man could be able to endure so cold, darke, and discomfortable a nauigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to liue.

11 Further, the ice being once broken, it must of force so driue with the windes and tides, that no ship can saile in those seas, seeing our Fishers of Island, and the New found land, are subiect to danger through the great Islands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the sailers great danger) farre to the South of that presupposed passage.

12 And it cannot be that this Northeast passage should be any neerer the South, then be-

fore recited, for then it should cut off Ciremissi, & Turbi Tartari, with Vzesucani, Chisani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are knowen to be adioyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorowe passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small ende and purpose for our traffique, because no shippe of great burden can Nauigate in so shallow a Sea: and ships of small burden are very vnfit & vnprofitable, especially towards the blustering North to performe such a voyage.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed, came only by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage by experience.

Cap. 7.

IT is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is vnlikely that they should come, either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage hauing bene alreadie so many wayes proued, by disproouing of the others, &c. I shall the lesse neede in this place, to vse many words otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, hauing these many reasons to leade me thereunto.

1 First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, bearing alwayes betweene two sheats, with which kind of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vse of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ship can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, hauing so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

2 And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest, because the coast whereon they were driuen, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do vtterly want, & therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

True, both in ventis obliquè flantibus, as also in ventis ex diametro spirantibus.

3 For if they had come by the Cape de buona Sperança, then must they (as aforesaid) haue fallen vpon the South parts of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coasts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then vpon the coasts of Ceremissi, Tartarij, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon these coasts (as aforesaid) they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without shipwracke vpon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken vpon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discouery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Hauens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentifull.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the most part of those countries, by which they must haue come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue deuoured them, slaine them, or (at the least wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainely appeareth that those Indians (which as you haue heard in sundry ages were driuen by tempest vpon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreouer, the passage is certainely prooued by a Nauigation that a Portugall made, who passed through this fret, giuing name to a Promontorie farre within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioyning vnto Polisacus fluuius.

8 Also one Scolmus a Dane entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Saluaterra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northwest passage from vs to Cataia, constantly to be beleeued in America nauigable. And further said in the presence

sence of sir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northwest passage, & shewed Saluaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

The words of the king of Portugall, to Andro Vrdaneta a Frier, touching the concealing of this Northwest passage from England to Cataia.

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall (as he returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certainty) such a passage Northwest from England, and that he meant to publish the same: which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage knowen to any nation: For that (said the king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me. This Frier (as Saluaterra reported) was the greatest Discouerer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Saluaterra being perswaded of this passage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompanie me in this Discouery, which of like he would not haue done if he had stood in doubt thereof.

An obiection.

And now as these moderne experiences cannot be impugned, so least it might be obiected that these things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote so many yeeres past) might serue litle to prooue this passage by the North of America, because both America and India were to them then vtterly vnknowen: to remooue this doubt, let this suffise: That Aristotle (who was 300. yeeres before Christ) named Mare Indicum. Also Berosus (who liued 330 yeres before Christ) hath these words, Ganges in India. Also in the first chapter of Hester be these wordes, In the dayes of Assuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Assuerus liued 580 yeeres before Christ. Also Quintus Curtius (where he speaketh of the conquests of Alexander) mentioneth India. Also, Arianus, Philostratus, and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the most part of India vnder his gouernment. All which assureth vs, that both India and Indians were knowen in those dayes.

Aristotle lib. de mundo, cap. 2. Berosus lib. 5.

These things considered, we may (in my opinion) not only assure our selues of this passage by the Northwest, but also that it is nauigable both to come and go, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebastian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren aboue named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithstanding all this, there be some that haue a better hope of this passage to Cataia by the Northeast then by the West, whose reasons with my seuerall answeres ensue in the chapter following.

Certaine reasons alleaged for the proouing of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of the Counsell, by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, with my seuerall answeres then vsed to the same.

Cap. 8.

BEcause you may vnderstand as well those things alleaged against me, as what doth serue for my purpose, I haue here added the reasons of Master Anthony Ienkinson a worthy gentleman, and a great traueller, who conceiued a better hope of the passage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

The Northwest passage assented vnto.

He first said that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest according to mine opinion: but assured he was, that there might be found a nauigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endeuoured to prooue three wayes.

The first reason.

The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the Morce, that he sayled very farre towards the Southeast, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

The answer or resolution.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vse of the Sea Card, Compasse or Starre, which he confessed to be true: and therfore they could not (said I) certainly know the Southeast from the Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place vnknowen from the sight of the land.

Or if he sailed any thing neere the shore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fisherman through simplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but sea, because he saw no land: which proofe (vnder correction) giueth small assurance of a Nauigable sea by the Northeast, to goe round about the world. For that he iudged by the eye onely, seeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

Visus nonnunquam fallitur in suo obiecto.

His second reason is, that there was an Vnicornes horne found vpon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (said he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Vnicorne in any part of Asia, sauing in India and Cataia: which reason (in my simple iudgement) forceth as litle.

The second reason or allegation.

First, it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

The answer or resolution.

Also the tides running too and fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called Asinus Indicus (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an Vnicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the North parts thervnto adioyning, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as Iacobus Zieglerus writeth in his historie of Scondia.

And as Albertus saieth, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Vnicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or currant through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse (as a Colmax told him) that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West.

The third and last reason or assertion.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Mæotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus, and along the coast of Græcia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenus, and diuers others that haue had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freshets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

The answer or resolution.

In like maner is this current in Mare Glaciale increased and maintained by the Dwina, the riuer Ob, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to prooue a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my seuerall answeres thereunto: so will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or dispaire of either at your pleasure.

How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.

Cap. 9.

FIrst, by the Northeast (if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous speedie & luckie passage) you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to be benighted almost the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue so long comfortlesse, voide of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or vnderstanding may iudge.

2 Also Mangia, Quinzai, and the Moluccæ are neerer vnto vs by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then two fiue parts, which is almost by the halfe.

Some doubt of this.

3 Also we may haue by the West a yeerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being at such eleuation as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without diuers wintrings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as we can well saile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Moscouia, and returne in the nauigable season of the yeere, & from S. Nicholas to Cerimissi Tartari, which stande at 80 degrees of the Septentrionall latitude, it is at the least 400 leagues, which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeast.

5 And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conueniently, vntil you come to 60 degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeast, you must saile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest saile thither with all Easterly windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must haue by the Northeast sundry windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: whereby your iourney should be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured so neere the Pole. As we are taught by sir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7 Moreouer, it is very doubtfull, whether we should long inioy that trade by the Northeast, if there were any such passage that way, the commodities thereof once knowen to the Moscouite, what priuilege so euer hee hath granted, seeing pollicy with the masse of excessiue gaine, to the inriching (so greatly) of himselfe and all his dominions would perswade him to presume the same, hauing so great opportunitie to vtter the commodities of those countries by the Narue.

But by the Northwest, we may safely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince liuing, Christian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Also the Queenes Maiesties dominions are neerer the Northwest passage then any other great princes that might passe that way, and both in their going and returne, they must of necessitie succour themselues and their ships vpon some part of the same, if any tempestuous weather should happen.

Further, no princes nauie of the world is able to incounter the Queenes Maiesties nauie, as it is at this present: and yet it should be greatly increased by the traffike insuing vpon this discouerie, for it is the long voyages that increase and maintaine great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all these things were, as we haue heretofore presupposed, and thought them to be: which next adioyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would ensue, this passage once discouered.

Cap. 10.

FIrst, it were the onely way for our princes, to possesse the wealth of all the East parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conquest of India, and other the East parts of the world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, a wonderfull inriching to our prince, and an vnspeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the shortnesse of the voyage, we should be able to sell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we should share with the Portugall in the East, & the Spaniard in the West, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend vs.

3 Also we might sayle to diuers very rich countreys, both ciuill and others, out of both their iurisdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, siluer, precious stones, cloth of gold, silkes, all maner of spices, grocery wares, and other

kinds of merchandize of an inestimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their iournies, cannot well attaine vnto.

4 Also we might inhabite some part of those countreyes, and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallowes.

5 Moreouer, we might from all the aforesaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our staple some conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or some other part, whereas it shal seeme best for the shortning of the voyage.

6 Beside vttering of our countrey commodities, which the Indians, &c. much esteeme: as appeareth in Hester, where the pompe is expressed of the great king of India, Assuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and siluer, as part of his greatest treasure: not mentioning either veluets, silkes, cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, or such like, being in those countreyes most plentifull: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great estimation they would haue the clothes of this our countrey, so that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had: and that without depending either vpon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Also, here we shall increase both our ships and mariners, without burthening of the state.

8 And also haue occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to haue our countrey combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this our discouery, without iniury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their vsed trades, whereby they might take any iust occasion of offence

Thus haue I briefly shewed you some part of the grounds of mine opinion, trusting that you will no longer iudge me fantasticke in this matter: seeing I haue conceiued no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perswaded thereunto by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discouery hath bene diuers times heretofore by others both offered, attempted, and performed.

It hath bene offered by Stephan Gomes vnto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord God 1527, as Alphonso Vllua testifieth in the story of Carolus life: who would haue set him forth in it (as the story mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reason of his long warres had not caused him to surcease the same.

And the king of Portugall fearing least the Emperour would haue perseuered in this his enterprise, gaue him to leaue the matter vnattempted, the summe of 350000 crownes: and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not haue giuen to the Emperour such summes of money for egges in mooneshine.

This discouery offered.

It hath bene attempted by Sebastian Cabota in the time of king Henry the seuenth, by Corterialis the Portugall, and Scolmus the Dane.

This discouery attempted.

And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians aforesaid, and by Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

This discouery performed.

Also diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath sent two or three times to haue discouered the same: The discouerers spending and consuming their victuals in searching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the yce is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now easily be found out in short time: and that with litle ieopardie and lesse expences.

For America is discouered so farre towardes the North as Cape Frio, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioyning is knowen to stand but at 72 degrees. So that

The labour of this discouerie shortned by other mens trauell.

wee haue but 10 degrees to saile North & South, to put the world out of doubt hereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall would not haue sit out all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselues all that trade they now vse, and feare to deale in this discouery, least the Queenes Maiestie hauing so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to herselfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, should beate the bush, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreseeing, haue commanded that no pilot of theirs vpon paine of death, should seeke to discouer to the Northwest, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow passage that way by the Northwest.

Why yͤ kings of Spaine and Portugal would not perseuer in this discouery.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likelihoods which Columbus alleaged before Ferdinando the king of Castilia, to prooue that there were such Islands in the West Ocean, as were after by him and others discouered to the great commodity of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northwest passage to be most worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the West Islands set foorth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the same) from 942 yeeres before Christ, vntill that day.

Moreouer, Columbus himselfe had neither seene America nor any other of the Islands about it, neither vnderstood he of them by the report of any other that had seene them, but only comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biscaine, which should haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depriue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a stranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biscaine, yet did he but roue at the matter, or (at the least) gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit myselfe haue not seene this passage nor any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers most credible men, which haue both seene and passed through some and euery part of this discouery, besides sundry reasons for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, & indifferently weighed togither, with the wonderfull commodities which this discouery may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needes conclude with learned Baptista Ramusius, and diuers other learned men, who said, that this discouery hath bene reserued for some noble prince or worthie man, thereby to make himselfe rich, and the world happie: desiring you to accept in good part this briefe and simple discourse, written in haste, which if I may perceiue that it shall not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large discourse, which I haue written onely of this discouery.

And further, because it sufficeth not only to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the same, I wil at leasure make you partaker of another simple discourse of nauigation, wherein I haue not a litle trauelled, to make my selfe as sufficient to bring these things to effect, as I haue bene readie to offer my selfe therein.

And therein I haue deuised to amend the errors of vsuall sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bignesse.

And haue also deuised therein a Spherical instrument, with a compasse of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to pricke the sea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the shortning of any discouery, to know at the first entring of any fret whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre soeuer the sea stretcheth itself into the land.

Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countreys seruice, and his owne honour: seeing death is ineuitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno.

Pereas qui vmbras times.

Certaine other reasons, or arguments to prooue a passage by the Northwest, learnedly written by M. Richard Willes Gentleman.

FOure famous wayes there be spoken of to those fruitfull and wealthie Islands, which wee doe vsually call Moluccaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly trauelled for riches therein growing. These Islands, although they stand East from the Meridian, distant almost halfe the length of the worlde, in extreame heate, vnder the Equinoctiall line, possessed of Infidels and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully sought in respect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerously brought home vnto vs. Our neighbours I call the Portugalls in comparison of the Molucchians for neerenesse vnto vs, for like situation Westward as we haue, for their vsuall trade with vs, for that the farre Southeasterlings doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portugall, not greatly acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Their voyage is very well vnderstood of all men, and the Southeasterne way round about Afrike by the Cape of Good hope more spoken of, better knowen and trauelled, then that it may seeme needefull to discourse thereof any further.

1 By the Southeast.

The second way lyeth Southwest, betweene the West India or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow straight where Magellan first of all men that euer we doe read of, passed these latter yeeres, leauing therevnto therefore his name. This way no doubt the Spaniardes would commodiously take, for that it lyeth neere vnto their dominions there, could the Easterne current and leuant windes as easily suffer them to returne, as speedily therwith they may be carried thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impossibility of striuing against the force both of winde and streame, this passage is litle or nothing vsed, although it be very well knowen.

2 By the Southwest.

This is an errour.

The third way by the Northeast, beyond all Europe and Asia, that worthy and renowmed knight sir Hugh Willoughbie sought to his perill, enforced there to ende his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way consisteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reason, or approued by experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythish Cape set by Ortelius vnder the 80 degree North, by the vnlikely sailing in that Northerne sea alwayes clad with yce and snow, or at the least continually pestred therewith, if happily it be at any time dissolued: besides bayes and shelfes, the water waxing more shallow toward the East, that we say nothing of the foule mists and darke fogs in the cold clime, of the litle power of the Sunne to cleare the aire, of the vncomfortable nights, so neere the Pole, fiue moneths long.

3 By the Northeast.

Ortel. tab. Asiæ 3.

A fourth way to go vnto these aforesaid happy Islands Moluccæ sir Humphrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight discourseth of at large in his new passage to Cathayo. The enterprise of itselfe being vertuous, the fact must doubtlesse deserue high praise, and whensoeuer it shal be finished, the fruits thereof cannot be smal: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, & fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the passage doubtfull, the voiage not throughly knowen, and therefore gainesaid by many, after this maner.

4 By the North~~east.~~ west

First, who can assure vs of any passage rather by the Northwest, then by the Northeast? doe not both wayes lye in equall distance from the North Pole? Stand not the North Capes of eyther continent vnder like eleuation? Is not the Ocean sea beyond America farther distant from our Meridian by 30. or 40. degrees West, then the extreame poyntes of Cathayo Eastward, if Ortelius generall Carde of the world be true: In the Northeast that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie perished for colde: and can you then promise a passenger any better happe by the Northwest? Who hath gone for triall sake at any time this way out of Europe to Cathayo?

Ob. 1.

In Theatro.

If you seeke the aduise herein of such as make profession in Cosmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldest children, will answere by their mappes with a nega-

Ob. 2.

tiue, concluding most of the Sea within the land, and making an ende of the world Northward, neere the 63. degree. The same opinion, when learning chiefly florished, was receiued in the Romanes time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: tibi seruiat vltima Thyle, said Virgil, being of opinion, that Island was the extreme part of the world habitable toward the North. Ioseph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germaine, for knowledge men able to be compared with the best Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheres of the whole world, the other in some of his great globes, haue continued the West Indies land, euen to the North Pole, and consequently, cut off all passage by sea that way.

The same doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his Sea Carde, neuerthelesse doubting of so great continuance of the former continent, haue opened a gulfe betwixt the West Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but such a one, that either is not to be trauelled for the causes in the first obiection alledged, or cleane shut vp from vs in Europe by Groenland: the South ende whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

Ob. 3. Thirdly, the greatest fauourers of this voyage can not denie, but that if any such passage be, it lieth subiect vnto yce and snow for the most part of the yeere, whereas it standeth in the edge of the frostie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and dissolued the yce, eche one well knoweth that there can be no sailing: the yce once broken through the continuall abode the sunne maketh a certaine season in those parts, how shall it be possible for so weake a vessel as a shippe is, to holde out amid whole Ilands, as it were of yce continually beating on eche side, and at the mouth of that gulfe, issuing downe furiously from the north, and safely to passe, when whole mountaines of yce and snow shall be tumbled downe vpon her?

Ob. 4. Well, graunt the West Indies not to continue continent vnto the Pole, grant there be a passage betweene these two lands, let the gulfe lie neerer vs then commonly in cardes we finde it set, namely, betweene the 61. and 64. degrees north, as Gemma Frisius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and so left by our countryman Sebastian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee haue free passage to Cathayo. For examples sake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bowe Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moscouia: you may likewise in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Constantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no passage by Sea through Moscouia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Againe, in the aforesaid Mediterranean sea, we saile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and spices from the Moluccaes vp the Red sea or Arabian gulph to Sues, scarcely three dayes iourney from the aforesayd hauen: yet haue wee no way by sea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Isthmos or litle straight of land betweene the two seas. In like maner although the Northerne passage be free at 61 degrees of latitude, and the West Ocean beyond America, vsually called Mar del Zur, knowen to be open at 40. degrees eleuation from the Island Iapan, yea three hundred leagues Northerly aboue Iapan: yet may there be land to hinder the thorow passage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforesaid it falleth out, Asia and America there being ioyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion seeme altogether friuolous vnto any one that diligently peruseth our Cosmographers doings. Iosephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemispheres of the world, but also in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner be of the same opinion, as by their Mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceiue: as though the West Indies were part of Asia. Which sentence well agreeth with that old conclusion in the Schooles: Quicquid præter Africam & Europam est, Asia est, Whatsoeuer land doeth neither apperteine vnto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Asia.

Ob. 5. Furthermore it were to small purpose to make so long, so painefull, so doubtfull a voyage by such a new found way, if in Cathayo you should neither bee suffered to land for silkes and siluer, nor able to fetch the Molucca spices and pearle for piracie in those Seas. Of a law denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabiters vnder a great penaltie to let in any stranger into those countryes, shall you reade in the report of Galeotto Perera there imprisoned with other Portugals: as also in the Iaponish letters, how for that cause the worthy traueller Xauierus bargained with a Barbarian Merchant for a great summe of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in China. The great and dangerous piracie vsed in those Seas no man can be ignorant of, that listeth to reade the Iaponish and East Indian historie.

Finally, all this great labour would be lost, all these charges spent in vaine, if in the ende Ob. 6. our trauellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring safely home into their owne natiue countrey that wealth & riches, which they in forrein regions with aduenture of goods, & danger of their liues haue sought for. By the Northeast there is no way, the Southeast passage the Portugals doe hold as the Lords of those Seas. At ẏ Southwest Magellans experience hath partly taught vs, and partly we are persuaded by reason, how the Easterne current striketh so furiously on that straight, and falleth with such force into that narrow gulph, that hardly any ship can returne that way into our West Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which if it be true, as truely it is, then wee may say that the aforesayd Easterne current or leuant course of waters continually following after the heauenly motions, looseth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other current from out the Northeast, in the passage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of necessity caryed: hauing none other way to maintaine it selfe in circular motion, & consequently the force and fury thereof to be no lesse in the straight of Anian, where it striketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any such straight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both straights being of like bredth: as in Belognine Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his Card for nauigation in that region we doe finde precisely set downe.

Neuerthelesse to approoue that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northwest from out of Europe, we haue experience, namely of three brethren that went that iourney, as Gemma Frisius recordeth, and left a name vnto that straight, whereby now it is called Fretum trium fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portugall that passed this straight, of whom Master Frobisher speaketh, that was imprisoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbone, to verifie the olde Spanish prouerbe, I suffer for doing well. Likewise Andrew Vrdaneta a Fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Carde (for he was a great Discouerer) made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, hath bene seene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Now if the obseruation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of ex- Cic. 1. de orat. Arist. pri. Metaph.
perience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we haue in all faculties, as the best Philosophers that euer were doe affirme: truely the voyage of these aforesayd trauellers that haue gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northwest, do most euidently conclude that way to be nauigable, and that passage free. So much the more we are so to thinke, for that the first principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome saith, is the history of trauell, that is, reports made by trauellers skilful in Geome- Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.
trie and Astronomie, of all such things in their iourney as to Geographie doe belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now answere to those arguments that seemed to make against this former conclusion.

The first obiection is of no force, that generall table of the world set forth by Ortelius or Sol. 1.
Mercator, for it greatly skilleth not, being vnskilfully drawen for that point: as manifestly it may appeare vnto any one that conferreth the same with Gemma Frisius his vniuersall Mappe, with his round quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebastian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily preferred in this case before all Mercator & Ortelius other doings: for that Cabota was not onely a skilful Sea man, but a long traueller, and such a one as entred personally that straight, sent by king Henry the seuenth to make this aforesayd Discouerie, as in his owne discourse of nauigation you may reade in his carde drawen with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northwesterne straight lyeth neere the

318. Meridian, betweene 61. and 64. degrees in the eleuation, continuing the same bredth about 10. degrees West, where it openeth Southerly more and more, vntill it come vnder the tropicke of Cancer, and so runneth into Mar del Zur, at the least 18. degrees more in bredth there, then it was where it first began: otherwise I could as well imagine this passage to be more vnlikely then the voyage to Moscouia, and more impossible then it for the farre situation and continuance thereof in the frostie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very possible and most likely in comparison thereof, for that it neither coasteth so farre North as the Moscouian passage doeth, neither is this straight so long as that, before it bow downe Southerly towardes the Sunne againe.

Sol. 2. The second argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was aboue sixteene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all passages Northward from the eleuation of 63. degrees: he knewe no Ocean sea beyond Asia, yet haue the Portugals trended the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and trauelled to Iapan an Island in the East Ocean, betweene Asia & America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the sixt discouered the Moscouian passage farther North then Thyle, & shewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland & Norway: the like our Northwesterne trauellers haue done, declaring by their nauigation that way, the ignorance of all Cosmographers that either doe ioyne Groenland with America, or continue the West Indies with that frosty region vnder the north pole. As for Virgil he sang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other Poet did of the hot Zone.

Ouid. 1. Meta. Quarum quæ media est, non est habitabilis æstu. Imagining, as most men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone to be altogether dishabited for heat, though presently wee know many famous and worthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Island of S. Thomas neere Æthiopia, & the wealthy Islands for the which chiefly all these voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited euen vnder the equinoctiall line.

Sol. 3. To answere the third obiection, besides Cabota and all other trauellers nauigations, the onely credit of M. Frobisher may suffice, who lately through all these Islands of ice, and mountaines of snow, passed that way, euen beyond the gulfe that tumbleth downe from the North, and in some places though he drewe one inch thicke ice, as he returning in August did, yet came he home safely againe.

Sol. 4. The fourth argument is altogether friuolous & vaine, for neither is there any isthmos or strait of land betweene America and Asia, ne can these two landes ioyntly be one continent. The first part of my answere is manifestly allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent Geographer Strabo followeth, yeelding him in this facultie the price. The author of that booke likewise περὶ κόσμου to Alexander, attributed vnto Aristotle, is of the same opinion that Homer and Strabo be of, in two or three places. Dionisius in ὀικουμένης περιὴγησι hath this verse ὥτως ὠκεανός περιδέδρομε γαῖαν ἅπασαν. So doth the Ocean Sea runne round about the worlde: speaking onely of Europe, Afrike and Asia, as then Asia was trauelled and knowen. With these Doctours may you ioyne Pomponius Mela. cap. 2. lib. 1. Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67. and Pius 2. cap. 2. in his description of Asia. All the which writers doe no lesse confirme the whole Easterne side of Asia to be compassed about with the sea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timæo, vnder the name Atlantis, the West Indies to be an Island, as in a special discourse thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable vnto the sentence of Proclus, Marsilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an Island. Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Dionysius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Asia, Afrike, & Europe, to be enuironed with the Ocean. I may therefore boldly say (though later intelligences thereof had we none at all) that Asia & the West Indies be not tied together by any Isthmos or straight of land, contrary to the opinion of some new Cosmographers, by whom doubtfully this matter hath bin brought in controuersie. And thus much for the first part of my answere vnto the fourth obiection.

Lib. Geog.

Note.

Richard Eden.

The second part, namely that America and Asia cannot be one continent, may thus be proued, κατα τὴν τῆς γῆς κοιλότητα ῥεῖ καὶ των ποτάμων τὸ πλῆθος. The most Riuers take downe

Lib. 2. Meteor. cap. 1.

downe that way their course, where the earth is most hollow and deepe, writeth Aristotle: and the Sea (sayth he in the same place) as it goeth further, so is it found deeper. Into what gulfe doe the Moscouian riuers Onega, Duina, Ob, powre out their streames Northward out of Moscouia into the sea? Which way doeth that sea strike: The South is maine land, the Easterne coast waxeth more and more shalow: from the North, either naturally, because that part of the earth is higher Aristot. 2. Met. cap. 1. or of necessitie, for that the forcible influence of some Northerne starres causeth the earth there to shake off the Sea, as some Philosophers doe thinke: or finally for the great store of waters engendred in that frostie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber. in 2. Meteor. cap. 6. From the North, I say, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeasterne currant must at the length abruptly bow toward vs South on the West side of Finmarke and Norway: or else strike downe Southwest aboue Groneland, or betwixt Groneland and Iseland, into the Northwest straight we speake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the situation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobisher experience teacheth vs. And M. Frobisher the further he trauailed in the former passage, as he tolde me, the deeper alwayes he found the Sea. Lay you now the summe hereof together. The riuers runne where the chanels are most hollow, the sea in taking his course waxeth deeper, the Sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeasterne current striketh downe into the straight we speake of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and snowe falling downe furiously out from the land vnder the North pole. Where store of Plin. lib. 2. water is, there is it a thing impossible to want Sea, where Sea not onely doeth not want, cap. 67. but waxeth deeper, there can be discouered no land, finally, whence I pray you came the contrary tide, that M. Frobisher mette withall after that he had sailed no small way in that passage, if there bee any Isthmos or straight of land betwixt the aforesayd Northwesterne gulfe, and Mar del Zur, to ioyne Asia and America together? That conclusion frequented in scholes Quicquid præter, &c. was meant of the partes of the world then knowen, and so is it of right to be vnderstood.

The fift obiection requireth for answere wisdome and policie in the trauailer, to winne the Sol. 5. Barbarians fauour by some good meanes: and so to arme and strengthen himselfe, that when he shal haue the repulse in one coast, he may safely trauaile to an other, commodiously taking his conuenient times, and discreetely making choise of them with whom hee will throughly deale. To force a violent entry, would for vs Englishmen be very hard, considering the strength and valour of so great a Nation, farre distant from vs, and the attempt thereof might be most perilous vnto the doers, vnlesse their part were very good.

Touching their lawes against strangers, you shall reade neuerthelesse in the same relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is woont to graunt free accesse vnto all forreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandise, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, vntill such time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coast to bee a circumcised Saracene: wherefore some of them were put to the sword, the rest were scattered abroad: at Fuquien a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be seene. As for the Iapans they be most desirous to be acquainted with strangers. The Portingals though they were straitly handled there at the first, yet in the ende they found great fauour at the Prince his hands, insomuch that the Loutea or president that misused them was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth those seas, the Portingals, the Saracens, and Moores trauaile continually vp and downe that reach from Iapan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and shall an Englishman, better appointed then any of them all (that I say no more of our Nauie) feare to saile in that Ocean? What seas at all doe want piracie? what Nauigation is there voyde of perill?

To the last argument. Our trauailers neede not to seeke their returne by the Northeast, Sol. 6. neither shall they be constrained, except they list, either to attempt Magellans straight at the Southwest, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeast: they may returne by the Northwest, that same way they doe goe foorth, as experience hath shewed.

Luc. lib. 1. Pharsal.

What the Easterne current is.

The reason alleadged for proofe of the contrary may be disproued after this maner. And first it may be called in controuersie, whether any current continually be forced by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no: For learned men doe diuersly handle that question. The naturall course of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth most lowe and deepe: in respect whereof, it was erst sayd, the seas doe strike from the Northern landes Southerly. Violently the seas are tossed and troubled diuers wayes with the windes, encreased and diminished by the course of the Moone, hoised vp & downe through the sundry operations of the Sunne and the starres: finally, some be of opinion, that the seas be caried in part violently about the world, after the dayly motion of the highest moueable heauen, in like maner as the elements of ayre and fire, with the rest of the heauenly spheres, are from the East vnto the West. And this they doe call their Easterne current, or leuant streame. Some such current may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neerenesse thereof vnto the centre of the Sunne, and blustring Easterne windes violently driuing the seas Westward: howbeit, in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, & the windes more diuers, blowing as much from the North, the West and South, as from the East, this rule doeth not effectually withholde vs from trauailing Eastward, neither be we kept euer backe by the aforesaid Leuant windes and streame. But in Magellans streight wee are violently driuen backe West: Ergo, through the Northwesterne straight or Anian frette shall we not be able to returne Eastward? It followeth not. The first, for that the northwesterne straight hath more sea roome at the least by one hundreth English myles, then Magellans frette hath, the onely want whereof causeth all narrow passages generally to be most violent. So would I say in the Anian gulfe, if it were so narrow as Don Diego and Zalterius haue painted it out, any returne that way to bee full of difficulties, in respect of such streightnesse thereof, not for the neerenesse of the Sunne, or Easterne windes, violently forcing that way any leuant streame: But in that place there is more sea roome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabota, and Gemma Frisius, and that which Tramezine imprinted, be true.

Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.

And hitherto reason see I none at all, but that I may as well giue credite vnto their doings, as to any of the rest. It must be Peregrinationis historia, that is, true reportes of skilfull trauailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in such controuersies of Geographie must put vs out of doubt. Ortelius in his vniuersall tables, in his particular Mappes of the West Indies, of all Asia, of the Northern kingdomes, of the East Indies, Mercator in some of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his vniuersall table of the Globe diuided, in his sea Carde, and particuler tables of the East Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Ferdinando Bertely, and others, doe so much differ from Gemma Frisius and Cabota, among themselues, and in diuers places from themselues, concerning the diuers situation and sundry limits of America, that one may not so rashly, as truely surmise, these men either to be ignorant in those points touching the aforesaid region, or that the Mappes they haue giuen out vnto the world, were collected onely by them, and neuer of their owne drawing.

The first Voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest, for the search of the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall, Master in the Gabriel, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

Iune.

|| M. Matthew Kinderslye was Captaine of the Michael.

THe 7. of Iune being Thursday, the two Barks, viz. the Gabriel, and the || Michael & our Pinnesse set saile at Ratcliffe, and bare down to Detford, and there we ancred: the cause was, that our Pinnesse burst her boultsprit, and foremast aboard of a ship that rode at Detford, else wee meant to haue past that day by the Court then at Grenewich.

The 8. day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and set saile all three of vs, and bare downe by the Court, where we shotte off our ordinance and made

made the best shew we could: Her Maiestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade vs farewell, with shaking her hand at vs out of the window. Afterward shee sent a Gentleman aboord of vs, who declared that her Maiestie had good liking of our doings, and thanked vs for it, and also willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leaue of her.

The same day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of vs, and declared to the company, that her Maiestie had appointed him to giue them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and gouernours in all things, and wished vs happie successe.

The 12. day being ouer against Grauesend, by the castle or blockehouse, we obserued the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compasse is 11. degrees and a halfe.

The 24. day at 2. of the clocke after noone, I had sight of Faire yle, being from vs 6. leagues North and by East, and when I brought it Northwest and by North, it did rise at the Southermost ende with a litle hommocke, and swampe in the middes. Faire Island.

The 25. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at Northwest and by North a fresh gale, I cast about to the Westward, the Southermost head of Shotland called Swinborne head Northnorthwest from me, and the land of Faire yle, West Southwest from me. I sailed directly to the North head of that said land, sounding as I ranne in, hauing 60. 50. and 40. fathoms, and gray redde shels: and within halfe a mile of that Island, there are 36. fathoms, for I sailed to that Island to see whether there were any roadesteede for a Northwest winde, and I found by my sounding hard rockes, and foule ground, and deepe water, within two cables length of the shoare, 28. fathome, and so did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foresaile, and mizen till it was a high water vnder the Island. The tide setteth there Northwest and Southeast: the flood setteth Southeast, and the ebbe Northwest. Shetland.

The 26. day hauing the winde at South a faire gale, sayling from Faire yle to Swinborne head, I did obserue the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being West Northwest frō me 6. leagues, and Swinborne head East southeast from me, I found my * eleuation to be 37. degr. and my declination 22. degr. 46. min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. At that present being neere to Swinborne head, hauing a leake which did trouble vs, as also to take in fresh water, I plyed roome with a sound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in seuen fathoms water, and faire sande. You haue comming in the sounds mouth in the entring 17. 15. 12. 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathoms, and the sound lyeth in North northwest, and there we roade to a West sunne, & stopped our leake, and hauing refreshed our selues with water, at a North northwest sunne, I set saile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southest, and turned out till wee were cleare of the sound, and so sailed West to go cleare of the Island of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay, I sounded, hauing fiftie fathome, and streamie ground, and also I sounded Fowlay being North from mee one league off that Islande, hauing fiftie fathome at the South head, and streamie ground, like broken otmell, and one shell being redde and white like mackerell.

* By eleuation he meaneth the distance of the sunne from the zenith.

S. Tronions.

Fowlay Island.

The 27. day at a South sunne I did obserue the latitude, the Island of Fowlay being from me two leagues East Northeast: I found my selfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min. truly obserued, the winde at South Southwest: I sailed West and by North.

Latitude 59. deg. 59. min. Here they begin to saile West and by North.

From 12. to foure a clocke afternoone, the wind at South, a faire gale the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I sounded hauing 60. fathome, with little stones and shels, the Island from vs 8. leagues East.

The first of Iuly, from 4. to 8. a clocke, wee sailed West 4. glasses 4. leagues, and at that present we had so much winde that we spooned afore the sea Southwest 2. leagues. Iuly the first.

The 3. day we found our Compasse to bee varied one point to the Westwards: this day from 4. to 8. a-clocke we sailed West and by North 6. leagues.

From

The Compasse varying Westwards one point.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone West and by North 4. leagues. At that present I found our Compasse to be varied 11. deg. and one 4. part to the Westwards, which is one point.

The Island of Friseland.

11. The 11 day at a Southeast sunne we had sight of the land of Friseland bearing from vs West northwest 16. leagues, and rising like pinacles of steeples, and all couered with snowe. I found my selfe in 61. degr. of latitude. Wee sailed to the shoare and could finde no ground at 150. fathoms, we hoised out our boate, and the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the shoare to get on land, but the land lying full of yce, they could not get on land, and so they came aboord againe: We had much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reason of the fogge. Yet from Thursday 8. a clocke in the morning to Friday at noone we sailed Southwest 20. leagues.

The variation of the needle, two points and a halfe to the West.

18. The 18. day at a Southwest sunne I found the sunne to be eleuated 33. deg. And at a Southsoutheast sunne 40. deg. So I obserued it till I found it at the highest, and then it was eleuated 52. deg. I iudged the variation of the Compasse to be 2. points and a halfe to the Westward.

A great drift of yce.

The 21. day we had sight of a great drift of yce, seeming a firme lande, and we cast Westward to be cleare of it.

The latitude of 62. degrees 2. min.

The 26. we had sight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, and two minutes.

Sight of land supposed to haue bene Labrador.

The 28. day in the morning was very foggie: but at the clearing vp of the fogge, wee had sight of lande, which I supposed to be Labrador, with great store of yce about the land: I ranne in towards it, and sownded, but could get no ground at 100. fathom, and the yce being so thicke, I could not get to the shoare, and so lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Vpon Munday we came within a mile of the shoare, and sought a harborowe: all the
30. sownd was full of yce, and our boate rowing a shoare, could get no ground at 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the shoare: then we sailed Eastnortheast along the shoare, for so the lande lyeth, and the currant is there great, setting Northeast, and Southwest: and if we could haue gotten anker ground, wee would haue seene with what force it had runne, but I iudge a ship may driue a league and a halfe, in one houre, with that tide.

31. This day at 4. of the clocke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had sight of a head land, as we iudged, bearing from vs north, and by East, and we sailed Northeast, and by North to that land, and when we came thither, wee could not get to the lande for yce: for the yce stretched along the coast, so that we could not come to the land, by fiue leagues.

August.

1. Wednesday the first of August it calmed, and in the after noone I caused my boate to be hoysed out, being hard by a great Island of yce, and I and foure men rowed to that yce, and
2. sownded within two Cables length of it, and had sixteene fathome, and little stones, and after that sownded againe within a Minion shot, and had ground at an hundreth fathome, and faire sand: we sownded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had sixtie fathome rough ground, and at that present being aboord, that great Island of yce fell one part from another, making a noyse as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke I sownded againe, and had 90. fathome, and small blacke stones, and little white stones, like pearles. The tide here did set to the shoare.

10. The tenth I tooke foure men, and my selfe, and rowed to shoare to an Island one league from the maine, and there the flood setteth Southwest alongest the shoare, and it floweth as neere as I could iudge so too, I could not tarry to prooue it, because the ship was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge: but when I came a shoare, it was a low water. I went to ŷ top of the Island, and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and so without tarrying I came aboord.

11. The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degr. and eight minutes, and this day we entred the streight.

They enter the Streit in the latitude of 63. deg. and 8. min.

The 12. wee set saile towardes an Island, called the Gabriels Island, which was 10. leagues then from vs.

12.
13. We espied a sound, and bare with it, and came to a sandie Baye, where we came to an anker,

anker, the land bearing East southeast off vs, and there we rode al night in 8. fathome water. It floweth there at a Southeast Moone. We called it Priors sownd, being from the Gabriels Island, tenne leagues.

The 14. we waied, and ranne into another sownde, where wee ankered in 8. fathome water, faire sand, and blacke oaze, and there calked our ship, being weake from the wales vpward, and tooke in fresh water. 14.

The 15. day we waied, and sailed to Priors Bay, being a mile from thence. 15.

The 16. day was calme, and we rode still, without yce, but presently within two 16.
houres it was frozen round about the ship, a quarter of an ynch thicke, and that day very faire, and calme.

The 17. day we waied, and came to Thomas Williams Island. 17.

The 18. day we sailed North northwest, and ankered againe in 23. fathome, and tough 18.
oaze, vnder Burchers Island, which is from the former Island, ten leagues.

The 19. day in the morning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I tooke our 19.
boate, with eight men in her, to rowe vs a shoare, to see if there were there any people, or no, and going to the toppe of the Island, we had sight of seuen boates, which came rowing from the East side, toward that Island: whereupon we returned aboord againe: at length we sent our boate with fiue men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the shoare, rowing after our boate, till such time as they sawe our ship, and then they rowed a shoare: then I went on shore my selfe, and gaue euery of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboord of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on shoare againe. Whereupon all the rest came aboord with their boates, being nineteene persons, and they spake, but we vnderstoode them not. They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale skinnes, and so doe the women, not differing in the fashion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe streekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eyes. Their boates are made all of Seales skinnes, with a keele of wood within the skin: the proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop, saue only they be flat in the bottome, and sharpe at both ends.

Sight of the Countrey people.

The description of the people.

The twentieth day wee wayed, and went to the Eastside of this Island, and I and the Cap- 20.
taine, with foure men more went on shoare, and there we sawe their houses, and the people espying vs, came rowing towards our boate: whereupon we plied toward our boate: and wee being in our boate and they ashoare, they called to vs, and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boate, and we carried him a boord, and gaue him a Bell, and a knife: so the Captaine and I willed fiue of our men to set him a shoare at a rocke, and not among the company, which they came from, but their wilfulnesse was such, that they would goe to them, and so were taken themselues, and our boate lost.

5. of our men taken by the people.

The next day in the morning, we stoode in neere the shoare, and shotte off a fauconet, 21.
and sounded our trumpet, but we could heare nothing of our men: this sound wee called the fiue mens sound, and plyed out of it, but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and oaze: and riding there all night, in the morning, the snow lay a foote thicke vpon our hatches.

The 22. day in the morning we wayed, and went againe to the place where we lost our 22.
men, and our boate. We had sight of foureteene boates, and some came neere to vs, but wee could learne nothing of our men: among the rest, we intised one boate to our ships side, with a Bell, and in giuing him the Bell, we tooke him, and his boate, and so kept him, and so rowed downe to Thomas Williams Island, and there ankered all night.

They returne.

The 26. day we waied, to come homeward, and by 12. of the clocke at noone, we were 26.
thwart of Trumpets Island.

The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Island, and at 8. of the clocke at night we had 27.
the Cape Labrador as we supposed West from vs, ten leagues.

The 28. day we went our course Southeast. 28.

We sailed Southeast, and by East, 22. leagues. 29.

The

September. 1. The first day of September in the morning we had sight of the land of Friseland, being eight leagues from vs, but we could not come neerer it, for the monstrous yce that lay about it. From this day, till the sixth of this Moneth, we ranne along Island, and had the South part of it at eight of the clocke, East from vs ten leagues.

7. The seuenth day of this moneth we had a very terrible storme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowen into the sea out of our waste, but he caught hold of the foresaile sheate, and there held till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship.

The 25. day of this moneth we had sight of the Island of Orkney, which was then East from vs.

The Sheld. The first day of October we had sight of the Sheld, and so sailed about the coast, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

The language of the people of Meta incognita.

Argoteyt, a hand.
Cangnawe, a nose.
Arered, an eye.
Keiotot, a tooth.
Mutchatet, the head.
Chewat, an eare.
Comagaye, a legge.
Atoniagay, a foote.
Callagay, a paire of breeches.

Attegay, a coate.
Polleuetagay, a knife.
Accaskay, a shippe.
Coblone, a thumbe.
Teckkere, the foremost finger.
Ketteckle, the middle finger.
Mekellacane, the fourth finger.
Yacketrone, the litle finger.

The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West and Northwest Regions, in the yeere 1577. with a description of the Countrey, and people: Written by Master Dionise Settle.

ON Whitsunday, being the sixe and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1577. Captaine Frobisher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Maiesties ships, called The Aide, of nine score tunnes, or thereabouts: and two other little Barkes likewise, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Master Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: and the other, The Michael, whereof Master Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admirals was Captaine, accompanied with seuen score Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, well furnished with victuals, and other prouision necessarie for one halfe yeere, on this his second voyage, for the further discouering of the passage to Cathay, and other Countreys, thereunto adiacent, by West and Northwest nauigations: which passage or way, is supposed to bee on the North and Northwest part of America: and the said America to be an Island inuironed with the sea, where through our Merchants may haue course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our Northernmost parts of Europe, to those Orientall coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that do or shall frequent the same. Our said Captaine and General of this present voyage and company hauing the yeere before, with two little pinnesses, to his great danger, and no small commendations, giuen a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is also prest, when occasion shall be ministred (to the benefite of his Prince, and natiue Countrey) to aduenture himselfe further therein. As for this second voyage, it seemeth sufficient, that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and Countreys, which in his first voyage the yeere before he had found out.

Vpon which considerations, the day and yeere before expressed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwich, where making an accomplishment of things necessary, the last of May we hoised vp sailes, and with a merrie wind the 7. of Iune we arriued at the Islands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. subiect and adiacent to Scotland, where we made prouision of fresh water; in the doing whereof our Generall licensed the Gentle-

The Islands Orcades, or Orkney.

men and souldiers for their recreation, to goe on shore. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with shrikes and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perswasions we reclamed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or some other enemies, that mooue them to such sudden feare. Their houses are very simply builded with Pibble stone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the middest thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and the cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of ciuilitie. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turffes, and Cowshards. They haue corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantitie of fish, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dresse their meat very filthily, and eate it without salt. Their apparell is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fisher men of England can better declare the dispositions of those people then I: wherefore I remit other their vsages to their reports, as yeerely repaires thither, in their course to and from Island for fish.

The Orcadians vpon small occasion flee their home.

No wood in Orkney.

Fisher men of England haue daily traffike to Orkney.

We departed herehence the 8. of Iune, and followed our course betweene West and North-west, vntill the 4. of Iuly: all which time we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment we had when we were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleasures to passe away the time: a thing of no small moment, to such as wander in vnknowen seas, and long nauigations, especially, when both the winds and raging surges do passe their common and wonted course. This benefite endureth in those parts not 6. weekes, while the sunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the pole is raised to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth much longer.

In Iune and Iuly no night in those West and Northwest regions.

All along these seas, after we were sixe dayes sailing from Orkney, we met floting in the sea, great Firre trees, which as we iudged, were with the furie of great floods rooted vp, and so driuen into the sea. Island hath almost no other wood nor fuell, but such as they take vp vpon their coastes. It seemeth, that these trees are driuen from some part of the New found land, with the current that setteth from the West to the East.

Great abundance of Firre trees floting in the sea.

Inquire further of this current.

The 4. of Iuly we came within the making of Frisland. From this shoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Islands of yce, of halfe a mile, some more, some lesse in compasse, shewing aboue the sea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we supposed fast on ground, where with our lead we could scarse sound the bottome for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smels of sweete gums, & pleasant notes of musicall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile, in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, nothing inferior to our vntemperate winter: a sudden alteration, and especially in a place or Parallele, where the Pole is not eleuate aboue 61. degrees: at which height other Countreys more to the North, yea vnto 70. degrees, shew themselues more temperate then this doth.

Yce, snow, and haile in Iune and Iuly.

All along this coast yce lieth, as a continuall bulwarke, & so defendeth the Countrey, that those that would land there, incur great danger. Our Generall 3. dayes together attempted with the ship boate to haue gone on shoare, which for that without great danger he could not accomplish, he deferred it vntill a more conuenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountaines couered with snow, except in such places, where through the steepenes of the mountaines of force it must needs fall. Foure dayes coasting along this land, we found no signe of habitation. Little birds, whiche we iudged to haue lost the shore, by reason of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much subiect vnto, came flying into our ships, which causeth vs to suppose, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shore maketh shew or signification.

Frisland subiect to fogge.

From hence we departed the eight of Iuly: and the 16. of the same, we came with the making of land, which land our Generall the yeere before had named The Queenes foreland, being an Island as we iudge, lying neere the supposed continent with America: and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other Island called Halles Isle, after the name of the Master of the ship, neere adiacent to the firme land, supposed continent with Asia. Betweene the

Frobishers streight.

the which two Islands there is a large entrance or streight, called Frobishers streight, after the name of our Generall, the firste finder thereof. This said streight is supposed to haue passage into the sea of Sur, which I leaue vnknowen as yet.

It seemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the sea should haue more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or vntemperate Zone: and that some contrary tide, either from the East or West, with maine force casteth out that great quantity of yce, which commeth floting from this coast, euen vnto Friseland, causing that Countrey to seeme more vntemperate then others, much more Northerly then the same.

Islands of yce comparable to mountaines.

I cannot iudge that any temperature vnder the Pole, the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination being halfe a yere together, and one whole day, (considering that the Sunnes eleuation surmounteth not 23. degrees and 30. minuts) can haue power to dissolue such monstrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by some other force, as by swift currents and tides, with the helpe of the said day of halfe a yeere.

Before we came within the making of these lands we tasted cold stormes, in so much that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooued vs from that opinion.

Captaine Frobisher his speciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.

At our first comming, the streights seemed to be shut vp with a long mure of yce, which gaue no litle cause of discomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whose diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and Countrey,) with two little Pinnesses prepared of purpose, passed twise thorow them to the East shore, and the Ilands thereunto adiacent: and the ship, with the two Barks lay off and on something further into the sea, from the danger of the yce.

The order of the people appearing on shoare.

Fierce and bold people.
One taken.

Whilest he was searching the Countrey neere the shoare, some of the people of the Countrey shewed themselues leaping and dauncing, with strange shrikes and cries, which gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall desirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, caused kniues, and other things to be profered vnto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing some thing of theirs to counteruaile the same. At the length two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Master, who did the like to them, commanding the company to stay, and went vnto them: who after certaine dumbe signes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly escaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not respecting the rest of our companie which were ready for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt diuers of them: we tooke the one, and the other escaped.

Richard Cox,
Master gunner,
Master Iackman,
Andrew Dier.

Whilest our Generall was busied in searching the Countrey, and those Islands adiacent on the Eastshoare, the ship and barkes hauing great care, not to put farre into the sea from him, for that he had small store of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the yce, which was so monstrous, that euen the least of a thousand had bene of force sufficient, to haue shiuered our ship and barks into small portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care vpon the infirmitie of man) had not prouided for this our extremitie a sufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well discerne to flee from such imminent dangers, which we anoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the space of 4 houres. If we had not incurred this danger amōgst these monstrous Islands of yce, we should haue lost our Generall and Master, and the most of our best sailers, which were on the shoare destitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Master Gunner, Master Iackman, and Andrew Dier, the Masters Mates, men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearsed, before we would with our owne safetie, runne into the seas, to the destruction of our sayd Generall, and his company.

The day following, being the 19. of Iulie, our captaine returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which shewed it selfe in the bowels of those barren mountaines, wherewith wee were all satisfied.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the streights, the Northwest and West winds dispersed the yce into the sea, & made vs a large entrance into the streights, so that without any impediment, on the 19. of Iulie we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our Generall and Master with great diligence, sought out and sounded the West shoare, and found out a faire Harborough for the ship and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Masters mate, Iackmans sound, and brought the ship, barkes and all their company to safe anker, except one man, which died by Gods visitation.

Iackmans sound.

At our first arriuall, after the ship rode at anker, our generall, with such company as could well be spared from the ships, in marching order entred the lande, hauing speciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, wee should all with one voyce, kneeling vpon our knees, chiefly thanke God for our safe arriuall: secondly beseech him, that it would please his diuine Maiestie, long to continue our Queene, for whom he, and all the rest of our company in this order tooke possession of the Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Christian studie and endeuour, those barbarous people trained vp in Paganisme, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of saluation in Christ our Redeemer. With other words very apt to signifie his willing mind, and affection toward his Prince and Countrey: whereby all suspicion of an vndutifull subiect, may credibly be iudged to be vtterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the Gentlemen and other deserue worthily herein, their due praise and commendation.

Possession taken.

These things in this order accomplished, our Generall commanded all the company to be obedient in things needfull for our owne safegard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Beast his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessarie affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Ensigne displaied, so farre as was thought needfull, and now and then heaped vp stones on high mountaines, and other places in token of possession, as likewise to signifie vnto such as hereafter may chance to arriue there, that possession is taken in the behalfe of some other Prince, by those who first found out the Countrey.

Who so maketh nauigations to those Countreys, hath not onely extreme winds, and furious seas to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islands of yce: a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

Yce needefull to be regarded of seafaring men.

We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anker, to haue continuall watch, with boats & men ready with halsers to knit fast vnto such yce, as with the ebbe & flood were tossed to and fro in the harborough, & with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering the ship.

Our Generall certaine dayes searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answere his expectation, after he had made triall thereof he departed thence with two little barks, and men sufficient to the East shore being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, vntill such time as he either thought good to send or come for them.

The stones of this supposed continent with America be altogether sparkled, and glister in the Sunne like gold: so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Prouerb: All is not gold that glistereth.

Stones glister with sparkles like gold.

A common prouerbe.

On this West shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horne streight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceiue it hollow, into the which some of our sailers putting spiders they presently died. I saw not the triall hereof, but it was reported vnto me of a trueth: by the vertue whereof we supposed it to be the sea Vnicorne.

The sea Vnicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ship and barks to anker in, and also such store of supposed gold ore as he thought himselfe satisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke aforesaid was Captaine, accompanied with our master and his Mate: who coasting along the West shore not farre from whence the ship rode, they perceiued a faire harborough, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of Seale skins, vnto which the Captaine, our said Master, and other company resorted. At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountaines: neuerthelesse they went to their tents, where leauing certaine trifles of ours, as glasses, bels, kniues, and such like things they departed, not taking any thing of theirs except one dogge. They did in like maner leaue behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine lost the yere before, and in that peoples custody, might (if any of them were aliue) be aduertised of our presence and being there.

The people fled at the sight of our men.

Master Philpot.
Master Beast.

On the same day after consultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewise that could be spared from the ship, vnder the conduct and leading of Master Philpot, (vnto whom in our Generall his absence, and his Lieutenant Master Beast, al the rest were obedient) went a shore, determining to see, if by faire means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of them, and so attaine to some knowledge of those men whom our Generall lost the yeere before.

At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooued their tents further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driuen from the land, flee with their boates into the sea. We parting our selues into two companies, and compassing a mountaine came suddenly vpon them by land, who espying vs, without any tarying fled to their boates, leauing the most part of their oares behind them for haste, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinesses met them and droue them to shore: but if they had had all their oares, so swift are they in rowing, it had bene lost time to haue chased them.

A fierce assault of a few.

When they were landed they fiercely assaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes: and perceiuing themselues thus hurt, they desperatly leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themselues: which if they had not done, but had submitted themselues, or if by any meanes we could haue taken them aliue (being their enemies as they iudged) we would both haue saued them, & also haue sought remedy to cure their wounds receiued at our hands. But they altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death then otherwise to be saued by vs: the rest perceiuing their fellowes in this distresse, fled into the high mountaines. Two women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong child, we tooke. The old wretch, whom diuers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a deuill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were clouen footed, and for her ougly hew and deformity we let her goe: the yong woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slaine, Bloodie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorks sound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barks.

Faire meanes not able to allure them to familiarity.

Hauing this knowledge both of their fiercenesse and cruelty, and perceiuing that faire meanes as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed our selues, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a spoyle of the same: where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shooes of our men, whom we lost the yeere before: on nothing else vnto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Boates of skinnes.

Their riches are not gold, siluer or precious Drapery, but their said tents and boates, made of the skins of red Deare and Seale skins: also dogges like vnto woolues, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondred at for their strangenesse, then for any other commoditie needefull for our vse.

Our departure from the West shoare.

Thus returning to our ship the 3. of August, we departed from the West shore supposed firme with America, after we had ankered there 13. dayes: and so the 4. thereof we came to our Generall on the East shore, and ankered in a faire Harborough named Anne Warwickes sound, vnto which is annexed an Island both named after the Countesse of Warwicke, Anne Warwickes sound and Isle.

In this Isle our Generall thought good for this voyage, to fraight both the ship and barkes, with such stone or supposed gold minerall, as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his first, and this his second nauigation to these Countreys.

In the meane time of our abode here some of the countrey people came to shew themselues vnto vs, sundry times on the maine shore, neere adiacent to the said Isle. Our Generall desirous to haue some newes of his men, whom he lost the yeere before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is perswaded to bring them. They at the first shew made tokens, that three of his fiue men were aliue, and desired penne, ynck, and paper, and that within three or foure dayes they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring those of our men which were liuing, with them.

The countrey people shew themselues vnto vs.

They also made signes or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, & how he was carried on mens shoulders, and a man farre surmounting any of our company, in bignesse and stature.

With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, yncke, and paper was deliuered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid vpon the shore, and the partie gone away, they tooke up: which likewise they do when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they thinke will counteruaile the same, and not comming neere together. It seemeth they haue been vsed to this trade or traffique, with some other people adioining, or not farre distant from their Countrey.

Their vsage in traffique or exchange.

After 4. dayes some of them shewed themselues vpon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Island, with the boat, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a company of the crafty villaines to lye lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signes dismissed them and returned to his company.

The people shew themselues the third time.

An other time as our said Generall was coasting the Countrey with two little Pinnesses, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white skin allured vs to them. Once again our Generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neere the shore whereon they were, we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, & those 3. in sight labouring by al meanes possible that some would come on land: and perceiuing we made no hast by words nor friendly signes, which they vsed by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but 3. in sight, they sought further means to prouoke vs therevnto. One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we tooke vp with the Boate hooke, as necessary victuals for the relieuing of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digest our meat: whereby they perceiued themselues deceiued of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once againe to make (as it were) a full shew of their craftie natures, and subtile sleights, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himselfe impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water side, with great difficulty: and to couer his craft the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in such places where he seemed vnable to passe, he tooke him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leauing him (as it should seeme) all alone, who playing his counterfait pageant very well, thought thereby to prouoke some of vs to come on shore, not fearing, but that one of vs might make our party good with a lame man.

The people shew themselues againe on firme land.

Their first meanes to allure vs to shore.

Their second meanes.

Their third and craftiest allurement.

Our Generall hauing compassion of his impotency, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he caused a souldier to shoote at him with his Caleeuer, which grased before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrowes, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, slings, and darts. Our Generall caused some caleeuers to be shot off at them, whereby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more feare of vs.

Compassion to cure a crafty lame man.

This was all the answere for this time we could haue of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their crafty dealing at these three seuerall times being thus manifest vnto vs, may plainely shew their diposition in other things to be correspondent. We iudged that they vsed these stratagemes, thereby to haue caught some of vs, for the deliuering of the man, woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much vnlike the Sunne burnt Countrey man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women weare their haire long and knit vp with two loupes, shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltred vpon a knot. Also some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, wherevpon they lay a colour which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meat all raw, both flesh, fish, and foule, or something per boyled with blood and a little water which they drinke. For lacke of water they will eate yce, that is hard frosen, as pleasantly as we will do Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.

If they for necessities sake stand in need of the premisses, such grasse as the countrey yeeldeth they plucke vp and eate, not deintily, or salletwise to allure their stomacks to appetite: but for necessities sake without either salt, oiles or washing, like brute beasts deuouring the same. They neither vse table, stoole, or table cloth for comlines; but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deepe, and their kniues in like sort, they vse their tongues as apt instruments to lick them cleane: in doing whereof they are assured to loose none of their victuals.

Dogges like vnto wolues.

They frank or keepe certaine dogs not much vnlike Wolues, which they yoke togither, as we do oxen & horses, to a sled or traile: and so carry their necessaries ouer the yce and snow from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfect signes. And when those dogs are not apt for the same vse: or when with hunger they are constrained for lacke of other victuals, they eate them: so that they are as needfull for them in respect of their bignesse, as our oxen are for vs.

They eate dogs flesh.

They apparell themselues in the skins of such beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinewes of them. All the foule which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other to defend them from the cold.

Hoods and tailes to their apparell.

They make their apparel with hoods and tailes, which tailes they giue when they thinke to gratifie any friendship shewed vnto them: a great signe of friendship with them. The men haue them not so side as the women.

The men and women weare their hose close to their legges, from the wast to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Vpon their legges they weare hose of leather, with the furre side inward two or three paire on at once, and especially the women. In those hose they put their kniues, needles, and other things needfull to beare about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw their said hose, and so in place of garters they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dresse their skinnes very soft and souple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter they weare the furre side inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none but the said skinnes.

Those beasts, fishes, and foules, which they kill, are their meat, drinke, apparell, houses, bedding, hose, shooes, threed, and sailes for their boates, with many other necessaries whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

Their houses of Seale skins and firre.

Their houses are tents made of Seale skins, pitched vp with 4. Firre quarters foure square meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinewes, and laid thereupon: they are so pitched vp, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or against the Sunne.

They haue other sorts of houses which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and Whale bones, and a skinne layd ouer them, to with stand the raine, or other weather: the entrance of them being not much vnlike an Ouens mouth, whereto I thinke they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and foule, and so leaue them vntill the next time they come thither again.

Their weapons of defence.

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, darts, and slings. Their bowes are of wood of a yard long, sinewed at the back with strong sinewes, not glued too, but fast girded and tyed on. Their bow strings are likewise sinewes. Their arrowes are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with those two ends, and the wood in the midst, they passe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers the penne end being cut away, and the fethers layd vpon the arrow with the broad side to the wood; insomuch that they seeme when they are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. They haue also three sorts of heads to those arrowes: one sort of stone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the second sort of bone, much like vnto a stopt head, with a hooke on the same: the third sort of bone likewise made sharpe at both sides, and sharpe pointed. They are not made very fast but lightly tyed to, or else set in a nocke, that vpon small occasion the arrowes leaue these heads behind them: and they are of small force, except they be very neere when they shoote.

Three sorts of heads to their arrowes.

Two sorts of darts.

Their Darts are made of two sorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore end and likewise in the midst: their proportions are not much vnlike our toasting yrons, but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is greater then the first aforesayd, with a long bone made sharpe on both sides not much vnlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their most hurtfull weapon.

Two sorts of boates made of leather.

They haue two sorts of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the same: the greater sort are not much vnlike our wherries, wherein sixeteene or twenty men may sit: they haue for a sayle drest the guts of such beasts as they kill very fine and thinne, which they sew together: the other boate is but for one man to sit and row in with one oare.

They vse to foule, fish, and hunt.

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fouling are with these said weapons: but in what sort, or how they vse them we haue no perfect knowledge as yet.

It is to be supposed that their inhabiting is elsewhere.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparell, are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold, that the Countrey seemeth to be infected with all: neither do I see any signe likely to performe the same.

Those houses or rather dennes which stand there, haue no signe of footway, or any thing else troden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tents which they bring with them, when they haue sufficiently hunted and fished, they remoue to other places: and when they haue sufficiently stored them of such victuals, as the Countrey yeeldeth or bringeth forth, they returne to their winter stations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertility which I coniecture to be in that Countrey.

Their vse of yron.

They haue some yron whereof they make arrow heads, kniues, and other little instruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and darts withall, which are very vnapt to doe any thing withall but with great labour.

It seemeth that they haue conuersation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should receiue the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giueth a sound.

Anthropophagi.

What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idoll they adore, we haue no perfect intelligence, I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans flesh then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead (smell it neuer so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

Signes of gold oare.

There is no maner of creeping beast hurtfull, except some Spiders (which as many affirme, are signes of great store of gold) and also certaine stinging Gnattes, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth and itcheth very sore.

Signes of gold from other people.

They make signes of certaine people that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

Description of the Countreis.

The Countreys on both sides the streights lye very high with rough stony mountaines, and great quantitie of snow thereon. There is very little plaine ground and no grasse, except a little which is much like vnto mosse that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turffes in. There is no wood at all. To be briefe there is nothing fit or profitable for the vse of man, which that Countrey with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit there is great quantity of Deere, whose skins are like vnto Asses, there heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our parts or Countreys: their feete likewise are as great as our oxens, which we measured to be seuen or eight ynches in breadth. There are also hares, wolues, fishing beares, and sea foule of sundry sorts.

As the Countrey is barren and vnfertile, so are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the same to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fouling, with raw flesh and warme blood to satisfie their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

A signe of Earthquakes or thunder.

There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder: for that there are huge and monstrous mountaines, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinarie meanes that one is separated from another, which is discordant from all other Quarries.

No riuers, but such as the Sunne doth cause to come of snow.

There are no riuers or running springs, but such as through the heate of the Sunne, with such water as discendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of snow do lie, are ingendred.

A probability that there should be neither spring or riuers in the ground.

It argueth also that there should be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter is so frosen within, that that water which should haue recourse within the same to maintaine springs, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is seene otherwhere. Such valleis as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sunne descendeth from great abundance of snowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth and so vanisheth away, without any runnell aboue the earth, by which occasion or continuall standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yeeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places foure or fiue fathoms within the ground for lacke of the said moisture, the earth (euen in the very summer time) is frosen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments with great force can vnknit them.

Also where the water in those valleis can haue no such passage away, by the continuance of time in such order as is before rehearsed, the yeerely descent from the mountaines filleth them full, that at the lowest banke of the same, they fall into the valley, and so continue as fishing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frosen: as by skarres that remaine thereof in Summer may easily be perceiued: so that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to dissolue the extremitie of cold that commeth in Winter.

Springs nourish gold.

Neuerthelesse I am assured that below the force of the frost within the earth, the waters haue recourse, and emptie themselues out of sight into the Sea, which through the extremitie of the frost are constrained to doe the same: by which occasion the earth within is kept the warmer, and springs haue their recourse, which is the only nutriment of golde and Minerals within the same.

There is much to be sayd of the commodities of these Countreys, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let passe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

Our departure from those Countreys.

The 24. of August after we had satisfied our minds with fraight sufficient for our vessels, though not our couetous desires with such knowledge of the Countrey people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, we departed therehence. The 17. of September we fell with the lands end of England, and so sailed to Milford Hauen, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Hauen to conduct the ship.

How & when we lost our 2. Barks, which God neuerthelesse restored.

We lost our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one the 29. of August, the other the 31. of the same moneth, by occasion of great tempest and fogge. Howbeit God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other made his course by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage we lost two men, one in the way by Gods visitation, and the other homeward cast ouer borde with a surge of the Sea.

The conclusion.

I Could declare vnto the Readers, the latitude and longitude of such places and regions as we haue bene at, but not altogether so perfectly as our masters and others, with many circumstances of tempests and other accidents incident to Sea-faring men, which seeme not altogether strange, but I let them passe to their reports as men most apt to set forth and declare the same. I haue also left the names of the Countreys on both the shores vntouched, for lacke of vnderstanding the peoples language: as also for sundry respects, not needfull as yet to be declared.

Countreys new discouered where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accord with a new name giuen by the discouerers, then an vncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our generall named sundry Islands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harboroughs after the names of diuers Noble men and other gentlemen his friends, as wel on the one shore as also on the other.

The third and last voyage vnto Meta Incognita, made by M. Martin Frobisher, in the yeere 1578. Written by Thomas Ellis.

Master Yorke. Christopher Hall. The Hopewel. Capetaine Carew. Andrew Dier.

THese are to let you know, that vpon the 25. of May, the Thomas Allen being Viceadmirall whose Captaine was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Master, Christopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmiral named the Hopewel, whose Captaine was M. Henrie Carewe, the M. Andrewe Dier, and certaine other ships came to Grauesend, where wee ankered and abode the comming of certaine of our Fleete which were not yet come.

Harwich.

The 27. of the same moneth our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things prest in a readinesse, the wind fauouring, and tide seruing, we being of sailes in number eight, waied ankers and hoised our sailes toward Harwich to meete with our Admirall, and the residue which then and there abode our arriuall: where we safely arriued the 28. thereof, finding there our Admirall, whom we with the discharge of certaine pieces saluted, acording to order and duety, and were welcommed with the like courtesie: which being finished we landed; where our Generall continued mustering his souldiers and Miners, and setting things in order appertaining to the voyage vntill the last of the said moneth of May, which day we hoised our sailes, and committing ourselues to the conducting of Almightie God, we set forward toward the west Countrey in such luckie wise and good successe, that by the fift of Iune we passed the Dursies, being the vtmost part of Ireland to the Westward.

Dursies. Ireland.

Plimmouth. Bristow.

And here it were not much amisse nor farre from our purpose, if I should a little discourse and speake of our aduentures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plimmouth, as also the meeting certaine poore men, which were robbed and spoyled of all that they had by Pirates and Rouers: amongst whom was a man of Bristow, on whom our Generall vsed his liberality, and sent him away with letters into England.

Frisland.

But because such things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the same) to that from the which I haue digressed and swarued, I meane our ships now sailing on the surging seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne wind, sometime hindred of our course againe by the Westerne blasts, vntill the 20. day of the foresayd moneth of Iune, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land and was almost cleane couered with snow, so that we might see nought but craggie rockes and the tops of high and huge hilles, sometimes (and for the most part) all couered with foggie mists. There might we also perceiue the great Isles of yce lying on the seas, like mountaines, some small, some big, of sundry kinds of shapes, and such a number of them, that wee could not come neere the shore for them.

The curtesie of our Generall.

Thus sailing alongst the coast, at the last we saw a place somewhat voyd of yce, where our Generall (accompanied with certaine other) went a shore, where they sawe certaine tents made of beasts skinnes, and boates much the like vnto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furnished with flesh, fish, skins, and other trifles: amongst the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did coniecture, that they had either Artificers amongst them, or els a traffike with some other nation. The men ran away, so that wee coulde haue no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (because hee would haue them no more to flee, but rather incouraged to stay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement that his men should take nothing away with them, sauing onely a couple of white dogs, for the which he left pinnes, poynts, kniues, and other trifling things, and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and so came abord, and hoysed sailes, and passed forwards.

But being scarce out of the sight thereof, there fell such a foggy and hidious mist that we could not see one another: whereupon we stroke our drums, and sounded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and so continued all that day and night till the next day that the mist brake vp: so that we might easily perceiue all the ships thus sailing together all that day, vntill the next day, being the 22. of the same: on which day wee sawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we cast about to shun the danger thereof.

Master Kinderslie. Bartholomew Bull.

But one of our small Barkes named the Michael, whose Captaine was Master Kinderslie, the Master Bartholomew Bull, lost our company, insomuch that we could not obteine the sight of her many dayes after, of whom I meane to speak further anon when occasion shall be ministred, and opportunitie serue. Thus we continued in our course vntill the second of Iuly, on which day we fell with the Queenes foreland, where we saw so much yce, that we thought it vnpossible to get into the Straights; yet at the last we gaue the aduenture and entred the yce.

The Michael. The Iudith. M. Fenton. Charles Iackman.

Being amongst it wee sawe the Michael, of whom I spake before, accompanied with the Iudith, whose Captaine was Master Fenton, the Master Charles Iackman, bearing into the foresayd yce, farre distant from vs, who in a storme that fell that present night, (whereof I will at large God willing, discourse hereafter) were seuered from vs, and being in, wandred vp and downe the Straights amongst the yce many dayes in great perill, till at the last, (by the prouidence of God) they came safely to harbor in their wished Port. In the Countesse of Warwicks sound, the 20. of Iuly aforesayd, tenne dayes before any of the other shippes: who going on shore found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their prouision in great heapes of stones being both of flesh and fish, which they had killed; whereof wee also found great store in other places after our arriual. They found also diuers engins, as bowes, slings, and darts. They found likewise certaine pieces of the Pinnesse which our Generall left there the yeere before, which Pinnesse he had sunke, minding to haue it againe the next yeere.

The Countesse of Warwicks sound.

Now seeing I haue entreated so much of the Iudith and the Michael: I will returne to the rest of the other ships, and will speake a little of the storme which fell, with the mishaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

Our entrance & passage, &c.

At the first entring into the yce in the mouth of the Straights, our passage was very narrow, and difficult but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce for the most part, being a league in compasse, the yce being round about vs and inclosing vs, as it were, within the pales of a parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our sailes, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waues began to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere vs, and comming on so fast vpon vs, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs so fast, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selues and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent.

Barke Dionyse.

At the last the Barke Dionyse being but a weake ship, and bruised afore amongst the yce, being so leake that no longer she could tarry aboue the water, sanke without sauing any of the goods which were within her: which sight so abashed the whole Fleete, that we thought verily we should haue tasted of the same sauce. But neuerthelesse we seeing them in such danger, manned our boates and saued all the men in such wise, that not one perished: God be thanked.

Narrow shifts for safetie.

The storme still increased and the yce inclosed vs, so that we were faine to take downe top and top mastes: for the yce had so inuironed vs, that we could see neither land nor sea, as farre as we could kenne: so that we were faine to cut our cables to hang ouer boord for fenders, somewhat to ease the ships sides from the great and driry strokes of the yce: some with Capstan barres, some fending off with oares, some with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, some going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their shoulders from the ships. But the rigorousnes of the tempest was such, and the force of the yce so great, that not onely they burst and spoyled the foresaid prouision, but likewise so raised the sides of the ships, that it was pitifull to behold, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

Thus we continued all that dismall and lamentable night plunged in this perplexity, looking for instant death: but our God (who neuer leaueth them destitute which faithfully call vpon him, although he often punisheth for amendements sake) in the morning caused the winds to cease, and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: so that we might perceiue about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an easie breath of wind which our God sent vs, we bent our selues. And furthermore, hee prouided better for vs then we deserued or hoped for: for when we were in the foresaid cleare place, he sent vs a fresh gale at West or at West Southwest, which set vs cleare without all the yce. And further he added more: for he sent vs so pleasant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment consolation.

Gods prouidence.

Thus we ioyfull wights being at libertie, tooke in all our sailes and lay a hull, praysing God for our deliuerance, and stayed to gather together our Fleete: which once being done, we seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, sauing onely they of whom I spake before and the ship which was lost, then at the last wee hoised our sailes, and lay bulting off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the yce that wee might get into the Straights.

And as we thus lay off and on we came by a marueilous huge mountaine of yce, which surpassed all the rest that euer we saw: for we iudged it to be neere fourescore fathomes aboue water, and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that we could perceiue, being there nine score fathoms deepe, and of compasse about halfe a mile.

A mountaine of yce appearing in sundry figures.

Also the fift of Iuly there fell a hidious fogge and mist, that continued till the nineteenth of the same: so that one shippe could not see another. Therefore we were faine to beare a small sayle and to obserue the time: but there ran such a current of a tide, that it set vs to the Northwest of the Queenes foreland the backside of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge hauing no sight either of Sunne or Starre) we scarce knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of Iuly we lost the company of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

A fog of long continuance.

A current to the Northwest.

The 16. day one of our small Barkes named the Gabriel was sent by our Generall to beare in with the land to descrie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which seemed very humane and ciuill, and offered to traffike with our men, profering them foules and skins for kniues, and other trifles: whose courtesie caused vs to thinke, that they had small conuersation with other of the Straights.

The Gabriel.

The people offer to traffike with vs.

Then we bare backe againe to goe with the Queenes foreland: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Islands whereon we went on shore, and found where the people had bene: but we saw none of them. This day wee were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the first. For through the darknesse and obscuritie of the foggie mist, we were almost run on rocks and Islands before we saw them: But God (euen miraculously) prouided for vs, opening the fogges that we might see clearely, both where and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape: or els without faile we had ruinously runne vpon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our instant case, wee cast about to get againe on Sea-bord, which (God be thanked) by night we obtained and praised God. The cleare continued scarce an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

Then the Rearadmirall and the Beare got themselues cleare without danger of yce and rocks, strooke their sailes and lay a hull, staying to haue the rest of the Fleete come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themselues from the danger of rockes and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time the Rearadmirall discharged certaine warning pieces

Warning pieces of safe passage discharged.

pieces to giue notice that she had escaped, and that the rest (by following of her) might set themselues free, which they did that day.

Then hauing gathered our selues togither we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our selues distant from the coast till the 19. day of Iuly: at which time the fogges brake vp and dispersed, so that we might plainely and clearely behold the pleasant ayre, which so long had bene taken from vs, by the obscuritie of the foggie mists: and after that time we were not much encombred therewith vntill we had left the confines of the Countrey.

A faire sound betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans sound.

Then we espying a fayre sound, supposed it to goe into the Straights betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans sound, which proued as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe the Gabriel to discouer it, who passed through with much difficulty: for there ran such an extreme current of a tide, with such a horrible gulfe, that with a fresh gale of wind they were scarce able to stemme it: yet at the length with great trauaile they passed it, and came to the Straights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Busse of Bridgewater: who altogether aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to see if they could obtaine their wished Port. But they were so incombred that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the last they escaping, the Thomas Allen, and the Gabriel bare in with the Westerne shore, where they found harbour, and there moared their ships vntill the fourth of August, at which time they came to vs in the Countesse of Warwicks sound. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leake which caused her to cast againe to Seabord and so was mended.

We sailed along still by the coast vntill we came to the Queenes foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulfe aforesaid, which place or gulfe (as some of our Masters doe credibly report) doeth flow nine houres, and ebs but three. At that point wee discouered certaine lands Southward, which neither time nor opportunitie would serue to search. Then being come to the mouth of the Straights we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulting vp and downe euer since her departure alone, neuer finding any of her company. We met then also the Francis of Foy, with whom againe we intended to venture and get in: but the yce was yet so thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get vs on Sea-bord.

An horrible snowe fell in Iuly.

There fell also the same day being the 26. of Iuly, such an horrible snow, that it lay a foot thick vpon the hatches which frose as it fell.

We had also at other times diuers cruell stormes both of snow and haile, which manifestly declared the distemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that wee were so many times repulsed and put backe from our purpose, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutually consented to our valiant Generall once againe, to giue the onset.

The time of our setting forward, &c.

The 28. day therefore of the same Iuly we assayed, and with little trouble (God be praysed) we passed the dangers by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, wee hulled in the cleare, til the chearefull light of the day had chased away the noysome darkenesse of the night: at which time we set forward towards our wished Port: by the 30. day wee obteined our expected desire, where we found the Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no smal ioy vnto the General, and great consolation to the heauie hearts of those wearied wights.

The 30. day of Iuly we brought our ships into the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and moared them, namely these ships, The Admirall, the Rearadmiral, the Francis of Foy, the Beare Armenel, the Salomon, and the Busse of Bridgewater: which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a shore upon the Countesses Iland, where he set his Miners to worke vpon the Mine, giuing charge with expedition to dispatch with their lading.

Our Generall himselfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuers times made rodes into sundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as also to finde out and see the people of the Countrey. He found out one Mine vpon an Island by Beares sound, and named it the Countesse of Sussex Island. One other was found in Winters Fornace, with diuers others, to which the ships were sent sunderly to be laden. In the same rodes he mette with diuers of the people of the Countrey at sundry times, as once at a place called Dauids sound: who shot at our men, and very desperately gaue them the onset, being not aboue three or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men aboue a dozen: but seeing themselues not able to preuaile, they tooke themselues to flight; whom our men pursued, but being not vsed to such craggie cliffes, they soone lost the sight of them, and so in vaine returned.

The Countesse of Sussex Iland, Winters Fornace.

Dauids Sound.

We also saw of them at Beares sound, both by Sea and land in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and vs. And if any of our ships chanced to be in the sound (as they came diuers times, because the Harbor was not very good) the ship laded, and departed againe: then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene. But when as they perceiued the ships to be gone, they would not only shew themselues standing vpon high cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but also would come in their Botes very neere to vs, as it were to brag at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertisement, sent for the Captaines and Gentlemen of the ships, to accompany and attend vpon him, with the Captaine also of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and the Fleebote hauing lost vs the 26. day in the great snowe, put into an harbour in the Queenes foreland, where they found good Oare, wherewith they laded themselues, and came to seeke the Generall: so that now we had all our Shippes, sauing one Barke, which was lost, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who (compelled by what furie I knowe not) forsooke our company, and returned home without lading.

The policie of the people for safetie of themselues.

Our Generall accompanied with his Gentlemen, (of whom I spake) came altogether to the Countesse of Sussex Island, neere to Beares sound: where he manned out certaine Pinasses, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriuall, fledde away with all speede, and in haste left certaine dartes and other engines behinde them, which we found: but the people we could not finde.

Their speedie flight at our Generals arriuall.

The next morning our Generall perceiuing certaine of them in botes vpon the Sea, gaue chase to them in a Pinnesse vnder saile, with a fresh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he sailed, the further off he was from them: which well shewed their cunning and actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approching, our Generall commaunded vs to lade with all expedition, that we might be againe on Seaboard with our ships: for whilest we were in the Countrey, we were in continual danger of freesing in: for often snowe and haile often falling, the water was so much frosen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could scarce rowe our botes or Pinnesses, especially in Diers sound, which is a calme and still water: which caused our Generall to make the more haste, so that by the 30. day of August we were all laden, and made all things ready to depart.

But before I proceede any further herein, to shew what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a litle to M. Captaine Fenton, and those Gentlemen which should haue inhabited all the yeere in those Countries, whose valiant mindes were much to be commended: For doubtlesse they had done as they intended if lucke had not withstoode their willingnesse.

Gentlemen should haue inhabited the Countrey.

For the Barke Dionyse which was lost, had in her much of their house which was prepared and should haue bene builded for them, with many other implements. Also the Thomas of Ipswich which had most of their prouision in her, came not into the Streights at all: neither did we see her since the day we were separated in the great snow, of which I spake before. For these causes, hauing not their house, nor yet prouision, they were disappointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ships, and so came away with vs.

But before we tooke shipping, we builded a litle house in the Countesse of Warwicks Island, and garnished it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glasses, Kombes, Babes on horsebacke and on foote, with innumerable other such fansies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the people to some familiaritie against other yeeres.

An house tricked and garnished with diuers trinkets.

Thus hauing finished all things we departed the Countrey, as I sayd before: but because the Busse had not lading enough in her, she put into Beares sound to take in a little more. In the

An outragious tempest.

the meane while the Admirall, and the rest without at Sea stayed for her. And that night fell such an outragious tempest, beating on our shipps with such vehement rigor, that anchor and cable auailed nought: for we were driuen on rockes and Islands of yce, insomuch that (had not the great goodnesse of God bene miraculously shewed to vs) we had bene cast away euery man. This danger was more doubtfull and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one shippe (I thinke) that escaped without damage. Some lost anchor and also cables, some botes, some Pinnesses: some anchor, cables, boates, and Pinnisses.

This boystrous storme so seuered vs from one another, that one shippe knewe not what was become of another. The Admirall knewe not where to finde the Viceadmirall or Rearadmirall, or any other ship of our company. Our Generall being on land in Beares sound could not come to his shippe, but was compelled to goe aboord the Gabriel where he continued all the way homeward: for the boystrous blasts continued so extreamely and so long a time, that they sent vs homewarde (which was Gods fauour towardes vs) will we, nill we, in such haste as not any one of vs were able to keepe in company with other, but were separated. And if by chance any one Shippe did ouertake other, by swiftnesse of sayle, or mette, as they often did: yet was the rigour of the wind so hidious, that they could not continue company together the space of one whole night.

Our entring the coastes dangerous.

Thus our iourney outward was not so pleasant, but our comming thither, entering the coasts and countrey, by narrow Streights, perillous yce, and swift tides, our times of aboade there in snowe and stormes, and our departure from thence the 31. of August with dangerous blustering windes and tempests, which that night arose, was as vncomfortable: separating vs so as wee sayled, that not any of vs mette together, vntill the 28. of September, which day we fell on the English coastes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and passed the channell, vntill our arriuall in the riuer of Thames.

The report of Thomas Wiars passenger in the Emanuel, otherwise called the Busse of Bridgewater, wherein Iames Leech was Master, one of the ships in the last Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher 1578. concerning the discouerie of a great Island in their way homeward the 12. of September.

The Island in length 25. leagues.
This Iland is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1 second part.
Two harboroughs in this Island.

THe Busse of Bridgewater was left in Beares sound at Meta incognita, the second day of September behinde the Fleete in some distresse, through much winde, ryding neere the Lee shoare, and forced there to ride it out vpon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all aground but two. The third of September being fayre weather, and the winde North northwest she set sayle, and departed thence, and fell with Frisland on the 8. day of September at sixe of the clocke at night, and then they set off from the Southwest point of Frisland, the wind being at East, and East Southeast, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at West northwest faire weather, they steered Southeast, and by south, and continued that course vntil the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about fiue leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northermost next, North Northeast, or Northeast. The master accompted that the Southeast poynt of Frisland was from him at that instant when hee first descryed this new Islande, Northwest by North, 50. leagues. They account this Island to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and Northwest. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part or there about. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at a 11. of the clocke, till the 13. day three of the clocke in the afternoone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them Northwest by North. There appeared two Harboroughs vpon that coast: the greatest of them seuen leagues to the Northwards of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was very much yce neere the same land, and also twenty or thirty leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September after noone. They plyed their Voyage homewards, and fell with the West part of Ireland about Galway, and had first sight of it on the 25. day of September.

Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple Esquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre vp considerations of these and of such other things, not vnmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.

THat the first Seate be chosen on the seaside, so as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Nauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your Seate safe from the enemie: and so as the enemie shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be dispersed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall be least subiect to annoy of the enemie, so may you by your Nauie within passe out to all parts of the world, and so may the Shippes of England haue accesse to you to supply all wants, so may your commodities be caryed away also. This seat is to be chosen in a temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoles or turfe, with fish, flesh, graine, fruites, herbes and rootes, or so many of those as may suffice very necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of siluer, copper, quicksiluer, or of any such precious thing, the wants of those needfull things may be supplyed from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of.
Slate stone to tyle withall, or such clay as maketh tyle,
Stone to wall withall, if Brycke may not bee made,
Timber for buylding easely to be conueied to the place,
Reede to couer houses or such like, if tyle or slate be not.

are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil sort be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to liue without traffique, or by traffique and by trade of marchandise. If they shall liue without sea traffique, at the first they become naked by want of linnen and woollen, and very miserable by infinite wants that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of themselues to depart, or else easely they will be consumed by the Spanyards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and so the enterprize becomes reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purposes that may be taken in hand.

And by trade of marchandise they can not liue, except the Sea or the Land there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to haue most speciall regard of that poynt, and so to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and seate may draw to you accesse of Nauigation for the same, or that by your owne Nauigation you may cary the same out, and fetch home the supply of the wants of the seate.

Such Nauigation so to be employed shall, besides the supply of wants, be able to encounter with forreine force.

And for that in the ample vent of such things as are brought to you out of England by Sea, standeth a matter of great consequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curtesie and much forbearing of reuenge to the Inland people be vsed: so shall you haue firme amitie with your neighbours, so shall you haue their inland commodities to mainteine traffique, and so shall you waxe rich and strong in force. Diuers and seuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of some portable or Nauigable riuer, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of such a one is most requisite: And so is it of effect for the dispersing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indeuoured with the Inland people then familiarity. For so may you best discouer all the natural cōmodities of their countrey, & also all their wants, al their strengths, all their weaknesse, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greatest consequence.

And in your planting the consideration of the clymate and of the soyle be matters that are to be respected. For if it be so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flats, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of Portugal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skill, and so you haue wonne one noble commoditie for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate be such as may yeeld you the Grape as good as that at Burdeaux, as that in Portugal, or as that about Siuil in Spaine, or that in the Islands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a workeman to put in execution to make Wines, and to dresse Resigns of the sunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Oliue tree to growe: Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this Realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying how deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you finde the wilde Oliue there it may be graffed.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the West Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue Hides of beasts fitte for sole Lether, &c. It will be a marchandize right good, and the Sauages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the soyle shall yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenges, Lemonds, Potatos, &c. there may arise some trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, chests may be made, if they be of some kinde of trees, Pitch and Tarre may be made, if they be of some other, then they may yeeld Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and traffique, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because traffique is a thing so materiall, I wish that great obseruation be taken what euery soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soeuer, and what it may be made to yeelde by indeuour, and to send vs notice home, that thereupon we may deuise what meanes may be thought of to raise trades.

Now admit that we might not be suffered by the Sauages to enioy any whole country or any more then the scope of a citie, yet if we might enioy traffique, and be assured of the same, we might be much inriched, our Nauie might be increased, and a place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or ciuil warres should happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enioy any large territorie of apt soyle, we might so vse the matter, as we should not depend vpon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resignes, orenges, lemonds, Spanish skins, &c. Nor vpon France for woad, baysalt, and Gascoyne wines, nor on Eastland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, mastes, &c. So we should not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly inrich our doubtfull friends, as we doe, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now wee doe: and should by our owne industries and the benefites of the soyle there cheaply purchase oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, mastes, boords, fish, golde, siluer, copper, tallow, hides and many commodities: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you haue plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common vses at home there.

If you can keepe a safe Hauen, although you haue not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue traffique by sea vpon one shore or other, vpon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you find great plentie of tymber on the shore side or vpon any portable riuer, you were best to cut downe of the same the first winter, to be seasoned for ships, barks, boates and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any riuer or brooke vpon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it would doe great seruice, and therefore consideration would be had of such places.

And if such port & chosen place of setling were in possession and after fortified by art although by the land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not enioy any traffi with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victuall themselues of fish serue very necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, so haue vent of their marchandize of England & also haue victual, or by meanes hereup to be vsed, to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a nauy at the setli place, they should find out along the tract of the land to haue traffique, and at diuers Islands also. And so this first seat might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernour. And if the place first chosen should not so well please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might be an easie remoue, and that might be raised, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoyd an ill neighbour.

If the soyles adioyning to such conuenient Hauen and setling places be found marshie and boggie, then men skilful in drayning are to be caryed thither. For arte may worke wonderful effects therein, and make the soyle rich [illegible] many vses.

To plant vpon an Island in the mouth of some [illegible] riuer, or vpon the point of the land entring into the riuer, if no such Island be, were to great end. For if such riuer were nauigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertil soyles, and traffike on the one or on the other side of the riuer, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other pettie king contending there for dominion.

Such riuers found, both Barges and Boates may be made for the safe passage of such as shall pierce the same. These are to be couered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the sauage from the rower.

Since euery soile of the world by arte may be made to yeeld things to feede and to clothe man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soile without and within, and we shall deuise if neede require to amend the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we shall in fiue drifats furnish you with such kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as shall the very next summer following yeeld you some fruite, and the yeere next following, as much as shall suffice a towne as bigge as Calice, and that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shall be able to encrease you within lesse then seuen yeeres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of diuers parishes, which at the first setling may stand you in great stead, if the soile haue not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld present reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefor I make mention of these thus specially, to the end you may haue it specially in minde.

A true discourse of the three Voyages of discouerie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Before which, as a necessary Preface is prefixed a twofolde discourse, conteining certaine reasons to proue all partes of the World habitable. Penned by Master George Best, a Gentleman employed in the same voyages.

What commodities and instructions may be reaped by diligent reading this Discourse.

1 FIrst, by example may be gathered, how a Discouerer of new Countries is to proceede in his first attempt of any Discouerie.

2 Item, how he should be prouided of shipping, victuals, munition, and choice of men.

3 How to proceede and deale with strange people, be they neuer so barbarous, cruell and fierce, either by lenitie or otherwise.

4 How trade of Merchandize may be made without money.

5 How a Pilot may deale, being inuironed with mountaines of yce in the frozen Sea.

6 How length of dayes, change of seasons, Summers and Winters doe differ in sundry [illegible]ns.

[illegible] How dangerous it is to attempt new Discoueries, either for the length of the voyage, or [illegible]gnorance of the language, the want of Interpretors, new and vnaccustomed Elements [illegible] ayres, strange and vnsauoury meates, danger of theeues and robbers, fiercenesse of [illegible]le beastes and fishes, hugenesse of woods, dangerousnesse of Seas, dread of tempestes, [illegible]eare of hidden rockes, steepnesse of mountaines, darkenesse of sudden falling fogges, continuall paines taking without any rest, and infinite others.

8 How pleasant and profitable it is to attempt new Discoueries, either for the sundry sights and shapes of strange beastes and fishes, the wonderfull workes of nature, the different maners and fashions of diuers nations, the sundry sortes of gouernment, the sight of strange trees, fruite, foules, and beastes, the infinite treasure of Pearle, Golde and Siluer, the newes of newe found landes, the sundry positions of the Sphere, and many others.

9 How valiant Captaines vse to deale vpon extremitie, and otherwise.

10 How trustie souldiers dutifully [illegible]o serue.

11 Also here may bee seene a goo[illegible]xample to be obserued of any priuate person, in taking notes, and making obseruations of all such things as are requisite for a Discouerer of newe Countries.

12 Lastly [illegible] the Reader here may see [illegible]ood paterne of a well gouerned seruice, sundry large m[illegible]ons of matters of Cosmographie, Geograph[illegible] and Nauigation, as in reading more at [illegible]y be seene.

Exper[illegible]iences and reasons of the Sphere, to pro[illegible]e all partes of the worlde habitable, [illegible]d thereby to confute the p[illegible]tion of the fiue Zones.

Experience to proue that Torrida Zona is habitable.

First, it may [illegible] gathered by [illegible] experience of our [illegible]glishmen in Anno 1553. Fo[illegible] Captaine Windam made a Voyage with Merchandise [illegible] G[illegible]ea, and entred so farre within the Torrida Zona, that he was within three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, and his company abiding there certaine Moneths, returned, with gaine.

Also the Englishmen made another Voyage very prosperous and gainefull, An. 1554. to the coasts of Guinea, within 3. degrees of the Equinoctiall. And yet it is reported of a trueth, that all the tract from Cape de las Palmas trending by C. de tres puntas alongst by Benin, vnto the Ile of S. Thomas (which is perpendiculer vnder the Equinoctial) all that whole Bay is more subiect to many blooming and smoothering heates, with infectious and contagious ayres, then any other place in all Torrida Zona: and the cause thereof is some accidents in the land. For it is most certaine, that mountains, Seas, woods and lakes &c. may cause through their sundry kinde of situation, sundry strange and extraordinary effects, which the reason of the clyme otherwise would not giue. I mention these Voyages of our Englishmen, not so much to prooue that Torrida Zona may bee, and is inhabited, as to shew their readinesse in attempting long and dangerous Nauigations. Wee also among vs in England haue blacke Moores, Æthiopians, out of all partes of Torrida Zona, which after a small continuance, can well endure the colde of our Countrey, and why should not we as well abide the heate of their Countrey? But what should I name any more experiences, seeing that all the coastes of Guinea and Benin are inhabited of Portugals, Spanyardes, French, and some Englishmen, who there haue built Castles and Townes. Onely this I will say to the Merchants of London, that trade yeerely to Marochus, it is very certaine, that the greatest part of the burning Zone is farre more temperate and coole in Iune, then the Countrey of Marochus, as shall appeare by these reasons and experiences following. For let vs first consider the breadth and bignesse of this burning Zone (which as euery man knoweth, is 47. degrees) each Tropicke, which are the bounders thereof, being 23. degrees and a halfe

Marochus more hote then about the Equinoctiall.

halfe distant from the Equinoctiall. Imagine againe two other Parallels, on each side the Equinoctiall one, eyther of them distant from the Equinoctial about 20. degrees, which Paralels may be described either of them twice a yeere by the Sunne, being in the first degrees of Gemini the 11. of May, and in Leo the 13. of Iuly, hauing North latitude. And againe, the Sunne being in the first degrees of Sagittarius, the 12. of Nouember, and in Aquarius the 9. of Ianuary, hauing South latitude, I am to prooue by experience and reason, that all that distance included betweene these two Paralels last named (conteyning 40. degrees in latitude, going round about the earth, according to longitude) is not onely habitable, but the same most fruitfull and delectable, and that if any extremitie of heate bee, the same not to be within the space of twenty degrees of the Equinoctiall on either side, but onely vnder and about the two Tropickes, and so proportionally the neerer you doe approch to eyther Tropicke, the more you are subiect to extremitie of heate (if any such be) and so Marochus being situate but sixe or seuen degrees from the Tropicke of Cancer, shall be more subiect to heate, then any place vnder or neere the Equinoctiall line.

And first by the experience of sundry men, yea thousands, Trauailers and Merchants, to the East and West Indies in many places both directly vnder, and hard by the Equinoctiall, they with one consent affirme, that it aboundeth in the middest of Torrida Zona with all manner of Graine, Hearbes, grasse, fruite, wood and cattell, that we haue heere, and thousandes other sortes, farre more wholesome, delectable and precious, then any wee haue in these Northerne climates, as very well shall appeare to him that will reade the Histories and Nauigations of such as haue traueiled Arabia, India intra & extra Gangem, the Islands Moluccæ, America, &c. which all lye about the middle of the burning Zone, where it is truely reported, that the great hearbes, as are Radish, Lettuce, Colewortes, Borage, and such like, doe waxe ripe, greater, more sauourie and delectable in taste then ours, within sixteene dayes after the seede is sowen. Wheate being sowed the first of Februarie, was found ripe the first of May, and generally, where it is lesse fruitfull, the wheate will be ripe the fourth moneth after the seed is sowne, and in some places will bring foorth an eare as bigge as the wrist of a mans arme containing 1000. graines; Beanes, peace, &c. are there ripe twice a yeere. Also grasse being cut downe, will grow vp in sixe dayes aboue one foote high. If our cattell be transported thither, within a small time their young-ones become of bigger stature, and more fat then euer they would haue bene in these countreys. There are found in euery wood in great numbers, such timber trees as twelue men holding handes together are not able to fathome. And to be short, all they that haue bene there with one consent affirme, that there are the goodliest greene medowes and plaines, the fairest mountaines couered with all sorts of trees and fruites, the fairest valleys, the goodliest pleasant fresh riuers, stored with infinite kinde of fishes, the thickest woods, greene and bearing fruite all the whole yeere, that are in all the world. And as for gold, siluer, and all other kinde of Metals, all kinde of spices and delectable fruites, both for delicacie and health, are there in such abundance, as hitherto they haue bene thought to haue beene bred no where else but there. And in conclusion, it is nowe thought that no where else but vnder the Equinoctiall, or not farre from thence, is the earthly Paradise, and the onely place of perfection in this worlde. And that these things may seeme the lesse strange, because it hath bene accompted of the olde Philosophers, that there coulde nothing prosper for the extreme heat of the Sunne continually going ouer their heades in the Zodiacke, I thought good here to alleadge such naturall causes as to me seeme very substantiall and sure reasons.

Maruellous fruitfull soile vnder the Equinoctiall.

Great trees.

Con[illegible] and [illegible] vnde[illegible] Equi[illegible]

First you are to vnderstand that the Sunne doeth worke his more or lesse heat in these lower parts by two meanes, the one is by the kinde of Angle that the Sunne beames doe make with the earth, as in all Torrida Zona it maketh perpendicularly right Angles in some place or other at noone, and towards the two Poles very oblique and vneuen Angles. And the other meane is the longer or shorter continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon. So that wheresoeuer these two causes do most concurre, there is most excesse of heat: and when the one is wanting, the rigor of the heat is lesse. For though the Sunne beames do beat perpendicularly vpon any region subiect vnto it, if it hath no continuance or abode aboue

Heat is caused by two meanes that is by his maner of Angle and by his continuance.

aboue the Horizon, to worke his operation in, there can no hote effect proceed. For nothing can be done in a moment. And this second cause mora Solis supra Horizontem, the time of the sunnes abiding aboue the Horizon, the old Philosophers neuer remembred, but regarded onely the maner of Angles that the Sunne beames made with the Horizon, which if they were equall and right, the heat was the greater, as in Torrida Zona: if they were vnequall and oblique, the heat was the lesse, as towards both Poles, which reason is very good and substantiall: for the perpendicular beames reflect and reuerberate in themselues, so that the heat is doubled, euery beame striking twice, & by vniting are multiplied, and continue strong in forme of a Columne. But in our Latitude of 50. and 60. degrees, the Sunne beames descend oblique and slanting wise, and so strike but once and depart, and therefore our heat is the lesse for any effect that the Angle of the Sunne beames make. Yet because wee haue a longer continuance of the Sunnes presence aboue our Horizon then they haue vnder the Equinoctial; by this continuance the heat is increased, for it shineth to vs 16. or 18. houres sometime, when it continueth with them but twelue houres alwayes.

Note this reason.

And againe, our night is very short wherein cold vapours vse to abound, being but sixe or eight houres long, whereas theirs is alwayes twelue houres long, by which two aduantages of long dayes and short nights, though we want the equalitie of Angle, it commeth to passe that in Sommer our heat here is as great as theirs is there, as hath bene proued by experience, and is nothing dissonant from good reason. Therefore whosoeuer will rightly way the force of colde and heat in any region, must not onely consider the Angle that the Sunne beames make, but also the continuance of the same aboue the Horizon. As first to them vnder the Equinoctiall the Sunne is twice a yeere at noone in their Zenith perpendicular ouer their heads, and therefore during the two houres of those two dayes the heat is very vrgent, and so perhaps it will be in foure or fiue dayes more an houre euery day, vntill the Sunne in his proper motion haue crossed the Equinoctiall; so that this extreme heat caused by the perpendicular Angle of the Sunne beames, endureth but two houres of two dayes in a yeere. But if any man say the Sunne may scalde a good while before and after it come to the Meridian, so farre foorth as reason leadeth, I am content to allow it, and therefore I will measure and proportion the Sunnes heat, by comparing the Angles there, with the Angles made here in England, because this temperature is best knowen vnto vs. As for example, the 11. day of March, when vnder the Equinoctiall it is halfe houre past eight of the clocke in the morning, the Sunne will be in the East about 38. degrees aboue the Horizon, because there it riseth alwayes at sixe of the clocke, and mooueth euery houre 15. degrees, and so high very neere will it be with vs at London the said eleuenth day of March at noone. And therefore looke what force the Sunne hath with vs at noone, the eleuenth of March, the same force it seemeth to haue vnder the Equinoctial at half an houre past eight in the morning, or rather lesse force vnder the Equinoctiall. For with vs the Sunne had bene already sixe houres aboue the horizon, and so had purified and clensed all the vapours, and thereby his force encreased at noone; but vnder the Equinoctiall, the Sunne hauing bene vp but two houres and an halfe, had sufficient to doe, to purge and consume the cold and moyst vapours of the long night past, and as yet had wrought no effect of heate. And therefore I may boldly pronounce, that there is much lesse heate at halfe an houre past eight vnder the Equinoctiall, then is with vs at noone: à fortiori. But in March we are not onely contented to haue the Sunne shining, but we greatly desire the same. Likewise the 11 of Iune, the Sunne in our Meridian is 62 degrees high at London: and vnder the Equinoctiall it is so high after 10 of the clocke, and seeing then it is beneficial with vs; à fortiori it is beneficiall to them after 10 of the clocke.

And thus haue wee measured the force of the Sunnes greatest heate, the hottest dayes in the yeere, vnder the Equinoctiall, that is in March and September, from sixe till after tenne of the clocke in the morning, and from two vntill Sunne set. And this is concluded, by respecting onely the first cause of heate, which is the consideration of the Angle of the Sunne beames, by a certaine similitude, that whereas the Sunne shineth neuer aboue twelue houres, more then eight of them would bee coole and pleasant euen to vs, much more to them that are acquainted alwayes with such warme places. So there remaineth lesse then foure houres of any excessiue heate, and that onely in the two Sommer dayes of the yeere, that is the eleuenth day of March, and the foureteenth of September: for vnder the Equinoctiall they haue two Sommers, the one in March, and the other in September, which are our Spring and Autumne: and likewise two Winters, in Iune and December, which are our Sommer and Winter, as may well appeare to him that hath onely tasted the principles of the Sphere. But if the Sunne bee in either Tropicke, or approching neere thereunto, then may wee more easily measure the force of his Meridian altitude, that it striketh vpon the Equinoctiall. As for example, the twelfth of Iune the Sunne will be in the first degree of Cancer. Then looke what force the heate of the Sunne hath vnder the Equinoctiall, the same force and greater it hath in all that Parallel, where the Pole is eleuated betweene fourtie and seuen, and fourtie and eight degrees. And therefore Paris in France the twelfth day of Iune sustaineth more heate of the Sunne, then Saint Thomas Iland lying neere the same Meridian doeth likewise at noone, or the Ilands Taprobana, Moluccæ, or the firme lande of Peru in America, which all lye vnderneath the Equinoctiall. For vpon the twelfth day of Iune aforesaide, the Sunne beames at noone doe make an Isoscheles Triangle, whose Vertex is the Center of the Sunne, the Basis a line extended from Saint Thomas Iland vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto Paris in France neere the same Meridian: therefore the two Angles of the Base must needs be equal per 5. primi, Ergo the force of the heat equal, if there were no other cause then the reason of the Angle, as the olde Philosophers haue appointed. But because at Paris the Sunne riseth two houres before it riseth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, and setteth likewise two houres after them, by meanes of the obliquitie of the Horizon, in which time of the Sunnes presence foure houres in one place more then the other, it worketh some effect more in one place then in the other, and being of equall height at noone, it must then needs follow to be more hote in the Parallel of Paris, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall.

Paris in France is as hote as vnder the Equinoctial in Iune.

In Iune is greater heat at Paris then vnder the Equinoctial.

Also this is an other reason, that when the Sunne setteth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, it goeth very deepe and lowe vnder their Horizon, almost euen to their Antipodes, whereby their twilights are very short, and their nights are made very extreeme darke and long, and so the moysture and coldnesse of the long nights wonderfully encreaseth, so that at length the Sunne rising can hardly in many houres consume and driue away the colde humours and moyst vapours of the night past, which is cleane contrary in the Parallel of Paris: for the Sunne goeth vnder their Horizon but very little, after a sloping sort, whereby their nights are not very darke, but lightsome, as looking into the North in a cleare night without cloudes it doeth manifestly appeare, their twilights are long: for the Parallel of Cancer cutteth not the Horizon of Paris at right Angles, but at Angles very vneuen, and vnlike as it doeth the Horizon of the Equinoctiall. Also the Sommer day at Paris is sixteene houres long, and the night but eight: where contrarywise vnder the Equinoctiall the day is but twelue houres long, and so long is also the night, in whatsoeuer Parallel the Sunne be: and therefore looke what oddes and difference of proportion there is betweene the Sunnes abode aboue the Horizon in Paris, and the abode it hath vnder the Equinoctiall, (it being in Cancer) the same proportion would seeme to be betweene the heate of the one place, and heate of the other: for other things (as the Angle of the whole arke of the Sunnes progresse that day in both places) are equall.

The twilights are shorter, and the nights darker vnder the Equinoctial then at Paris.

But vnder the Equinoctiall the presence and abode of the Sunne aboue the Horizon is equall to his absence, and abode vnder the Horizon, eche being twelue houres. And at Paris the continuance and abode of the Sunne is aboue the Horizon sixteene houres long, and but eight houres absence, which proportion is double, from which if the proportion of the equalitie be subtracted to finde the difference, there will remaine still a double proportion, whereby it seemeth to follow, that in Iune the heate of Paris were double to the heate vnder the equinoctiall. For (as I haue said) the Angles of the Sunne beames are in all points equall, and the cause of difference is, Mora Solis supra Horizontem, the stay of the Sunne in the one Horizon more then in the other. Therefore, whosoeuer could finde out in what proportion the

In what proportion the Angle of the Sun beames heateth.

the Angle of the Sunne beames heateth, and what encrease the Sunnes continuance doeth adde thereunto, it might expresly be set downe, what force of heat and cold is in all regions.

They vse and haue neede of fire vnder the Equinoctiall.

Thus you partly see by comparing a Climate to vs well knowen, and familiarly acquainted by like height of the Sunne in both places, that vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune is no excessiue heat, but a temperate aire rather tending to cold. For as they haue there for the most part a continuall moderate heat, so yet sometime they are a little pinched with colde, and vse the benefite of fire as well as we, especially in the euening when they goe to bed, for as they lye in hanging beds tied fast in the vpper part of the house, so will they haue fires made on both sides their bed, of which two fires, the one they deuise superstitiously to driue away spirits, and the other to keepe away from them the coldnesse of the nights.

Colde intermingled with heate vnder the Equinoctial.

Also in many places of Torrida Zona, especially in the higher landes somewhat mountainous, the people a litle shrincke at the cold, and are often forced to prouide themselues clothing, so that the Spaniards haue found in the West Indies many people clothed, especially in Winter, whereby appeareth, that with their heat there is colde intermingled, else would they neuer prouide this remedy of clothing, which to them is rather a griefe and trouble then otherwise. For when they goe to warres, they will put off all their apparell, thinking it to be combersome, and will alwayes goe naked, that they thereby might be more nimble in their fight.

Some there be that thinke the middle Zone extreme hot, because the people of the countrey can, and doe liue without clothing, wherein they childishly are deceiued: for our Clime rather tendeth to extremitie of colde, because wee cannot liue without clothing: for this our double lining, furring, and wearing so many clothes, is a remedy against extremitie, and argueth not the goodnesse of the habitation, but inconuenience and iniury of colde: and that is rather the moderate, temperate, and delectable habitation, where none of these troublesome things are required, but that we may liue naked and bare, as nature bringeth vs foorth.

Ethiopians blacke, with curled haire.

The Sunne heateth not by his neerenesse, but onely by reflection.

Others againe imagine the middle Zone to be extreme hot, because the people of Africa, especially the Ethiopians, are so cole blacke, and their haire like wooll curled short, which blacknesse and curled haire they suppose to come onely by the parching heat of the Sunne, which how it should be possible I cannot see: for euen vnder the Equinoctiall in America, and in the East Indies, and in the Ilands Moluccæ the people are not blacke, but tauney and white, with long haire vncurled as wee haue, so that if the Ethiopians blacknesse came by the heat of the Sunne, why should not those Americans and Indians also be as blacke as they, seeing the Sunne is equally distant from them both, they abiding in one Parallel: for the concaue and conuexe Superficies of the Orbe of the Sunne is concentrike, and equidistant to the earth; except any man should imagine somewhat of Aux Solis, and Oppositum, which indifferently may be applied aswel to the one place as to the other. But the Sunne is thought to giue no otherwise heat, but by way of Angle in reflection, and not by his neerenesse to the earth: for throughout all Africa, yea in the middest of the middle Zone, and in all other places vpon the tops of mountaines there lyeth continuall snow, which is neerer to the Orbe of the sunne, then the people are in the valley, by so much as the height of these mountaines amount vnto, and yet the Sunne notwithstanding his neerenesse, can not melt the snow for want of conuenient place of reflections. Also the middle region of the aire where all the haile, frost, and snow is engendred, is neerer vnto the Sunne then the earth is, and yet there continueth perpetuall cold, because there is nothing that the Sunne beames may reflect against, whereby appeareth that the neerenesse of the body of the Sunne worketh nothing.

A black Moores sonne borne in England.

Therefore to returne againe to the blacke Moores, I myselfe haue seene an Ethiopian as blacke as a cole brought into England, who taking a faire English woman to wife, begat a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father was, although England were his natiue countrey, and an English woman his mother: whereby it seemeth this blacknes proceedeth rather of some natural infection of that man, which was so strong, that neither the nature of the Clime, neither the good complexion of the mother concurring, coulde any thing alter, and therefore, wee cannot impute it to the nature of the Clime. And for a more fresh example, our people of Meta Incognita (of whom and for whom this discourse is taken in hande) that were brought this last yeere into England, were all generally of the same colour that many nations be, lying in the middest of the middle Zone. And this their colour was not onely in the face which was subiect to Sunne and aire, but also in their bodies, which were stil couered with garments as ours are, yea the very sucking childe of twelue moneths age had his skinne of the very same colour that most haue vnder the equinoctiall, which thing cannot proceed by reason of the Clime, for that they are at least ten degrees more towardes the North then wee in England are, No, the Sunne neuer commeth neere their Zenith by fourtie degrees: for in effect, they are within three or foure degrees of that which they call the frozen Zone, and as I saide, fourtie degrees from the burning Zone, whereby it followeth, that there is some other cause then the Climate or the Sonnes perpendicular reflexion, that should cause the Ethiopians great blacknesse. And the most probable cause to my iudgement is, that this blackenesse proceedeth of some naturall infection of the first inhabitants of that Countrey, and so all the whole progenie of them descended, are still polluted with the same blot of infection. Therefore it shall not bee farre from our purpose, to examine the first originall of these blacke men, and howe by a lineall discent they haue hitherto continued thus blacke.

The colour of the people in Meta Incognita. The complexion of the people of Meta incognita.

It manifestly and plainely appeareth by Holy Scripture, that after the generall inundation and ouerflowing of the earth, there remained no moe men aliue but Noe and his three sonnes, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, who onely were left to possesse and inhabite the whole face of the earth: therefore all the sundry discents that vntil this day haue inhabited the whole earth, must needes come of the off-spring either of Sem, Cham, or Iaphet, as the onely sonnes of Noe, who all three being white, and their wiues also, by course of nature should haue begotten and brought foorth white children. But the enuie of our great and continuall enemie the wicked Spirite is such, that as hee coulde not suffer our olde father Adam to liue in the felicitie and Angelike state wherein hee was first created, but tempting him sought and procured his ruine and fall: so againe, finding at this flood none but a father and three sonnes liuing, hee so caused one of them to transgresse and disobey his fathers commaundement, that after him all his posterity shoulde bee accursed. The fact of disobedience was this: When Noe at the commandement of God had made the Arke and entred therein, and the floud-gates of heauen were opened, so that the whole face of the earth, euery tree and mountaine was couered with abundance of water, hee straitely commaunded his sonnes and their wiues, that they should with reuerence and feare beholde the iustice and mighty power of God, and that during the time of the floud while they remained in the Arke, they should vse continencie, and abstaine from carnall copulation with their wiues: and many other precepts hee gaue vnto them, and admonitions touching the iustice of God, in reuenging sinne, and his mercie in deliuering them, who nothing deserued it. Which good instructions and exhortations notwithstanding his wicked sonne Cham disobeyed, and being perswaded that the first childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) should inherite and possesse all the dominions of the earth, hee contrary to his fathers commandement while they were yet in the rke, vsed company with his wife, and craftily went about thereby to dis-inherite the off-spring his other two brethren: for the which wicked and detestable fact, as an example for con-pt of Almightie God, and disobedience of parents, God would a sonne should bee borne se name was Chus, who not onely it selfe, but all his posteritie after him should bee so e and lothsome, that it might remaine a spectacle of disobedience to all the worlde. Of this blacke and cursed Chus came all these blacke Moores which are in Africa, for he water was vanished from off the face of the earth, and that the lande was dry, Sem that part of the land to inhabite in, which nowe is called Asia, and Iaphet had that which now is called Eur a, wherein wee dwell, and Africa remained for Cham and his blacke sonne Chus, and was called Chamesis after the fathers name, being perhaps cursed, dry, sandy, and vnfruitfull ground, fit for such a generation to inhabite in.

The cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse.

The Arke of Noe.

Chus the sonne of Cham accursed.

Africa was called Chamesis.

Thus you see, that the cause of the Ethiopians blacknesse is the curse and naturall infection of blood, and not the distemperature of the Climate; Which also may bee prooue by this example, that these blacke men are found in all parts of Africa, as well without the Tropickes, Greatest temperature vnder the Equinoctial.

Tropickes, as within, euen vnto Capo de buona Speranza Southward, where by reason of the Sphere, should be the same temperature that is in Sicilia, Morea and Candie, where al be of very good complexions. Wherefore I conclude, that the blacknesse proceedeth not of the hotenesse of the Clime, but as I saide, of the infection of blood and therefore this their argument gathered of the Africans blacknesse is not able to destroy the temperature of the middle Zone. Wee may therefore very well bee assertained, that vnder the Equinoctiall is the most pleasant and delectable place of the worlde to dwell in; where although the Sunne for two houres in a yeere be direct ouer their heades, and therefore the heate at that time somewhat of force, yet because it commeth so seldome, and continueth so small a time, when it commeth, it is not to bee wayed, but rather the moderate heate of other times in all the yeere to be remembred. And if the heate at any time should in the short day waxe somewhat vrgent, the coldnesse of the long night there would easily refresh it, according as Honterus sayeth, speaking of the temperature vnder the Equinoctiall.

> Quódque die solis violento incanduit æstu,
> Humida nox reficit, paribusque refrigerat horis.

If the heate of the Sunne in the day time doe burne or parch any thing, the moysture of the night doeth coole and refresh the same againe, the Sunne being as long absent in the night, as it was present in the day.

Vnder the Equinoquiall is greatest generation.

Also our Aucthour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacro Bosco, in the Chapter of the Zodiacke, deriueth the Etymologie of Zodiacus, of the Greeke word Zoe, which in Latine signifieth Vita, life; for out of Aristotle hee alleadgeth, that Secundum accessum & recessum solis in Zodiaco, fiunt generationes & corruptiones in rebus inferioribus: according to the Sunnes going to and fro in the Zodiake, the inferiour bodies take their causes of generation and corruption. Then it followeth, that where there is most going too and fro, there is most generation and corruption: which must needes be betweene the two Tropickes; for there the Sunne goeth too and fro most, and no where else but there. Therefore betweene the two Tropikes, that is, in the middle Zone, is greatest increase, multiplication, generation, and corruption of things, which also wee finde by experience; for there is Sommer twice in the yeere, and twice Winter, so that they haue two Haruests in the yeere, and continuall Spring. Seeing then the middle Zone falleth out so temperate, it resteth to declare where the hottest part of the world should bee, for we finde some places more hote then others.

Greatest heate vnder the Tropicks.

To answere this doubt, reason perswadeth, the hotest place in the world to bee vnder and about the two Tropickes; for there more then in any other place doe both the causes of heate concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames, at right angles, and a greater continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon, the Pole there being eleuated three or foure and twentie degrees. And as before I concluded, that though the Sunne were perpendicular to them vnder the Equinoctiall, yet because the same continued but a small time, (their dayes being short, and their nights long) and the speedie departure of the Sunne from their Zenith, because of the suddeine crossing of the Zodiake with the Equinoctiall, an that by such continuall course and recourse of hote and colde, the temperature grew m derate, and very well able to bee endured: so nowe to them vnder the two Tropickes, Sunne hauing once by his proper motion declined twentie degrees from the Equinoc beginneth to draw neere their Zenith, which may bee (as before) about the eleuenth of May, and then beginneth to sende his beames almost at right Angles, about which the Sunne entreth into the first degree of Gemini, and with this almost right Ang Sunne beames will continue vntill it bee past Cancer, that is, the space of two mo euery day at noone, almost perpendicular ouer their heades, being then the time of Solstitium Aestiua: which so long continuance of the Sunne about their Zenith may cause an extreeme heate (if any be in the world) but of necessitie farre more heate then can bee vnder the Equinoctiall, where the Sunne hath no such long abode in the Zenith, but passeth away there-hence very quickly. Also vnder the Tropickes, the day is longer by an houre and a halfe, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall; wherefore the heate of the Sunne hauing a longer time of operation, must needes be encreased, especially seeing the night wherein colde and moysture doe abound vnder the Tropickes, is lesse then it is vnder the Equinoctiall. Therefore I gather, that vnder the Tropickes is the hotest place, not onely of Torrida Zona, but of any other part of the world, especially because there both causes of heate doe concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames two monethes together, and the longer abode of the Sunnes presence aboue the Horison. And by this meanes more at large is prooued, that Marochus in Sommer is farre more hote, then at any time vnder the Equinoctiall, because it is situate so neere the Tropick of Cancer, and also for the length of their dayes. Neither yet do I thinke, that the Regions situate vnder the Tropicks are not habitable, for they are found to be very fruitfull also; although Marochus and some other parts of Afrike neere the Tropike for the drinesse of the natiue sandie soile, and some accidents may seeme to some to be intemperate for ouer much heat. For Ferdinandus Ouiedus speaking of Cuba and Hispaniola, Ilands of America, lying hard vnder, or by the Tropike of Cancer, saith, that these Ilands haue as good pasture for cattell, as any other countrey in the world.

Cuba.
Hispaniola.

Also, they haue most holesome and cleare water, and temperate aire, by reason whereof the heards of beastes are much bigger, fatter, and of better taste, then any in Spaine, because of the ranke pasture, whose moysture is better digested in the hearbe or grasse, by continuall and temperate heate of the Sunne, whereby being made more fat and vnctious, it is of better and more stedfast nourishment: For continuall and temperate heate doeth not onely drawe much moysture out of the earth to the nourishment of such things as growe, and are engendred in that Clime, but doeth also by moderation preserue the same from putrifying, digesting also, and condensating or thickning the said moyst nourishment into a gumme and vnctious substance, whereby appeareth also, that vnder the Tropikes is both holesome, fruitefull, and pleasant habitation, whereby lastly it followeth, that all the middle Zone, which vntill of late dayes hath bene compted and called the burning, broyling, and parched Zone, is now found to be the most delicate, temperate, commodious, pleasant, and delectable part of the world, and especially vnder the Equinoctiall.

Vnder the Tropikes is moderate temperature.

Hauing now sufficiently at large declared the temperature of the middle Zone, it remaineth to speake somewhat also of the moderate and continuall heate in colde Regions, as well in the night as in the day all the Sommer long, and also how these Regions are habitable to the inhabitants of the same, contrary to the opinion of the olde writers.

Of the temperature of colde Regions all the Sommer long, and also how in Winter the same is habitable, especially to the inhabitants thereof.

THe colde Regions of the world are those, which tending toward the Poles Arctike, and Antarctike, are without the circuite or boundes of the seuen Climates: which assertion agreeable to the opinion of the olde Writers, is found and set out in our authour of the phere, Iohannes de Sacrobosco, where hee plainely saith, that without the seuenth Climate, hich is bounded by a Parallel passing at fiftie degrees in Latitude, all the habitation beade is discommodious and intollerable. But Gemma Frisius a late writer finding England Scotland to be without the compasse of those Climates, wherein hee knewe to bee very erate and good habitation, added thereunto two other Climates, the vttermost Parallel eof passeth by 56. degrees in Latitude, and therein comprehendeth ouer and aboue the computation, England. Scotland, Denmarke, Moscouia, &c. which all are rich and ghtie kingdomes.

Nine Climates.

he olde writers perswaded by bare coniecture, went about to determine of those places, mparing them to their owne complexions, because they felt them to bee hardly tollera- to themselues, and so took thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth; as if

A comparison betweene Marochus and England.

man borne in Marochus, or some other part of Barbarie, should at the latter e[illegible] of So
vpon the suddeine, either naked, or with his thinne vesture, bee brought into En
hee would iudge this Region presently not to bee habitable, because hee being broug
in so warme a Countrey, is not able here to liue, for so suddeine an alteration of the
aire: but if the same man had come at the beginning of Sommer, and so afterward by
and little by certaine degrees, had felt and acquainted himselfe with the frost of Aut
it would haue seemed by degrees to harden him, and so to make it farre more t
ble, and by vse after one yeere or two, the aire would seeme to him more tem
It was compted a great matter in the olde time, that there was a brasse pot brok
sunder with frosen water in Pontus, which after was brought and shewed in Delp
token of a miraculous colde region and winter, and therefore consecrated to the Tem
Apollo.

This effect being wrought in the Parallel of fouretie three degrees in Latitude, it wa
sently counted a place very hardly and vneasily to be inhabited for the great colde.
how then can such men define vpon other Regions very farre without that Parallel, w
they were inhabited or not, seeing that in so neere a place they so grossely mistoo
matter, and others their followers being contented with the inuentions of the olde A
haue persisted willingly in the same opinion, with more confidence then consideration
cause: so lightly was that opinion receiued, as touching the vnhabitable Clime nee
vnder the Poles.

All the North regions are habitable.

Therefore I am at this present to proue, that all the land lying betweene the last c
euen vnto the point directly vnder either poles, is or may be inhabited, especially o
creatures as are ingendred and bred therein. For indeed it is to be confessed, that
particular liuing creature cannot liue in euery particular place or region, especially wi
same ioy and felicitie, as it did where it was first bred, for the certeine agreement of
that is betweene the place and the thing bred in that place: as appeareth by the Ele
which being translated and brought out of the second or third climat, though the
liue, yet will they neuer ingender or bring forth yong. Also we see the like in
kinds of plants and herbs; for example, the Orange trees, although in Naples they
forth fruit abundantly, in Rome and Florence they will beare onely faire greene leaue
not any fruit: and translated into England, they will hardly beare either flowers, fr
leaues, but are the next Winter pinched and withered with colde: yet it followe
for this, that England, Rome, and Florence should not be habitable.

Elephant.

Orange tree.

Two causes of heat.

In the prouing of these colde regions habitable, I shalbe very short, because the
reasons serue for this purpose, which were alleged before in the prouing the middle Z
be temperate, especially seeing all heat and colde proceed from the Sunne, by the m
either of the Angle which his beames do make with the Horizon, or els by the long or
continuance of the Suns presence aboue ground: so that if the Sunnes beames do bea
pendicularly at right Angles, then there is one cause of heat, and if the Sunne do als
continue aboue the Horizon, then the heat thereby is much increased by accesse o
other cause, & so groweth to a kinde of extremity. And these two causes, as I say
fore, do most concurre vnder the two Tropicks, and therefore there is the greatest h
the world. And likewise, where both these causes are most absent, there is greatest
of heat, and increase of colde (seeing that colde is nothing but the priuation and abse
heat) and if one cause be wanting, and the other present the effect will grow indiff
Therefore this is to be vnderstood, that the neerer any region is to the Equinoctial
higher the Sunne doth rise ouer their heads at noone, and so maketh either right or
right Angles, but the Sunne tarieth with them so much the shorter [illegible]ne, and causeth s
dayes, with longer and colder nights, to restore the domage of the day p[illegible]st, by reason
moisture consumed by vapour. But in such regions, ouer the which the Sun[illegible] riseth
(as in regions extended towards either pole) it maketh their vnequall Angles, but the S
continueth longer, and maketh longer dayes, and causeth so much shorter and warmer n

as retaining warme vapours of the day past. For there are found by experience Summer nights in Scotland and Gothland very hot, when vnder the Equinoctiall they are found very cold. This benefit of the Sunnes long continuance & increase of the day, doth augment so much the more in colde regions as they are nerer the poles, and ceaseth not increasing vntill it come directly vnder the point of the pole Articke, where the Sunne continueth aboue ground the space of sixe moneths or halfe a yere together, and so the day is halfe a yere long, that is the time of the Sunnes being in the North signes, from the first degree of Aries vntill the last of Virgo, that is all the time from our 10 day of March vntill the 14 of September. The Sunne therefore during the time of these sixe moneths without any offence or hinderance of the night, giueth his influence vpon those lands with heat that neuer ceaseth during that time, which maketh to the great increase of Summer, by reason of the Sunnes continuance. Therefore it followeth, that though the Sunne be not there very high ouer their heads, to cause right angle beames, and to giue great heat, yet the Sun being there sometimes almost 24 degrees high doth cast a conuenient and meane heate, which there continueth without hindrance of the night the space of sixe moneths (as is before sayd) during which time there followeth to be a conuenient, moderate and temperate heat: or els rather it is to be suspected the heat there to be very great, both for continuance, and also, Quia virtus vnita crescit, the vertue and strength of heat vnited in one increaseth. If then there be such a moderate heat vnder the poles, and the same to continue so long time: what should mooue the olde writers to say there cannot be place for habitation. And that the certainty of this temperate heat vnder both the poles might more manifestly appeare, let vs consider the position & quality of the sphere, the length of the day, and so gather the height of the Sunne at all times, and by consequent the quantity of his angle, and so lastly the strength of his heat.

Hote / mere

Cold / vnder / nocti

One / mon

Mat / vnde

Those lands and regions lying vnder the pole, and hauing the pole for their Zenith, must needs haue the Equinoctial circle for their Horizon: therefore the Sun entring into the North signes, and describing euery 24 houres a parallel to the Equinoctiall by the diurnall motion of Primum mobile, the same parallels must needs be wholly aboue the Horizon: and so looke how many degrees there are from the first of Aries to the last of Virgo, so many whole reuolutions there are aboue their Horizon that dwell vnder the pole, which amount to 182, and so many of our dayes the Sunne continueth with them. During which time they haue there continuall day and light, without any hindrance of moist nights. Yet it is to be noted, that the Sunne being in the first degree of Aries, and last degree of Virgo, maketh his reuolution in the very horizon, so that in these 24 houres halfe the body of the Sunne is aboue the horizon, and the other halfe is vnder his only center, describing both the horizon and the equinoctiall circle.

The / neuer / 182 d

Hori / Equi / one v / pole.

And therefore seeing the greatest declination of the Sunne is almost 24 degrees, it followeth, his greatest height in those countreys to be almost 24 degrees. And so high is the Sun at noone to vs in London about the 29 of October, being in the 15 degree of [illegible], and likewise the 21 of Ianuary being in the 15 of Aquarius. Therefore looke what force he Sun at noone hath in London the 29 of October, the same force of heat it hath, to them t dwell vnder the pole, the space almost of two moneths, during the time of the Summer stitium, and that without intermingling of any colde night; so that if the heat of the ne at noone could be well measured in London (which is very hard to do, because of ong nights which ingender great moisture and cold) then would manifestly appeare by se numbers the maner of the heat vnder the poles, which certainly must needs be to nhabitants very commodious and profitable, if it incline not to ouermuch heat, and oisture do not want.

Lond

or as in October in England we finde temperate aire, and haue in our gardens hearbs and flowres notwithstanding our cold nights, how much more should they haue the same good aire, being continuall without night. This heat of ours continueth but one houre, while the Sun is in that meridian, but theirs continueth a long time in one height. This our heat is weake, and by the coolnesse of the night vanisheth, that heat is strong, and by continual accesse is still increased and strengthened. And thus by a similitude of the equall height of the Sun in both places appeareth the commodious and moderate heat of the regions vnder the poles.

Commodious dwelling vnder the poles.

And surely I cannot thinke that the diuine prouidence hath made any thing vncommunicable, but to haue giuen such order to all things, that one way or other the same should be imployed, and that euery thing and place should be tollerable to the next: but especially all things in this lower world be giuen to man to haue dominion and vse thereof. Therefore we need no longer to doubt of the temperate and commodious habitation vnder the poles during the time of Summer.

The nights vnder the pole.

But all the controuersie consisteth in the Winter, for then the Sunne leaueth those regions, and is no more seene for the space of other sixe moneths, in the which time all the Sunnes course is vnder their horizon for the space of halfe a yere, and then those regions (say some) must needs be deformed with horrible darknesse, and continuall night, which may be the cause that beasts can not seeke their food, and that also the colde should then be intollerable. By which double euils all liuing creatures should be constrained to die, and were not able to indure the extremity and iniury of Winter, and famine insuing thereof, but that all things should perish before the Summer following, when they should bring foorth their brood and yoong, and that for these causes the sayd Clime about the pole should be desolate and not habitable. To all which obiections may be answered in this maner: First, that though the Sunne be absent from them those six moneths, yet it followeth not that there should be such extreme darknesse; for as the Sunne is departed vnder their horizon, so is it not farre from them: and not so soone as the Sunne falleth so suddenly commeth the darke night; but the euening doth substitute and prolong the day a good while after by twilight. After which time the residue of the night receiueth light of the Moone and Starres, vntill the breake of the day, which giueth also a certaine light before the Sunnes rising; so that by these meanes the nights are seldome darke; which is verified in all parts of the world, but least in the middle Zone vnder the Equinoctiall, where the twilights are short, and the nights darker then in any other place, because the Sunne goeth vnder their horizon so deepe, euen to their antipodes. We see in England in the Summer nights, when the Sunne goeth not farre vnder the horizon, that by the light of the Moone & Starres we may trauell all night, and if occasion were, do some other labour also. And there is no man that doubteth whether our cattell can see to feed in the nights, seeing we are so well certified thereof by our experience: and by reason of the sphere our nights should be darker then any time vnder the poles.

The Astronomers consent that the Sunne descending from our vpper hemisphere at the 18 parallel vnder the horizon maketh an end of twilight, so that at length the darke night insueth, and that afterward in the morning the Sun approching againe within as many parallels will driue away the night by accesse of the twilight. Againe, by the position of the sphere vnder the pole, the horizon, and the equinoctiall are all one. These reuolutions therefore that are parallel to the equinoctiall are also parallel to the horizon, so that th Sunne descending vnder that horizon, and there describing certaine parallels not farre d tant, doth not bring darke nights to those regions vntill it come to the parallels distant degrees from the equinoctiall, that is, about the 21 degree of Scorpio, which will be al the 4 day of our Nouember, and after the Winter solstitium, the Sunne returning againe to the 9 degree of Aquarius, which will be about the 19 of Ianuary: during time onely, that is, from the 4 day of Nouember vntill the 19 day of Ianuary, whi about six weeks space, those regions do want the commodity of twilights: therefore, du the time of these sayd six moneths of darknesse vnder the poles, the night is destitu of the benefit of the Sunne and the sayd twilights onely for the space of six weeks or thereabout. And yet neither this time of six weeks is without remedy from heauen: for the Moone with her increased light hath accesse at that time, and illuminateth the moneths lacking

The regions vnder the poles want twilights but sixe weeks.

ing light euery one of themselues seuerally halfe the course of that moneth, by whose benefit it commeth to passe that the night named extreame darke possesseth those regions no longer then one moneth, neither that continually, or all at one time, but this also diuided into two sorts of shorter nights, of the which either of them indureth for the space of 15 dayes, and are illuminate of the Moone accordingly. And this reason is gathered out of the sphere, whereby we may testifie that the Summers are warme and fruitfull, and the Winters nights vnder the pole are tolerable to liuing creatures. And if it be so that the Winter and time of darknesse there be very colde, yet hath not nature left them vnprouided therefore: for there the beasts are couered with haire so much the thicker in how more the vehemency of colde is greater; by reason whereof the best and richest furres are brought out of the coldest regions. Also the fowles of these colde countreys haue thicker skinnes, thicker feathers, and more stored of downe then in other hot places. Our English men that trauell to S. Nicholas, and go a fishing to Wardhouse, enter farre within the circle Artike, and so are in the frozen Zone, and yet there, aswell as in Island and all along those Northerne Seas, they finde the greatest store of the greatest fishes that are; as Whales, &c. and also abundance of meane fishes; as Herrings, Cods, Haddocks, Brets, &c. which argueth that the sea as well as the land may be and is well frequented and inhabited in the colde countreys.

Winter nights vnder the pole tolerable to liuing creatures.

But some perhaps will maruell there should be such temperate places in the regions about the poles, when at vnder 62 degrees in latitude our captaine Frobisher & his company were troubled with so many and so great mountaines of fleeting ice, with so great stormes of colde, with such continuall snow on tops of mountaines, and with such barren soile, there being neither wood nor trees, but low shrubs, and such like. To all which obiections may be answered thus: First, those infinite Islands of ice were ingendred and congealed in time of Winter, and now by the great heat of Summer were thawed, and then by ebs, flouds, winds, and currents, were driuen to and fro, and troubled the fleet; so that this is an argument to proue the heat in Summer there to be great, that was able to thaw so monstrous mountaines of ice. As for continuall snow on tops of mountaines, it is there no otherwise then is in the hotest part of the middle Zone, where also lieth great snow all the Summer long vpon tops of mountaines, because there is not sufficient space for the Sunnes reflection, whereby the snow should be molten. Touching the colde stormy winds and the barrennesse of the country, it is there as it is in Cornwall and Deuonshire in England, which parts though we know to be fruitfull and fertile, yet on the North side thereof all alongst the coast within seuen or eight miles off the sea there can neither hedge nor tree grow, although they be diligently by arte husbanded and seene vnto; and the cause thereof are the Northerne driuing winds, which comming from the sea are so bitter and sharpe that they kill all the young & tender plants, and suffer scarse any thing to grow; and so is it in the Islands of Meta incognita, which are subiect most to East & Northeastern winds, which the last yere chaaked vp the passage so with ice that the fleet could hardly recouer their port. Yet not- ithstanding all the obiections that may be, the countrey is habitable; for there are men, men, children, & sundry kind of beasts in great plenty, as beares, deere, hares, foxes dogs: all kinde of flying fowles, as ducks, seamewes, wilmots, partridges, larks, crowes, s, and such like, as in the third booke you shall vnderstand more at large. Then it ap- th that not onely the middle Zone but also the Zones about the poles are habitable.

An obiection of Meta incognita.

Meta incognita inhabited.

ch thing being well considered, and familiarly knowen to our Generall captaine Frobi- well for that he is thorowly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere and all other ppertaining to the arte of nauigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of the same y yeres experience both by sea and land, and being persuaded of a new and nerer pa ge to Cataya then by Capo de buona Sperança, which the Portugals yerely vse: he began first with himselfe to deuise, and then with his friends to conferre, and layed a plaine plat vnto them that that voyage was not onely possible by the Northwest, but also he could proue easie to be performed. And further, he determined and resolued with himselfe to go

Captaine Frobishers first voyage.

make full proofe thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth, or els neuer to returne againe, knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet vndone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to performe this notable voyage, whereof he had conceiued in his minde a great hope by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, which here for sundry causes I leaue vntouched, yet he wanted altogether meanes and ability to set forward, and performe the same. Long time he conferred with his priuate friends of these secrets, and made also many offers for the performing of the same in effect vnto sundry merchants of our countrey aboue 15 yeres before he attempted the same, as by good witnesse shall well appeare (albeit some euill willers which challenge to themselues the fruits of other mens labours haue greatly iniured him in the reports of the same, saying that they haue bene the first authours of that action, and that they haue learned him the way, which themselues as yet haue neuer gone) but perceiuing that hardly he was hearkened vnto of the merchants, which neuer regard vertue without sure, certaine, and present gaines, he repaired to the Court (from whence, as from the fountaine of our Common wealth, all good causes haue their chiefe increase and maintenance) and there layed open to many great estates and learned men the plot and summe of his deuice. And amongst many honourable minds which fauoured his honest and commendable enterprise, he was specially bound and beholding to the right honourable Ambrose Dudley earle of Warwicke, whose fauourable minde and good disposition hath alwayes bene ready to countenance and aduance all honest actions with the authours and executers of the same: and so by meanes of my lord his honourable countenance he receiued some comfort of his cause, and by litle and litle, with no small expense and paine brought his cause to some perfection, and had drawen together so many aduenturers and such summes of money as might well defray a reasonable charge to furnish himselfe to sea withall.

He prepared two small barks of twenty and fiue and twenty tunne a piece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresayd two barks, and one small pinnesse of ten tun burthen, hauing therein victuals and other necessaries for twelue moneths prouision, he departed vpon the sayd voyage from Blacke-wall the 15 of Iune anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named The Gabriel, and the other The Michael; and sailing Northwest from England vpon the 11 of Iuly he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he iudged to be Frisland (whereof some authors haue made mention) but durst not approch the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay alongst the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a litle. Not farre from thence he lost company of his small pinnesse, which by meanes of the great storme he supposed to be swallowed vp of the Sea, wherein he lost onely foure men.

The Michael returned home.

Also the other barke named The Michael mistrusting the matter, conueyed themselues priuily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captaine notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his toppe mast blowen ouerboord with extreame foule weather, continued his course towar the Northwest, knowing that the sea at length must needs haue an ending, & that some h [illegible] should haue a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the least to bring true pr [illegible] what land and sea the same might be so farre to the Northwestwards, beyond any man [illegible] hath heretofore discouered. And the twentieth of Iuly he had sight of an high land, [illegible] he called Queene Elizabeths Forland, after her Maiesties name. And sailing more No [illegible] alongst that coast, he descried another forland with a great gut, bay, or passage, diuid [illegible] were two maine lands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceedin [illegible] ice all this coast along; and coueting still to continue his course to the Northwa [illegible] alwayes by contrary winde deteined ouerthwart these straights, and could not get be[illegible]d. Within few dayes after he perceiued the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there ingulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the same straights, or els conueyed some other way: wherefore he determined to make proofe of this

Frobishers first entrance within y^e streights.

place, to see how farre that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himselfe thorow the same into some open sea on the backe side, whereof he conceiued no small hope, and so entred the same the one and twentieth of Iuly, and passed aboue fifty leagues therein, as he reported, hauing vpo [illegible]her hand a great maine or continent. And that land vpon his right hand as he sailed Westward he iudged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be diuided from the firme of America, [illegible]ich lieth vpon the left hand ouer against the same.

This place he named after [illegible] name, Frobishers streights, like as Magellanus at ȳ Southwest end of the world, hauing discouered the passage to the South sea (where America is diuided from the continent of that land, which lieth vnder the South pole) and called the same straights, Magellanes straits.

Frobishers straights.

After he had passed 60 leagues into this foresayd straight, he went ashore, and found signes where fire had bene made.

He saw mighty deere that seemed to be mankinde, which ranne at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was faine to vse defence and policy to saue his life.

Deere.

In this place he saw and perceiued sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither. And being ashore vpon the top of a hill, he perceiued a number of small things fleeting in the sea afarre off, which he supposed to be porposes or seales, or some kinde of strange fish; but comming neerer, he discouered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend downe frō the hill, certaine of those people had almost cut off his boat from him, hauing stollen secretly behinde the rocks for that purpose, where he speedily hasted to his boat, and bent himselfe to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger, and saued his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboord his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily deuoured the same before our mens faces. And to shew their agility, they tried many masteries vpon the ropes of the ship after our mariners fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their armes, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of seales, and beares skinnes, and such like, with our men; and receiued belles, looking glasses, and other toyes, in recompense thereof againe. After great curtesie, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captaines direction, began more easily to trust them; and fiue of our men going ashore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were neuer since heard of to this day againe: so that the captaine being destitute of boat, barke, and all company, had scarsely sufficient number to conduct backe his barke againe. He could now neither conuey himselfe ashore to rescue his men (if he had bene able) for want of a boat; and againe the subtile traitours were so wary, as they would after that neuer come within our mens danger. The captaine notwithstanding desirous to bring some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them: and therefore to deceiue the deceiuers he wrought a prety policy; for knowing wel how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and specially in belles, he rang a pretty lowbell, making signes that he would giue the same that would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his ger for feare, he flung one bell vnto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it t fall into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang ler bell, so that in the end one of them came nere the ship side to receiue the bel; when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himselfe: for the e being readily prouided let the bell fall, and caught the man fast, and plucked him ine force boat and all into his barke out of the sea. Whereupon when he found in captiuity, for very choler and disdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but liued vntill he came in England, and then of cold which he had taken at sea.

The first sight of yͤ Sauages.

Salmon.

Fiue Englishmen intercepted and taken.

Taking of the first Sauage.

Now with this new pray (which was a sufficient witnesse of the captaines farre and tedious trauell towards the vnknowen parts of the world, as did well appeare by this strange infidell, whose like was neuer seene, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither

Frobishers returne.

ther knowen nor vnderstood of any) the sayd captaine Frobisher returned homeward, and arriued in England in Harwich the 2 of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cataya.

And it is especially to be remembred that at their first arriuall in those parts there lay so great store of ice all the coast along so thicke together, that hardly his boat could passe vnto the shore. At length, after diuers attempts he commanded his company, if by any possible meanes they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoeuer thing they could first finde, whether it were liuing or dead, stocke or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he tooke in behalfe of the Queenes most excellent Maiesty, thinking that thereby he might iustify the hauing and inioying of the same things that grew in these vnknowen parts.

The taking possession of Meta incognita.

How the ore was found by chance.

Some of his company brought floures, some greene grasse; and one brought a piece of blacke stone much like to a sea cole in colour, which by the waight seemed to be some kinde of mettall or minerall. This was a thing of no account in the iudgement of the captaine at the first sight; and yet for nouelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came.

After his arriuall in London, being demanded of sundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that countrey, he had nothing left to present thē withall but a piece of this blacke stone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman one of the aduenturers wiues to haue a piece therof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a litle vinegar, it glistered with a bright marquesset of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certaine Goldfiners in London to make assay thereof, who gaue out that it held golde, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards, the same Goldfiners promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselues to aduenture for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to haue a lease at her Maiesties hands of those places, whereby to inioy the masse of so great a publike profit vnto their owne priuate gaines.

Many aduenturers.

In conclusion, the hope of more of the same golde ore to be found kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many to aduance the voyage againe. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the yere folowing, and the captaine more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this golde ore then for the searching any further discouery of the passage. And being well accompanied with diuers resolute and forward gentlemen, her Maiesty then lying at the right honourable the lord of Warwicks house in Essex, he came to take his leaue, and kissing her hignesse hands, with gracious countenance & comfortable words departed toward his charge.

In the second voyage commission was giuen onely for the bringing of ore.

A true report of such things as happened in the second voyage of captaine Frobisher, pretended for the discouery of a new passage to Cataya, China and the East India, by the Northwest. Ann. Dom. 1577.

BEing furnished with one tall ship of her Maiesties, named The Ayde, of two hun tunne, and two other small barks, the one named The Gabriel, the other The Michael, thirty tun a piece, being fitly appointed with men, munition, victuals, and all things sary for the voyage, the sayd captaine Frobisher, with the rest of his company came his ships riding at Blackwall, intending (with Gods helpe) to take the first winde seruing him, the 25 day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1577.

The names of such gentlemen as attempted this discouery, and the number of soul mariners in ech ship, as followeth.

ABoord the Ayd being Admirall were the number of 100 men of all sorts, where or moe were Gentlemen and Souldiers, the rest sufficient and tall Sailers.

Aboord the Gabriel being Viceadmirall, were in all 18 persons, whereof sixe were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboor

Aboord y^e Michael were 16 persons, whereof fiue were Souldiers, the rest Mariners.

Aboord the Ayde was	Generall of the whole company for her Maiesty	Martin Frobisher.
	The Lieutenant	George Best.
	His Ensigne	Richard Philpot.
	Corporall of the shot	Francis Forder.
	The rest of the gentlemen	Henry Carew. Edmund Stafford. Iohn Lee. M. Haruie. Mathew Kinersley. Abraham Lins. Robert Kinersley. Francis Brakenbury. William Armshow.
	The Master	Christopher Hall.
	The Mate	Charles Iackman.
	The Pilot	Andrew Dier.
	The Master gunner	Richard Cox.
Aboord the Gabriell was	Captaine	Edward Fenton.
	One Gentleman	William Tamfield.
	The Maister	William Smyth.
Aboord the Michaell was	Captaine	Gilbert Yorke.
	One Gentleman	Thomas Chamberlaine.
	The Maister	Iames Beare.

ON Whitsunday being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anker at Blackwall, and fell that tyde downe to Grauesend, where we remained vntill Monday at night.

On Munday morning the 27 of May, aboord the Ayde we receiued all the Communion by the Minister of Grauesend, and prepared vs as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

They receiue the communion.

and twenty of May, about nine of the clocke at night, we arriued at
d there stayed for the taking in of certaine victuals, vntill Friday being
, during which time came letters from the Lordes of the Councell,
g our Generall, not to exceede his complement and number appointed
hundred and twentie persons: whereupon he discharged many proper
illing mindes departed.
ll his condemned men, which he thought for some purposes very neede-
and towards night vpon Friday the one and thirtieth of May we set
Seas againe. And sailing Northward alongst the East coasts of Eng-
seuenth day of Iune we arriued in Saint Magnus sound in Orkney
e Orcades, and came to ancker on the South side of the Bay, and this
m Blackwall where we set saile first leagues.
e going on lande, the Inhabitants of these Ilandes beganne to flee as
ereupon the Lieutenant willed euery man to stay togither, and went
uses to declare what we were and the cause of our comming thither,
which

The number of men in this voyage.

The condemned men discharged.

The first arriuall after our departing fro England.

A Mine of siluer found in Orkney.

which being vnderstood, after their poore maner they friendly entreated vs, and brought vs for our money such things as they had. And here our goldfiners found a Mine of siluer.

Orkney is the principall of the Isles of the Orcades, and standeth in the latitude of fiftie nine degrees and a halfe. The countrey is much subiect to colde, answerable for such a climate, and yet yeeldeth some fruites, and sufficient maintenance for the people contented so poorely to liue.

There is plentie ynough of Poultrey, store of egges, fish, a[illegible] foule.

For their bread they haue Oaten Cakes, and their drink[illegible] is Ewes milke, and in some partes Ale.

Their houses are but poore without and sluttish ynough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable.

For their fire they burne heath and turffe, the Countrey in most parts being voide of wood.

They haue great want of Leather, and desire our old Shoes, apparell, and old ropes (before money) for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coine. The chiefe towne is called Kyrway.

Kyrway the chiefe towne of Orkney.

S.Magnus sound why so called.

In this Island hath bene sometime an Abbey or a religious house called Saint Magnus, being on the West side of the Ile, whereof this sound beareth name, through which we passed. Their Gouernour or chiefe Lord is called the Lord Robert Steward, who at our being there, as we vnderstood, was in durance at Edenburgh, by the Regents commandement of Scotland.

Great bodies of trees driuing in the seas.

Monstrous fish & strange foule liuing onely by the Sea.

Water being blacke and smooth signifieth land to be neere.

Ilands of yce.

The first sight of Frisland the 4. of Iuly.

After we had prouided vs here of matter sufficient for our voyage the eight of Iune wee set sayle againe, and passing through Saint Magnus sound hauing a merrie winde by night, came cleare and lost sight of all the land, and keeping our course West Northwest by the space of two dayes, the winde shifted vpon vs so that we lay in trauerse on the Seas, with contrary windes, making good (as neere as we could) our course to the westward, and sometime to the Northward, as the winde shifted. And hereabout we met with 3 saile of English fishermen frõ Iseland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters vnto our friends in England. We trauersed these Seas by the space of 26 dayes without sight of any land, and met with much drift wood, & whole bodies of trees. We sawe many monsterous fishes and strange foules, which seemed to liue onely by the Sea, being there so farre distant from any land. At length God fauoured vs with more prosperous windes, and after wee had sayled foure dayes with good winde in the Poop, the fourth of Iuly the Michael being formost a head shot off a peece of Ordinance, and stroke all her sayles, supposing that they descryed land which by reason of the thicke mistes they could not make perfit: howbeit, as well our account as also the great alteration of the water, which became more blacke and smooth, did plainely declare we were not farre off the coast. Our Generall sent his Master aboord the Michaell (who had beene with him the yeere before) to beare in with the place to make proofe thereof, who descryed not the land perfect, but sawe sundry [illegible] which we deemed to be not past twelue leagues from the shore, for abo[illegible] at night being the fourth of Iuly, the weather being more cleare, we m[illegible] and knew it to be Frislande. And the heigth being taken here, we fo[illegible] in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the Sou[illegible] land. Betweene Orkney and Frisland are reckoned leagues.

Frisland described.

This Frislande sheweth a ragged and high lande, hauing the moun[illegible] ouer with snow alongst the coast full of drift yce, and seemeth almo[illegible] thought to be an Iland in bignesse not inferiour to England, and is ca[illegible] West Frislande, I thinke because it lyeth more West then any part [illegible] in latitude to the Northward very farre as seemed to vs, and appeareth [illegible] out by two brethren Venetians, Nicholaus and Antonius Zeni, who [illegible] Ireland with a violent tempest made shipwracke here, and were the f[illegible] that discouered this land about two hundred yeares sithence, and they h[illegible] set out euery part thereof and described the condition of the inhabita[illegible] be as ciuill and religious people as we. And for so much of this land as we haue sayled alongst, comparing their Carde with the coast, we finde it very agreeable. This coast seemeth to haue good fishing, for we lying becalmed let fall a hooke without any bayte and presently caught a great fish called a Hollibut, who serued the whole companie for a dayes meate, and is dangerous meate for surfetting. And sounding about fiue leagues off from the shore, our leade brought vp in the tallow a kinde of Corrall almost white, and small stones as bright as Christall: and it is not to be doubted but that this land may be found very rich and beneficial if it were throughly discouered, although we sawe no creature there but little birdes. It is a maruellous thing to behold of what great bignesse and depth some Ilands of yce be here, some seuentie, some eightie fadome vnder water, besides that which is aboue, seeming Ilands more then halfe a mile in circuit. All these yce are in tast fresh, and seeme to be bredde in the sounds thereabouts, or in some lande neere the pole, and with the winde and tides are driuen alongst the coastes. We found none of these Ilands of yce salt in taste, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the Ocean Sea water which is alwayes salt, but of some standing or little mouing lakes or great fresh waters neere the shore, caused eyther by melted snowe from tops of mountaines, or by continuall accesse of fresh riuers from the land, and intermingling with the Sea water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreame frost) may cause some part of salt water to freese so with it, and so seeme a little brackish, but otherwise the maine Sea freeseth not, and therefore there is no Mare Glaciale or frosen Sea, as the opinion hitherto hath bene. Our Generall prooued landing here twice, but by the suddaine fall of mistes (whereunto this coast is much subiect) he was like to loose sight of his ships, and being greatly endangered with the driuing yce alongst the coast, was forced aboord and faine to surcease his pretence till a better opportunitie might serue: and hauing spent foure dayes and nightes sayling alongst this land, finding the coast subiect to such bitter colde and continuall mistes, he determined to spend no more time therein, but to beare out his course towardes the streightes called Frobishers streights after the Generals name, who being the first that euer passed beyond 58 degrees to the Northwardes, for any thing that hath beene yet knowen of certaintie of New found land, otherwise called the continent or firme land of America, discouered the saide straights this last yere 1576.

An easie kinde of Fishing.

White Corrall got by sounding.

Monstrous Isles of yce, in taste fresh, whence they are supposed to come.

The opinion of the frozen sea is destroyed by experience.

Betweene Frisland and the straights we had one great storme, wherein the Michaell was somewhat in danger, hauing her Stirrage broken, and her toppe Mastes blowen ouer boord, & being not past 50 leagues short of the straights by our account, we stroke sayle & lay a hull, fearing the continuance of the storme, the winde being at the Northeast, and hauing lost companie of the Barkes in that flaw of winde, we happily met againe the seuenteenth day of Iuly, hauing the euening before seene diuers Ilands of fleeting yce, which gaue an argument that we were not farre from land. Our Generall in the morning from the maine top (the weather being reasonable cleare) descried land, but to be better assured he sent the two Barkes two contrarie courses, whereby they might discry either the South or North foreland, the Ayde lying off and on at Sea, with a small sayle by an Iland of yce, which was the [illegible]ke for vs to meete together againe. And about noone, the weather being more cleare, [illegible] made the North forland perfite, which otherwise is called Halles Iland, and also the small [illegible]d bearing the name of the sayde Hall whence the Ore was taken vp which was brought [illegible] England this last yeere 1576 the said Hall being present at the finding & taking vp [illegible]of, who was then Maister in the Gabriell with Captaine Frobisher. At our arriuall here [illegible] Seas about this coast were so couered ouer with huge quantitie of great yce, that we [illegible]t these [illegible] might onely deserue the name of Mare Glaciale, and be called the Isie Sea. [illegible] North forland is thought to be deuided from the continent of the Northerland, by a [illegible]e sound called Halles sound, which maketh it an Iland, and is thought little lesse then the Ile of Wight, and is the first entrance of the straights vpon the Norther side, and standeth in the latitude of sixtie two degrees and fiftie minutes, and is reckoned from Frisland [illegible] leagues. God hauing blessed vs with so happie a land-fall, we bare into the straights which runne in next hand, and somewhat further vp to the Northwarde, and came as neere the shore as wee might for the yce, and vpon the eighteenth day of Iuly our Generall taking the Goldfiners

The Stirrage of the Michaell broken by tempest.

The first entrance of the straights.

Halles Iland.

The description of the straights.

No more gold Ore found in the first Iland.

Egs & foules of Meta incognita. Snares set to catch birds withall.

finers with him, attempted to goe on shore with a small rowing Pinnesse, vpon the small Ilande where the Ore was taken vp, to prooue whether there were any store thereof to be found, but he could not get in all that Iland a peece so bigge as a Walnut, where the first was found. But our men which sought the other Ilands thereabouts found them all to haue good store of the Ore, whereupon our Generall with these good tidings returned aboord about tenne of the clocke at night, and was ioyfully welcommed of the company with a volie of shot. He brought egges, foules, and a young Seale aboord, which the companie had killed ashore, and hauing found vpon those Ilands ginne set to catch fowle, and stickes newe cut, with other things, he well perceiued that not long before some of the countrey people had resorted thither.

The building of a Columne, called Mount Warwicke.

Hauing therefore found those tokens of the peoples accesse in those parts, and being in his first voyage well acquainted with their subtill and cruell disposition, hee prouided well for his better safetie, and on Friday the ninteenth of Iuly in the morning early, with his best companie of Gentlemen and souldiers, to the number of fortie persons, went on shore, aswell to discouer the Inland and habitation of the people, as also to finde out some fit harborowe for our shippes. And passing towardes the shoare with no small difficultie by reason of the abundance of yce which lay alongst the coast so thicke togither that hardly any passage through them might be discouered, we arriued at length vpon the maine of Halles greater Iland, and found there also aswell as in the other small Ilands good store of the Ore. And leauing his boates here with sufficient guarde we passed vp into the countrey about two English miles, and recouered the toppe of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a Columne or Crosse of stones heaped vp of a good heigth togither in good sort, and solemnely sounded a Trumpet, and saide certaine prayers kneeling about the Ensigne, and honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwicke, in remembrance of the Right Honorable the Lord Ambrose Dudley Earle of Warwick, whose noble mind and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gaue great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retyred our companies not seeing any thing here worth further discouerie, the countrey seeming barren and full of ragged mountaines and in most parts couered with snow.

The first sight of the countrie people, wafting with a flagge.

The meeting a part of two Englishmen, with two of that countrey.

The order of their traffique.

And thus marching towards our botes, we espied certaine of the countrey people on the top of Mount Warwick with a flag wafting vs backe againe and making great noise, with cries like the mowing of Buls seeming greatly desirous of conference with vs: whereupon the Generall being therewith better acquainted, answered them againe with the like cries, whereat and with the noise of our trumpets they seemed greatly to reioyce, skipping, laughing and dancing for ioy. And hereupon we made signes vnto them, holding vp two fingers, cōmanding two of our men to go apart from our cōpanies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men & two of theirs met together a good space from company, neither partie hauing their weapons about thē. Our men gaue them pins and points and such trifles as they had. And they likewise bestowed on our men two bow cases and such things as they had. They earnestly desired our men to goe vp into their countrey, and o men offered them like kindnesse aboord our ships, but neither part (as it seemed) admit or trusted the others curtesie. Their maner of traffique is thus, they doe vse to lay do of their marchandise vpon the ground, so much as they meane to part withal, and so loo that the other partie with whom they make trade should doe the like, they themselue depart, and then if they doe like of their Mart they come againe, and take in exc the others marchandise, otherwise if they like not, they take their owne and depart day being thus well neere spent, in haste wee retired our companies [illegible] boates minding foorthwith to search alongst the coast for some harborow fit for our shippes, present necessitie thereof was much, considering that all this while they lay off and o tweene the two landes, being continually subiect aswell to great danger of fleeting yce, which enuironed them, as to the sodaine flawes which the coast seemeth much subiect vnto. But when the people perceiued our departure, with great tokens of affection they earnestly called vs backe againe, following vs almost to our boates: whereupon our Generall taking his Master with him, who was best acquainted with their maners, went apart vnto two of

them,

theyr meaning, if they could lay sure hold vpon them, forcibly to bring them aboord, with intent to bestow certaine toyes and apparell vpon the one, and so to dismisse him with all arguments of curtesie, and retaine the other for an Interpreter. The Generall and his Maister being met with their two companions togither, after they had exchanged certaine things the one with the other, one of the Saluages for lacke of better marchandise, cut off the tayle of his coat (which is a chiefe ornament among them) and gaue it vnto our Generall for a present. But he presently vpon a watchword giuen with his Maister sodainely laid hold vpon the two Saluages. But the ground vnderfoot being slipperie with the snow on the side of the hill, their handfast fayled and their prey escaping ranne away and lightly recouered their bow and arrowes, which they had hid not farre from them behind the rockes. And being onely two Saluages in sight, they so fiercely, desperately, and with such fury assaulted and pursued our Generall and his Master, being altogether vnarmed, and not mistrusting their subtiltie that they chased them to their boates, and hurt the Generall in the buttocke with an arrow, who the rather speedily fled backe, because they suspected a greater number behind the rockes. Our souldiers (which were commanded before to keepe their boates) perceiuing the danger, and hearing our men calling for shot came speedily to rescue, thinking there had bene a greater number. But when the Saluages heard the shot of one of our caliuers (and yet hauing first bestowed their arrowes) they ranne away, our men speedily following them. But a seruant of my Lorde of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger a good footman, and vncombred with any furniture hauing only a dagger at his backe ouertooke one of them, and being a Cornishman and a good wrastler, shewed his companion such a Cornish tricke, that he made his sides ake against the ground for a moneth after. And so being stayed, he was taken aliue and brought away, but the other escaped. Thus with their strange and new prey our men repaired to their boates, and passed from the maine to a small Iland of a mile compasse, where they resolued to tarrie all night; for euen now a sodaine storme was growen so great at sea, that by no meanes they could recouer their ships. And here euery man refreshed himselfe with a small portion of victuals which was laide into the boates for their dinners, hauing neither eate nor drunke all the day before. But because they knewe not how long the storme might last, nor how farre off the shippes might be put to sea, nor whether they should euer recouer them againe or not, they made great spare of their victuals, as it greatly behoued them: For they knew full well that the best cheare the countrey could yeeld them, was rockes and stones, a hard food to liue withall, and the people more readie to eate them then to giue them wherewithall to eate. And thus keeping verie good watch and warde, they lay there all night vpon hard cliffes of snow and yce both wet, cold, and comfortlesse.

Another meeting of two of our men with two of theirs.

The English-men chased to their boates.

One of that Countreymen taken.

These things thus hapning with the company on land, the danger of the ships at Sea was no lesse perilous. For within one houre after the Generals departing in the morning by negligence of the Cooke in ouer heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Ayde was set on fire, and had bene the confusion of the whole if by chance a boy espying it, it not bene speedily with great labour and Gods helpe well extinguished.

The Ayde set on fire.

is day also were diuerse stormes and flawes, and by nine of the clocke at night the e was growen so great, & continued such vntill the morning, that it put our ships at no small perill: for hauing mountaines of fleeting yce on euery side, we went roomer and loofed for anoth [illegible] scraped vs, and some happily escaped vs, that the least were as dangerous to strike as any rocke and able to haue split asunder the strongest the world. We had a scope of cleare without yce, (as God would) wherein we being otherwise compassed on euery side about: but so much was the winde and so was our sea roome, that being able to beare onely our forecourse we cast so oft about, that we made fourteene bordes in eight glasses running, being but foure houres: but God being our best Steresman, & by the industry of Charles Iackman and Andrew Dyer the masters mates, both very expert Mariners, & Richard Cox ŷ maister Gunner, with other very carefull sailers, then within bord, and also by the helpe of the cleare nights which are without darkenesse, we did happily auoide those present dangers, whereat since wee haue

The great danger of those rockes of yce.

Night without darknes in that countrey.

more maruelled then in the present danger feared, for that euery man within borde, both better and worse had ynough to doe with his hands to hale ropes, and with his eyes to looke out for danger. But the next morning being the 20 of Iuly, as God would, the storme ceased, and the Generall espying the ships with his new Captiue and whole company, came happily abord, and reported what had passed a shoare, whereupon altogither vpon our knees we gaue God humble and hartie thankes, for that it had pleased him, from so speedy peril to send vs such speedy deliuerance, and so from this Northerne shore we stroke ouer towards the Southerland.

Our first comming on the Southerland of the sayd straights.

A Mine of Blacke lead.

The one and twentieth of Iuly, we discouered a bay which ranne into the land, that seemed a likely harborow for our ships, wherefore our Generall rowed thither with his boats, to make proofe thereof, and with his goldfiners to search for Ore, hauing neuer assayed any thing on the South shore as yet, and the first small Island which we landed vpon. Here all the sands and clifts did so glister and had so bright a marquesite, that it seemed all to be gold, but vpon tryall made, it prooued no better then black-lead, and verified the prouerbe. All is not gold that glistereth.

Iackmans sound.

Vpon the two and twentieth of Iuly we bare into the sayde sound, and came to ancker a reasonable bredth off the shore, where thinking our selues in good securitie, we were greatly endangered with a peece of drift yce, which the Ebbe brought forth of the sounds and came thwart vs ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and souldiers within bord taking great paines at this pinch at the Capstone, ouercame the most danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it stroke on our sterne such a blow, that we feared least it had striken away our rudder, and being forced to cut our Cable in the hawse, we were faine to set our fore saile to runne further vp within, and if our stirrage had not bene stronger then in the present time we feared, we had runne the ship vpon the rockes, hauing a very narrow Channell to turne in, but as God would, all came well to passe. And this was named Iackmans sound, after the name of the Masters mate, who had first liking vnto the place.

Smiths Iland.

The finding of an Vnicornes horne.

Vpon a small Iland, within this sound called Smithes Iland (because he first set vp his forge there) was found a Mine of siluer, but was not wonne out of the rockes without great labour. Here our goldfiners made say of such Ore as they found vpon the Northerland, and found foure sortes thereof to holde gold in good quantitie. Vpon another small Iland here was also found a great dead fish, which as it should seeme, had bene embayed with yce, and was in proportion round like to a Porpose, being about twelue foote long, and in bignesse answerable, hauing a horne of two yardes long growing out of the snoute or nostrels. This horne is wreathed and straite, like in fashion to a Taper made of waxe, and may truely be thought to be the sea Vnicorne. This horne is to be seene and reserued as a Iewell by the Queenes Maiesties commandement, in her Wardrope of Robes.

Tuesday the three and twentieth of Iuly, our Generall with his best company of gentlemen, souldiers and saylers, to the number of seuentie persons in all, marched with ensigne displayde, vpon the continent of the Southerland (the supposed continent of America) where, commanding a Trumpet to sound a call for euery man to repaire to the ensigne, he dec to the whole company how much the cause imported for the seruice of her Maiesti countrey, our credits, and the safetie of our own liues, and therefore required euery be conformable to order, and to be directed by those he should assigne. And he ap for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beste done, we cast our selues into a ring, and altogither vpon our knees, gaue God humb for that it had pleased him of his great goodnesse to preserue vs from such immin gers, beseeching likewise the assistance of his holy spirite, so to deliuer vs in sa our Countrey, whereby the light and truth of these secrets being knowen, it might re to the more honour of his holy name, and consequently to the aduancement of our common wealth. And so, in as good sort as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountaines, which were no lesse painfull in climbing then dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepenesse & yce. And hauing passed about fiue miles, by such vnwieldie wayes, we returned vnto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation.

Here diuerse of the Gentlemen desired our Generall to suffer them to the number of twentie or thirtie persones to march vp thirtie or fortie leagues in the countrey, to the end they might discouer the Inland, and doe some acceptable seruice for their countrey. But he not contented with the m[illegible]r he sought for, and well considering the short time he had in hand, and the greedie desire our countrey hath to a present sauour and returne of gaine, bent his whole indeuour only to find a Mine to fraight his ships, and to leaue the rest (by Gods helpe) hereafter to be well accomplished. And therefore the twentie sixe of Iuly he departed ouer to the Northland, with the two barkes, leauing the Ayde ryding in Iackmans sound, and ment (after hee had found conuenient harborow, and fraight there for his ships) to discouer further for the passage. The Barkes came the same night to ancker in a sound vpon the Northerland, where the tydes did runne so swift, and the place was so subiect to indrafts of yce, that by reason thereof they were greatly endangered, & hauing found a very rich Myne, as they supposed, and got almost twentie tunne of Ore together, vpon the 28 of Iuly the yce came driuing into the sound where the Barkes rode, in such sort, that they were therewith greatly distressed. And the Gabriell riding asterne the Michael, had her Cable gauld asunder in the hawse with a peece of driuing yce, and lost another ancker, and hauing but one cable and ancker left, for she had lost two before, and the yce still driuing vpon her, she was (by Gods helpe) well fenced from the danger of the rest, by one great Iland of yce, which came a ground hard a head of her, which if it had not so chanced, I thinke surely shee had beene cast vpon the rockes with the yce. The Michael mored ancker vpon this great yce, and roade vnder the lee thereof: but about midnight, by the weight of it selfe, and the setting of the Tydes, the yce brake within halfe the Barkes length, and made vnto the companie within boord a sodaine and fearefull noyse. The next flood toward the morning we weyed ancker, and went further vp the straights, and leauing our Ore behind vs which we had digged, for hast left the place by the name of Beares sound after the masters name of the Michaell, and named the Iland Lecesters Iland. In one of the small Ilands here we found a Tombe, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our sauage Captiue being with vs, & being demanded by signes whether his countreymen had not slaine this man and eat his flesh so from the bones, he made signes to the contrary, and that he was slaine with Wolues and wild beasts. Here also was found hid vnder stones good store of fish, and sundry other things of the inhabitants; as sleddes, bridles, kettels of fish-skinnes, kniues of bone, and such other like. And our Sauage declared vnto vs the vse of all those things. And taking in his hand one of those countrey bridles, he caught one of our dogges and hampred him handsomely therein, as we doe our horses, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dogge to drawe in a sled as we doe horses in a coach, setting himselfe thereupon like a guide: so that we might see they vse dogges for that purpose that we do our horses. And we found since by experience, that the lesser sort of dogges they feede fatte, and keepe them as domesticall cattell in their tents for their eating, and the greater sort serue for the vse of drawing their sleds.

Beares sound.

Lecesters Iland.

A tombe with a dead mans bones in it.

Bridles, kniues, and other instruments found hid among the Rockes.

They vse great dogs to draw sleds, and little dogs for their meat.

[illegible] twentie ninth of Iuly, about fiue leagues from Beares sound, we discouered a Bay [illegible] being fenced on ech side with smal Ilands lying off the maine, which breake the force [illegible]ides, and make the place free from any indrafts of yce, did prooue a very fit harbo- [illegible]ur ships, where we ca[illegible] to ancker vnder a small Ilande, which now together with [illegible] is called by the name of that right Honourable and vertuous Ladie, Anne Coun- [illegible]arwicke. And this is the furthest place that this yeere we haue entred vp within [illegible] and is reckoned from the Cape of the Queenes foreland, which is the entrance [illegible]reites not aboue 30 leagues. Vpon this Iland was found good store of the Ore, [illegible] in the washing helde gold to our thinking plainly to be seene: whereupon it was thought best rather to load here, where there was store and indifferent good, then to seeke further for better, and spend time with ieoperdie. And therefore our Generall setting the Myners to worke, and shewing first a good president of a painefull labourer and a good Captaine in himselfe, gaue good examples for others to follow him: whereupon euery man both better and worse, with their best endeuours willingly layde to their helping hands. And the

Thirtye leagues discouered within the streites.

A good president of a good Captain shewed by Captain Frobisher.

The maner of their houses in this countrey.

Whales bones vsed in stead of timber.

The sluttishnesse of these people.

the next day, being the thirtieth of Iuly, the Michaell was sent ouer to Iackmans sound, for the Ayde and the whole companie to come thither. Vpon the maine land ouer against the Countesses Iland we discouered and beheld to our great maruell the poore caues and houses of those countrey people, which serue them (as it should seeme) for their winter dwellings, and are made two fadome vnder grounde, in compasse round, like to an Ouen, being ioyned fast one by another, hauing holes like to a Foxe or Conny berry, to keepe and come togither. They vndertrenched these places with gutters so, that the water falling from the hilles aboue them, may slide away without their annoyance: and are seated commonly in the foote of a hill, to shield them better from the cold windes, hauing their doore and entrance euer open towards the South. From the ground vpward they builde with whales bones, for lacke of timber, which bending one ouer another, are handsomely compacted in the top together, and are couered ouer with Seales skinnes, which in stead of tiles, fence them from the raine. In which house they haue only one roome, hauing the one halfe of the floure raised with broad stones a foot higher than ÿ other, whereon strawing Mosse, they make their nests to sleep in. They defile these dennes most filthily with their beastly feeding, & dwell so long in a place (as we thinke) vntill their sluttishnes lothing them, they are forced to seeke a sweeter ayre, and a new seate, and are (no doubt) a dispersed and wandring nation, as the Tartarians, and liue in hords and troupes, without any certaine abode, as may appeare by sundry circumstances of our experience.

A signe set vp by the sauage captiue, & the meaning therof.

The sauage captiue amased at his countreimans picture.

Here our captiue being ashore with vs, to declare the vse of such things as we saw, stayd himselfe alone behind the company, and did set vp fiue small stickes round in a circle one by another, with one smal bone placed iust in the middest of all: which thing when one of our men perceiued, he called vs backe to behold the matter, thinking that hee had meant some charme or witchcraft therein. But the best coniecture we could make thereof was, that hee would thereby his countreymen should vnderstand, that for our fiue men which they betrayed the last yeere (whom he signified by the fiue stickes) he was taken and kept prisoner, which he signified by the bone in the midst. For afterwards when we shewed him the picture of his countreman, which the last yeere was brought into England (whose counterfeit we had drawen, with boate and other furniture, both as he was in his owne & also in English apparel) he was vpon the sudden much amazed thereat, and beholding aduisedly the same with silence a good while, as though he would streine courtesie whether should begin the speech (for he thought him no doubt a liuely creature) at length began to question with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, seemed to suspect him, as one disdeinfull, and would with a little helpe haue growen into choller at the matter, vntill at last by feeling and handling, hee found him but a deceiuing picture. And then with great noise and cryes, ceased not wondring, thinking that we could make men liue or die at our pleasure.

And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gaue vs plainely to vnderstand by signes, that he had knowledge of the taking of our fiue men the last yeere, and confessing the maner of ech thing, numbred the fiue men vpon his fiue fingers, and p vnto a boat in our ship, which was like vnto that wherein our men were betrayed: An we made him signes, that they were slaine and eaten, he earnestly denied, and mad to the contrary.

Another shew of twenty persons of that countrey in one boate.

The last of Iuly the Michael returned with the Aide to vs from the Southerland to anker by vs, in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and reported that since w from Iackmans sound there happened nothing among them there greatly worth brance, vntill the thirtieth of Iuly, when certaine of our company being a shoare small Island within the sayd Iackmans sound, neere the place where the Aide rode, did a long boat with diuers of the countrey people therein, to the number of eighteene or twenty persons, whom so soone as our men perceiued, they returned speedily aboord, to giue notice thereof vnto our company. They might perceiue these people climbing vp to the top of a hill, where with a flagge, they wafted vnto our ship, and made great out cries and noyses, like so many Buls. Hereupon our men did presently man foorth a small skiffe, hauing not aboue sixe or seuen persons therein, which rowed neere the place where those people were, to prooue if they could haue any conference with them. But after this small boate was sent a greater, being wel appointed for their rescue, if need required.

As soone as they espied our company comming neere them, they tooke their boates and hasted away, either for feare, or else for policie, to draw our men from rescue further within their danger: wherefore our men construing that their comming thither was but to seeke aduantage, followed speedily after them, but they rowed so swiftly away, that our men could come nothing neere them. Howbeit they failed not of their best endeuour in rowing, and hauing chased them aboue two miles into the sea, returned into their ships againe.

The morning following being the first of August, Captaine Yorke with the Michael came into Iackmans sound, and declared vnto the company there, that the last night past he came to anker in a certaine baye (which sithens was named Yorkes sound) about foure leagues distant from Iackmans sound, being put to leeward of that place for lacke of winde, where he discouered certaine tents of the countrey people, where going with his company ashore, he entred into them, but found the people departed, as it should seeme, for feare of their comming. But amongst sundry strange things which in these tents they found, there was rawe and new killed flesh of vnknowen sorts, with dead carcasses and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They also beheld (to their greatest marueile) a dublet of Canuas made after the English fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes for contrary feete, and of vnequall bignesse, which they well coniectured to be the apparell of our fiue poore countreymen, which were intercepted the last yeere by these Countrey people, about fiftie leagues from this place, further within the Straights. Whereupon our men being in good hope, that some of them might be here, and yet liuing: the Captaine deuising for the best left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, yncke, and paper also, whereby our poore captiue countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends minds, and of their arriuall, and likewise returne their answere. And so without taking any thing away in their tents, leauing there also looking glasses, points, and other of our toyes (the better to allure them by such friendly meanes) departed aboord his Barke, with intent to make haste to the Aide, to giue notice vnto the company of all such things as he had there discouered: and so meant to returne to these tents againe, hoping that he might by force or policie intrappe or intice the people to some friendly conference. Which things when he had deliuered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captaine Yorke with the master of the Aide and his mate (who the night before had bene at the tents, and came ouer from the other side in the Michael with him) being accompanied with the Gentlemen and souldiors to the number of thirty or forty persons in two small rowing Pinnasses made towards the place, where the night before they discouered the tents of those people, and setting Charles Iackman, being the masters Mate, ashore with a conuenient number, for that he could best guide them to the place, they marched ouer land, meaning to compasse them on the one side, whilest the Captaine with his boates might entrap them on the other side. But landing at last at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents remoued. Notwithstanding, our men which marched vp into the countrey, passing ouer [illegible] mountaines, by chance espied certaine tents in a valley vnderneath them [illegible] neere vnto a creeke the Sea side, which because it was not the place where the guide [illegible] had bene the night be[illegible] they iudged them to be another company, and be setting them about, determined to [illegible] them if they could. But they hauing quickly descried our companie, lanched one grea[illegible] another smal boat, being about 16 or 18 persons, and very narrowly escaping, put [illegible]selues to sea. Wherupon our souldiers [illegible]ed their Caliuers, and followed them, [illegible]ing the noise therof being heard to our boats at sea, our men there would make what spee[illegible] they might to that place. And thereupon indeede our men which were in the boates (cros[illegible] vpon them in the mouth of the sound whereby their passage was let from getting sea [illegible]ne, wherein it had bene impossible for vs to ouertake them by rowing) forced them to [illegible] themselues ashore vpon a point of land within

Yorkes sound.

The apparell found againe of our English men which the yeere before were taken captiue.

A good deuise of Captaine Yorke.

The Sauages haue boats of sundry bignes.

The English men pursue those people of that countrey.

The swift rowing of those people.

The bloody point.

Yorkes sound.

A hot skirmish betweene the English and them of that countrey.

The desperate nature of those people.

The taking of the woman & her child.

A prety kind of surgery which nature teacheth.

within the sayd sound (which vpon the occasion of the slaughter there, was since named The bloody point) whereunto our men so speedily followed, that they had little leisure left them to make any escape. But so soone as they landed, ech of them brake his Oare, thinking by that meanes to preuent vs, in carying away their boates for want of Oares. And desperatly returning vpon our men, resisted them manfully in their landing, so long as their arrowes and dartes lasted, and after gathering vp those arrowes which our men shot at them, yea, and plucking our arrowes out of their bodies incountred afresh againe, and maintained their cause vntill both weapons and life fayled them. And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they cast themselues headlong from off the rockes into the sea, least perhaps their enemies should receiue glory or prey of their dead carcaises, for they supposed vs belike to be Canibals or eaters of mans flesh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerously hurt in the belly with one of their arrowes, and of them were slaine fiue or sixe, the rest by flight escaping among the rockes, sauing two women, whereof the one being old and vgly, our men thought shee had bene a deuill or some witch, and therefore let her goe: the other being yong, and cumbred with a sucking childe at her backe, hiding her selfe behind the rockes, was espied by one of our men, who supposing she had bene a man, shot through the haire of her head, and pierced through the childs arme, whereupon she cried out, and our Surgeon meaning to heale her childes arme, applyed salues thereunto. But she not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salues away, and by continuall licking with her owne tongue, not much vnlike our dogs, healed vp the childes arme. And because the day was welneere spent our men made haste vnto the rest of our company which on the other side of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparell, letter, and other English furniture, that they were the same company which Captaine Yorke discouered the night before, hauing remoued themselues from the place where he left them.

And now considering their sudden flying from our men, and their desperate maner of fighting, we began to suspect that we had heard the last newes of our men which the last yere were betrayed of these people. And considering also their rauenous and bloody disposition in eating any kind of raw flesh or carrion howsoeuer stinking, it is to bee thought that they had slaine and deuoured our men: For the dublet which was found in their tents had many holes therein being made with their arrowes and darts.

The narrowest place of the Straites is 9. leagues ouer. The Queenes Cape.

But now the night being at hand, our men with their captiues and such poore stuffe as they found in their tents, returned towards their ships, when being at sea, there arose a sudden flaw of winde, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates: but as God would they came all safely aboord. And with these good newes they returned (as before mentioned) into the Countesse of Warwicks sound vnto vs. And betweene Iackmans sound, from whence they came, and the Countesse of Warwicks sound betweene land and land, being thought the narrowest place of the Straights were iudged nine leagues ouer at the least: and Iackmans sound being vpō the Southerland, lyeth directly almost ouer against the Countesses sound, as is reckoned scarce thirty leagues within the Straights from the Queenes Cape, which is the entrance of the Streits of the Southerland. This Cape being named Queene Elizabeths Cape, standeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and a halfe to the Northwards of New found land, and vpon the same continent, f[illegible] that is yet knowen to the contrary.

The maner of the meeting of the two captiues, and their entertainment.

Hauing now got a woman cap[illegible] for comfort of our man, w[illegible] brought them both together, and euery man with silen[illegible] to behold the maner of the[illegible] meeting and entertainment, the which was more wo[illegible] holding than can be well expre[illegible]ssed by writing: At their first encountring they beheld[illegible] the other very wistly a good space, without sp[illegible] or word vttered, with great change co[illegible]lour and countenance, as though it se[illegible] griefe and disdeine of their captiuity h[illegible]en away the vse of their tongues and vtterance: the woman at the first very suddenly, [illegible]gh she disdeined or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to sing as thoug[illegible] minded another matter: but being againe brought together, the man brake vp the si[illegible] first, and with sterne and stayed countenance, began to tell [illegible]ng solemne tale to the woman, whereunto she gaue good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finished, and afterwards, being growen into more familiar acquaintanc[illegible] by speech, they were turned together, so that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued [illegible]thout the comfort of the other. And for so much as we could perceiue, albeit they liued continually together, yet they did neuer vse as man & wife, though the woman spared not to doe all necessary things that appertained to a good houswife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and euery other thing that appertained to his ease: for when he was seasicke, she would make him cleane, she would kill and flea the dogs for their eating, and dresse his meate. Only I thinke it worth the noting, the continencie of them both: for the man would neuer shift himselfe, except he had first caused the woman to depart out of his cabin, and they both were most shamefast, least any of their priuie parts should be discouered, either of themselues, or any other body.

The shamefastnes and chastity of these Sauage captiues.

On Munday the sixth of August, the Lieutenant with all the Souldiers, for the better garde of the Myners and the other things a shore, pitched their tents in the Countesses Island, and fortifyed the place for their better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty persons, when being all at labour, they might perceiue vpon the top of a hill ouer against them a number of the countrey people wafting with a flag, and making great outcries vnto them, and were of the same companie, which had encountred lately our men vpon the other shore, being come to complaine their late losses, and to entreate (as it seemed) for restitution of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away; whereupon the Generall taking the sauage captiue with him, and setting the woman where they might best perceiue her in the highest place of the Island, went ouer to talke with them. This captiue at his first encounter of his friends fell so out into teares that he could not speake a word in a great space, but after a while, ouercomming his kindnesse, he talked at full with his companions, and bestowed friendly vpon them such toyes and trifles as we had giuen him, whereby we noted, that they are very kind one to another, and greatly sorrowfull for the losse of their friends. Our Generall by signes required his fiue men which they tooke captiue the last yeere, and promised them, not only to release those which he had taken, but also to reward them with great gifts and friendship. Our Sauage made signes in answere from them that our men should be deliuered vs, and were yet liuing, and made signes likewise vnto vs that we should write our letters vnto them, for they knew very well the vse we haue of writing, and receiued knowledge thereof, either of our poore captiue countreymen which they betrayed, or else by this our new captiue who hath seene vs dayly write, and repeate againe such words of his language as we desired to learne: but they for this night, because it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earnestly in hast for the same. And the next morning early being the seuenth of August, they called againe for the letter, which being deliuered vnto them, they speedily departed, making signes with three fingers, and pointing to the Sunne, that they meant to returne within 3 dayes, vntill which time we heard no more of them, & about the time appointed they re[illegible]d, in such sort as you shal afterwards heare.

Another apparance of the countrey people.

These people know the vse of writing.

A letter sent vnto the fiue English captiues.

[illegible] night because the people were very neere vnto vs, the Lieutenant caused the Trumpet [illegible] a call, and euery man in the Island repayring to the Ensigne, he put them in minde [illegible]ace so farre from their countrey wherein they liued, and the danger of a great mul[illegible]ich they were subiect vnto, if good [illegible] and warde were not kept, for at euery [illegible] the enimie might come almost dryfoot [illegible]n the mayne vnto vs, wherefore he will[illegible]man to prepare him in good readinesse [illegible] on all sudden occasions, and so giuing [illegible]ch their charge, the company departed to [illegible].

[illegible]ght the Captaines letter well worth the [illegible]embring, not for the circumstance of cur[illegible]enditing, but for the substance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore haue repeated here the same, as by himselfe it was hastily written.

The forme of M. Martin Frobishers letter to the English captiues.

IN the name of God, in whom we all beleeue, who (I trust) hath preserued your bodies and soules amongst these infidels, I commend me vnto you. I will be gla[illegible] seeke by all means you can deuise for your deliuerance, either with force, or with any commodities within my ships, which I will not spare for your sakes, or any thing else I can doe for you. I haue aboord, of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am cont[illegible]ed to deliuer for you, but the man which I caried away from hence the last yeere is dead in England. Moreouer you may declare vnto them, that if they deliuer you not, I will not leaue a man aliue in their countrey. And thus, if one of you can come to speake with mee, they shall haue either the man, woman, or childe in pawne for you. And thus vnto God whom I trust you doe serue, in hast I leaue you, and to him wee will dayly pray for you. This Tuesday morning the seuenth of August. Anno 1577.

Yours to the vttermost of my power.

MARTIN FROBISHER.

Postscript.

I haue sent you by these bearers, penne, ynke, and paper, to write backe vnto me againe, if personally you cannot come to certifie me of your estate.

The cause why M. Frobisher entred no further within the Streits this yere.

Now had the Generall altered his determination for going any further into the Streites at this time for any further discouery of the passage, hauing taken a man and a woman of that countrey, which he thought sufficient for the vse of language: & hauing also met with these people here, which intercepted his men the last yere, (as the apparell and English furniture which was found in their tents, very well declared) he knew it was but a labour lost to seeke them further off, when he had found them there at hand. And considering also the short time he had in hand, he thought it best to bend his whole endeuour for the getting of Myne, and to leaue the passage further to be discouered hereafter. For his commission directed him in this voyage, onely for the searching of the Ore, and to deferre the further discouery of the passage vntill another time.

Bests bulwarke.

On Thursday the ninth of August we began to make a smal Fort for our defence in the Countesses Island, and entrenched a corner of a cliffe, which on three parts like a wall of good heigth was compassed and well fenced with the sea, and we finished the rest with caskes of the earth, to good purpose, and this was called Bests bulwarke, after the Lieutenants name, who first deuised the same. This was done for that wee suspected more lest the desperate men might oppresse vs with multitude, then any feare we had of their force, weapons, or policie of battel: but as wisdome would vs in such place (so farre from home) not to be of our selues altogether carelesse: so the signes which our captiue made vnto vs, of the comming downe of his Gouernour or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gaue vs occasion to foresee what might ensue thereof, for he shewed by signes that this Catchoe was a man of higher stature farre then any of our nation is, and he is accustomed to be caried vpon mens shoulders.

Their King called Catchoe.

How he is honoured.

About midnight the Lieutenant caused a false Alarme to be giuen in the Island, to proue as well the readines of the company there ashore, as also what help might be hoped for on the sudden fro the ships if need so required, & euery part was found in good readines upon such a sudden.

Saturday the eleuenth of August the people shewed themselues againe, & called [illegible] from the side of a hil ouer against vs. [illegible]nerall (with good hope to heare of his [illegible] to haue answere of his letter) went ou[illegible]nto them, where they presented thems[illegible] aboue three in sight, but were hidden i[illegible]le in greater numbers behind the rock[illegible] making signes of delay with vs to intra[illegible] some of vs to redeeme their owne, did [illegible] seeke aduantage to traine our boat about [illegible]int of land from sight of our compa[illegible] upon our men iustly suspecting them, kept aloofe without their danger, and yet set [illegible] of our company ashore, which tooke vp a great bladder which one of them offered vs, and leauing a looking glasse in the place, came into the boate againe. In the meane while our men which stood in the Countesses Island to beholde, who might better discerne them, then those of the boate, by reason they were on higher ground, made a great outcrie vnto our

A bladder changed for a looking glasse.

men in the b[illegible] for that they saw diuers of the Sauages creeping behind the rockes to watch our men, whereupon the Generall presently returned without tidings of his men.

No newes of the English captiues.

Concerning th[illegible] bladder which we receiued, our Captiue made signes that it was giuen him to keepe wate[illegible] drinke in, but we suspected rather it was giuen him to swimme and shift away withall, for he and the woman sought diuers times to escape, hauing loosed our boates from asterne our ships, and we neuer a boate left to pursue them withall, and had preuailed very farre, had they not bene very timely espied and preuented therein.

To what end the bladder was deliuered.

After our Generals comming away from them they mustred themselues in our sight, vpon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rancke, all holding hands ouer their heads, and dancing with great noise and songs together: we supposed they made this dance and shew for vs to vnderstand, that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we should doe the same. And thus they continued vpon the hill tops vntill night, when hearing a piece of our great Ordinance, which thundred in the hollownesse of the high hilles, it made vnto them so fearefull a noise, that they had no great will to tarie long after. And this was done more to make them know our force then to doe them any hurt at all.

These people dancing vpon the hil toppes.

On Sunday the 12 of August, Captaine Fenton trained the company, and made the souldiers maintaine a skirmish among themselues, as well for their exercise, as for the countrey people to behold in what readines our men were alwaies to be found, for it was to be thought, that they lay hid in the hilles thereabout, and obserued all the maner of our proceedings.

A skirmish shewed to these people.

On Wednesday the fourteenth of August, our Generall with two small boates well appointed, for that hee suspected the countrey people to lie lurking thereabout, went vp a certaine Bay within the Countesses sound, to search for Ore, and met againe with the countrey people, who so soone as they saw our men made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders sowed together with the guts and sinewes of beasts, wafted vs amaine vnto them, but shewed not aboue three of their company. But when wee came neere them, wee might perceiue a great multitude creeping behinde the rockes, which gaue vs good cause to suspect their traiterous meaning: whereupon we made them signes, that if they would lay their weapons aside, and come foorth, we would deale friendly with them, although their intent was manifested vnto vs: but for all the signes of friendship we could make them they came still creeping towards vs behind the rocks to get more aduantage of vs, as though we had no eyes to see them, thinking belike that our single wits could not discouer so bare deuises and simple drifts of theirs. Their spokesman earnestly perswaded vs with many intising shewes, to come eate and sleepe ashore, with great arguments of courtesie, and clapping his bare hands ouer his head in token of peace and innocencie, willed vs to doe the like. But the better to allure our hungry stomackes, he brought vs a trimme baite of raw flesh, which for fashion sake with a boat-hooke wee caught into our boate: but when the cunning Cater perceiued his first cold morsell could nothing sharpen our stomacks, he cast about for a new traine of warme flesh to procure our appetites, wherefore he caused one of his fellowes in halting maner, to come foorth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to de[illegible]is kindnes in caruing, he hoised him vpon his shoulders, and bringing him hard to the [illegible]le where we were, left him there limping as an easie prey to be taken of vs. His [illegible] that we would bite at this baite, and speedily leape ashore within their danger, [illegible]ey might [illegible]ended son[illegible] of vs, to ransome their friends home againe, [illegible] of Septem[illegible] The gentlemen and souldiers had great will to encounter them [illegible] more carefull by processe of time to winne them, then wilfully at [illegible]n, would in no wise admit that any man should put himselfe in hazard [illegible]g the matter he now intended was for the Ore, and not for the Conquest: [illegible]ing to prooue this cripples footemanship, he gaue liberty for one to shoote: whe[illegible]on the cripple hauing a parting blow, lightly recouered a rocke and went away a true and no fained cripple, and hath learned his lesson for euer halting afore such cripples againe. But his fellowes which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likenesse, and maintained the skirmish with their slings, bowes and arrowes very fiercely, and came as neere as the water suffred them: and with as desperate minde as hath bene seene in any men, without

Their flags made of bladders.

Great offers.

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without feare of shotte or any thing, followed vs all along the coast, but [illegible] their shot fell short of vs, and are of little danger. They had belayed all the coast along for vs, and being dispersed so, were not well to be numbred, but wee might discerne of them aboue an hundreth persons, and had cause to suspect a greater number. And [illegible] without losse or hurt we returned to our ships againe.

A hundreth Sauages.

Now our worke growing to an end, and hauing, onely with fiue poore Miners, and the helpe of a few gentlemen and souldiers, brought aboord almost two hundreth tunne of Ore in the space of twenty dayes, euery man therewithall well comforted, determined lustily to worke a fresh for a bone voyage, to bring our labour to a speedy and happy ende.

And vpon Wednesday at night being the one and twentieth of August, we fully finished the whole worke. And it was now good time to leaue, for as the men were well wearied, so their shooes and clothes were well worne, their baskets bottoms torne out, their tooles broken, and the ships reasonably well filled. Some with ouer-straining themselues receiued hurts not a little dangerous, some hauing their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the yce began to congeale and freeze about our ships sides a night, which gaue vs a good argument of the Sunnes declining Southward, & put vs in mind to make more haste homeward.

It is not a little worth the memorie, to the commendation of the gentlemen and souldiers herein, who leauing all reputation apart, with so great willingnesse and with couragious stomackes, haue themselues almost ouercome in so short a time the difficultie of this so great a labour. And this to be true, the matter, if it bee well weyed without further proofe, now brought home doth well witnesse.

Thursday the 22 of August, we plucked downe our tents, and euery man hasted homeward, and making bonefires vpon the top of the highest Mount of the Island, and marching with Ensigne displayed round about the Island, wee gaue a vollie of shotte for a farewell, in honour of the right honourable Lady Anne, Countesse of Warwicke, whose name it beareth: and so departed aboord.

They returne.

The 23 of *August* hauing the wind large at West, we set saile from out of the Countesses sound homeward, but the wind calming we came to anker within the point of the same sound againe.

The 24 of August about three of the clocke in the morning, hauing the wind large at West, we set saile againe, and by nine of the clocke at night, wee left the Queenes Foreland asterne of vs, and being cleere of the Streites, we bare further into the maine Ocean, keeping our course more Southerly, to bring our selues the sooner vnder the latitude of our owne climate.

Snow halfe a foote deepe in August.

The wind was very great at sea, so that we lay a hull all night, & had snow halfe a foote deepe on the hatches.

From the 24 vntil the 28 we had very much wind, but large, keeping our course Southsoutheast, and had like to haue lost the Barkes, but by good hap we met againe. The height being taken, we were in degrees and a halfe.

The 29 of August the wind blew much at Northeast, so that we could beare but [illegible] bunt of our foresaile, and the Barkes were not able to cary any sayle at all.

The Michael lost company of vs and shaped her course [illegible] because [illegible] was better knowne vnto them, and arriued at Yermouth.

The Master of the Gabriell strooken ouer-boord.

The 30 of August with the force of the wind, and a surge of [illegible] Gabriel and the boatswain were striken both ouerboord, & hardly was [illegible] ed, hauing hold on a roape hanging ouerboord in the sea, and yet the Ba[illegible] and after with ropes a breast high within boorde.

This Master was called William Smith, being but a yong man and a very sufficient [illegible], who being all the morning before exceeding pleasant, told his Captaine he dreamed that he was cast ouerboord, and that the Boatswain had him by the hand, and could not saue him, and so immediately vpon the end of his tale, his dreame came right euilly to passe, and indeed the Boatswain in like sort held him by one hand, hauing hold on a rope with the other, vntill his force fayled, and the Master drowned. The height being taken we found our selues to be in the latitude of [illegible] degrees and a halfe, and reckoned our selues from the Queenes Cape homeward about two hundreth leagues.

The last of August about midnight, we had two or three great and sudden flawes or stormes.

The Rudder of the Aide torne in twain.

The first of September the storme was growen very great, and continued almost the whole day and night, and lying a hull to tarrie for the Barkes our ship was much beaten with the seas, euery sea almost ouertaking our poope, so that we were constrained with a bunt of our saile to trie it out, and ease the rolling of our ship. And so the Gabriel not able to beare any sayle to keepe company with vs, and our ship being higher in the poope, and a tall ship, whereon the winde had more force to driue, went so fast away that we lost sight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of Sea. The second day of September in the morning, it pleased God of his goodnesse to send vs a calme, whereby we perceiued the Rudder of our ship torne in twaine, and almost ready to fall away. Wherefore taking the benefite of the time, we flung halfe a dozen couple of our best men ouer boord, who taking great paines vnder water, driuing plankes, and binding with ropes, did well strengthen and mend the matter, who returned the most part more then halfe dead out of the water, and as Gods pleasure was, the sea was calme vntill the worke was finished. The fift of September, the height of the Sunne being taken, we found our selues to be in the latitude of [illegible] degrees and a halfe. In this voyage commonly wee tooke the latitude of the place by the height of the sunne, because the long day taketh away the light not onely of the Polar, but also of all other fixed Starres. And here the North Starre is so much eleuated aboue the Horizon, that with the staffe it is hardly to bee well obserued, and the degrees in the Astrolabe are too small to obserue minutes. Therefore wee alwaies vsed the Staffe and the sunne as fittest instruments for this vse.

How the latitudes were alwayes taken in this voyage rather with the Staffe then Astrolabe.

Hauing spent foure or fiue dayes in trauerse of the seas with contrary winde, making our Souhter way good as neere as we could, to raise our degrees to bring ourselues with the latitude of Sylley, wee tooke the height the tenth of September, and found our selues in the latitude of [illegible] degrees and ten minutes. The eleuenth of September about sixe a clocke at night the winde came good Southwest, we vered sheat and set our course Southeast.

And vpon Thursday, the twelfth of September, taking the height, we were in the latitude of [illegible] and a halfe, and reckoned our selues not past one hundred and fifty leagues short of Sylley, the weather faire, the winde large at Westsouthwest, we kept our course Southeast.

The thirteenth day the height being taken, wee found our selues to be in the latitude of [illegible] degrees, the wind Westsouthwest, then being in the height of Sylley, and we kept our course East, to run in with the sleeue or chanel so called, being our narrow seas, and reckoned vs short of Sylley twelue leagues.

[illegible]ay, the 15 of September about foure of the clocke, we began to sound with our [illegible]d had ground at 61 fadome depth, white small sandy ground, and reckoned vs [illegible] backe of Sylley, and set our course East and by North, Eastnortheast, and North[illegible]

[illegible]g[illegible]ke in the morning sounding, we had [illegible]teenth of September, about eight of the clo[illegible]t of S. Georges channell a little within [illegible]e osey sand, and thought our selues th[illegible]war[illegible] made many soundings, which were [illegible] And bearing a small saile all night, we [illegible]t well tell where we were. [illegible]tie fadome, and so shallow, that we could n[illegible]ad forty fadome, and were not farre off [illegible] seuenteenth of September we sounded, and h[illegible]es and Cockle shells, and were shotte [illegible] lands end, finding branded sand with small worm[illegible] in the bay, we were not able to double [illegible]ne Sylley and the Landsende, and being with[illegible] faine to make another boord, the wind [illegible]ate with a South and by East way, but were [illegible]ot double the point to come cleere of b[illegible] at Southwest and by West, and yet could [illegible] the weather cleered vp when we were hard the landes end, to beare along the channel: and [illegible] aboord the shore, and we made the lands end perfit, and so put vp along Saint Georges chanel. And the weather being very foule at sea, we coueted some harborough, because our steerage was broken, and so came to ancor in Padstow road in Cornewall. But riding there a very dangerous roade, we were aduised by the countrey, to put to Sea againe, and of the two euils, to choose the lesse, for there was nothing but present perill where we rode: whereupon we plyed along the channell to get to Londy, from whence we were againe driuen, being but an open roade, where our anker came home, and with force of weather put to Seas againe, and about the three and twentieth of September, arriued at Milford Hauen in Wales, which being a very good harborough, made vs happy men, that we had receiued such long desired safetie.

The arriual of the Aide at Padstow in Cornewall.

Our comming to Milford Hauen.

About one moneth after our arriuall here, by order from the Lords of the Counsell, the ship came up to Bristow, where the Ore was committed to keeping in the Castel there. Here we found the Gabriel one of the Barkes, arriued in good safetie, who hauing neuer a man within boord very sufficient to bring home the ship, after the Master was lost, by good fortune, when she came vpon the coast, met with a ship of Bristow at sea, who conducted her in safety thither.

The arriuall of the Gabriel at Bristow.

Here we heard good tidings also of the arriuall of the other Barke called the Michael, in the North parts, which was not a little ioyful vnto vs, that it pleased God so to bring vs to a safe meeting againe, and wee lost in all the voyage only one man, besides one that dyed at sea, which was sicke before he came aboord, and was so desirous to follow this enterprise, that he rather chose to dye therein, then not to be one to attempt so notable a voyage.

The Michael arriued in the North parts.

Only one man died the voyage.

The third voyage of Captaine Frobisher, pretended for the discouerie of Cataia, by Meta Incognita, Anno Do. 1578.

THe Generall being returned from the second voyage, immediately after his arriuall in England, repaired with all hast to the Court being then at Windsore, to aduertise her Maiestie of his prosperous proceeding, and good successe in this last voyage, & of the plenty of gold Ore, with other matters of importance which he had in these Septentrionall parts discouered. He was courteously enterteyned, and heartily welcommed of many noble men, but especially for his great aduenture, commended of her Maiestie, at whose hands he receiued great thankes, and most gracious countenance, according to his deserts. Her Highnesse also greatly commended the rest of the Gentlemen in this seruice, for their great forwardnes in this so dangerous an attempt: but especially she reioyced very much, that among them there was so good order of gouernement, so good agreement, euery man so ready in his calling, to do whatsoeuer the General should comand, which due commendation gratiously of her Maiestie remembred, gaue so great encouragement to all the Captaines and Gentlemen, that they, to continue her Highnesse so good and honourable opinion of them, haue since neither spared labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter (so well begun) to a happie and prosperous ende. And finding that the matter of the golde Ore had appearance & made shew of great riches & profit, & the hope of the pas [illegible] Cataya, by this last voyage greatly increased, her Maiestie appointed special [illegible] missioners chosen for this purpose, gentlemen of great iudgement, art, and skill, [illegible] thorowly into the cause, for the true triall and due examination thereof, and fo [illegible] handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. And because that place and coun [illegible] neuer heretofore bene discouered, and therefore had no speciall name, by which it [illegible] called and knowen, her Maiestie named it very properly Meta Incognita, as a m [illegible] bound vtterly hitherto vnknowen. The commissioners after sufficient triall an [illegible] made of the Ore, and hauing vnderstood by sundrie reasons, and substantiall groun [illegible] possibilitie and likelyhood of the passage, aduertised her highnesse, that the cause wa [illegible] importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be aduanced againe. Whereupon prep [illegible] was made of ships and all other things necessary, with such expedition, as the time [illegible] yeere then required. And because it was assuredly made accompt of, that the commo [illegible] e of Mines, there already discouered, would at the least counteruaille in all respects the ad-

M. Frobisher cōmended of her Maiestie.

The Gentlemen commended.

Cōmissioners appointed to examine the goodnesse of the Ore.

A name giuen to yͤ place new discouered.

uenturers

aduenturers charge, and giue further hope & likelyhood of greater matters to follow: It was thought needfull, both for the better guard of those parts already found, and for further discouery of the Inland and secrets of those countreys, & also for further search of the passage to Cataya (whereof the hope continually more & more increaseth) that certaine numbers of chosen souldiers and discreet men for those purposes should be assigned to inhabite there. Wherevpon there was a strong fort or house of timber, artificially framed, & cunningly deuised by a notable learned man here at home, in ships to be caried thither, wherby those men that were appointed to winter & stay there the whole yere, might as well bee defended from the danger of the snow and colde ayre, as also fortified from the force or offence of those countrey people, which perhaps otherwise with too great multitudes might oppresse them. And to this great aduenture and notable exploit many well minded and forward yong Gentlemen of our countrey willingly haue offered themselues. And first Captaine Fenton Lieutenant generall for Captaine Frobisher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captaine Best, and Captaine Filpot, vnto whose good discretions the gouernment of that seruice was chiefly commended, who, as men not regarding peril in respect of the profit and common wealth of their countrey, were willing to abide the first brunt & aduenture of those dangers among a sauage and brutish kinde of people, in a place hitherto euer thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabite Meta Incognita all the yeere, were one hundreth persons, whereof 40 should be mariners for the vse of ships, 30 Miners for gathering the gold Ore together for the next yere, and 30 souldiers for the better guard of the rest, within which last number are included the Gentlemen, Goldfiners, Bakers, Carpenters, & all necessary persons. To each of the Captaines was assigned one ship, aswel for the further searching of the coast & countrey there, as for to returne & bring backe their companies againe, if the necessity of the place so vrged, or by miscarying of the fleet the next yere, they might be disappointed of their further prouision. Being therefore thus furnished with al necessaries, there were ready to depart vpon the said voyage 15 saile of good ships, whereof the whole number was to returne againe with their loding of gold Ore in the end of the sommer, except these 3 ships, which should be left for the vse of those Captains which should inhabite there the whole yere. And being in so good readinesse, the Generall with all the Captaines came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leaue of her Maiestie, at whose hands they all receiued great encouragement, and gracious countenance. Her highnesse besides other good gifts, and greater promises, bestowed on the Generall a faire chaine of golde, and the rest of the Captaines kissed her hand, tooke their leaue, and departed euery man towards their charge.

The hope of the passage to Cataya.

A forte to be built in Meta Incognita.

A hundreth men appointed to inhabite there.

Fifteene sayle.

A chaine of gold given to M. Frobisher.

The names of the Ships with their seuerall Captaines.

1 In the Aide being Admirall, was the Generall	Captaine	Frobisher.
2 In the Thomas Allen Viceadmirall		Yorke.
3 In the Iudith Lieutenant generall		Fenton.
4 In the Anne Francis		Best.
5 In the Hopewell		Carew.
6 In the Beare		Filpot.
7 In the Thomas of Ipswich		Tanfield.
8 In the Emmanuel of Exceter		Courtney.
9 In the Francis of Foy		Moyles.
10 In the Moone		Vpcot.
11 In the Emmanuel of Bridgewater		Newton.
12 In the Salomon of Weymouth		Randal.
13 In the Barke Dennis		Kendal.
14 In the Gabriel		Haruey.
15 In the Michael		Kinnersly.

The sayd fifteene saile of ships arriued and met together at Harwich, the seuen and twentieth day of May Anno 1578, where the Generall and the other Captaines made view, and mustred their companies. And euery seuerall Captaine receiued from the Generall certaine Articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way, which Articles are as followeth.

Articles and orders to be obserued for the Fleete, set downe by Captaine Frobisher Generall, and deliuered in writing to euery Captaine, as well for keeping company, as for the course, the 31 of May.

1 INprimis, to banish swearing, dice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to serue God twice a day, with the ordinary seruice vsuall in Churches of England, and to cleare the glasse, according to the old order of England.

2 The Admiral shall carie the light, & after his light be once put out, no man to goe a head of him, but euery man to fit his sailes to follow as neere as they may, without endangering one another.

3 That no man shall by day or by night depart further from the Admirall then the distance of one English mile, and as neere as they may, without danger one of another.

4 If it chance to grow thicke, and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the Admirall be forced to cast about, before her casting about shee shall giue warning, by shooting off a peece, and to her shall answere the Viceadmirall and the Rereadmirall each of them with a piece, if it bee by night, or in a fogge; and that the Viceadmirall shall answere first, and the Rereadmirall last.

5 That no man in the Fleete descrying any sayle or sayles, giue vpon any occasion any chace before he haue spoken with the Admirall.

6 That euery euening all the Fleete come vp and speake with the Admirall, at seuen of the Clocke, or betweene that and eight, and if the weather will not serue them all to speake with the Admirall, then some shall come to the Viceadmirall, and receiue the order of their course of Master Hall chiefe Pilot of the Fleete, as he shall direct them.

7 If to any man in the Fleete there happen any mischance, they shall presently shoote off two peeces by day, and if it be by night, two peeces, and shew two lights.

8 If any man in the fleete come vp in the night, & hale his fellow knowing him not, he shall giue him this watch-word, Before the world was God. The other shal answere him (if he be one of our Fleete) After God came Christ his Sonne. So that if any be found amongst vs, not of our owne company, he that first descrieth any such sayle or sayles, shall giue warning to the Admirall by himselfe or any other that he can speake to, that sailes better then he, being neerest vnto him.

9 That euery ship in the fleete in the time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and most part calmes, shall keepe a reasonable noise with trumpet, drumme, or [illegible] wise, to keepe themselues cleere one of another.

10 If it fall out so thicke or mistie that we lay it to hull, the Admiral shall giue [illegible] with a piece, and putting out three lights one ouer another, to the end that euery [illegible] take in his sailes, and at his setting of sailes againe doe the like, if it be nor cleer[illegible]

11 If any man discouer land by night, that he giue the like warning, that [illegible] mischances, two lights, and two pieces, if it be by day one piece, and put out his [illegible] strike all his sailes he hath aboord.

12 If any ship shall happen to lose company by force of weather, then any suc[illegible] ships shall get her into the latitude of   , and so keepe that latitude vntill they get Frisland. And after they be past the West parts of Frisland, they shall get them into the latitude of   and   , and not to the Northward of   ; and being once entred within the Streites [illegible] ships shal euery watch shoote off a good piece, and looke out well for smoke and fi[illegible] those that get in first shall make euery night, vntill all the fleete be come together.

13 That vpon the sight of an ensigne in the mast of the Admirall (a piece being shot

off) the whole fleete shall repaire to the Admirall, to vnderstand such conference as the Generall is to haue with them.

14 If we ch[illegible] to meete with any enemies, that foure ships shall attend vpon the Admirall, viz. the Fra[illegible] of Foy, the Moone, the Barke Dennis, and the Gabriel: and foure vpon my Lieutenant generall in the Iudith, viz. the Hopewel, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon: and the other foure vpon the Vizadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, the Emmanuel, and the Michael.

15 If there happen any disordred person in the Fleete, that he be taken and kept in safe custodie vntill he may conueniently be brought aboord the Admirall, and there to receiue such punishment as his or their offences shall deserue.

By me Martin Frobisher.

Our departure from England.

HAuing receiued these articles of direction we departed from Harwich the one and thirtieth of May. And sayling along the South part of England Westward, we at length came by the coast of Ireland at Cape Cleare the sixth of Iune, and gaue chase there to a small barke which was supposed to be a Pyrat, or Rouer on the Seas, but it fell out indeede that they were poore men of Bristow, who had met with such company of Frenshmen as had spoiled and slaine many of them, and left the rest so sore wounded that they were like to perish in the sea, hauing neither hand nor foote hole to helpe themselues with, nor victuals to sustaine their hungry bodies. Our Generall, who well vnderstood the office of a Souldier and an Englishman, and knew well what the necessitie of the Sea meaneth, pitying much the miserie of the poore men, relieued them with Surgerie and Salues to heale their hurtes, and with meate and drinke to comfort their pining hearts; some of them hauing neither eaten nor drunke more then oliues and stinking water in many dayes before, as they reported. And after this good deede done, hauing a large wind, we kept our course vpon our sayd voyage without staying for the taking in of fresh water, or any other prouision, whereof many of the fleete were not throughly furnished: and sayling towards the Northwest parts from Ireland, we mette with a great current from out of the Southwest, which caried vs (by our reckoning) one point to the Northeastwards of our sayd course, which current seemed to vs to continue it selfe towards Norway, and other the Northeast parts of the world, whereby we may be induced to beleeue, that this is the same which the Portugals meete at Capo de buona Speranza, where striking ouer from thence to the Streites of Magellan, and finding no passage there for the narrownesse of the sayde Streites, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico, where also hauing a let of land, it is forced to strike backe againe towards the Northeast, as we not onely here, but in another place also, further to the Northwards, by good experience this yeere haue found, as shalbe hereafter in his place more at large declared.

Cape Cleare the sixt of Iune.

A charitable deede.

Marke this current.

Now had we sayled about foureteene dayes, without sight of any land, or any other liuing [illegible] except certaine foules, as Wilmots, Nodies, Gulles, &c. which there seeme onely to [illegible] sea.

[illegible] ventieth of Iune, at two of the clocke in the morning, the General descried land, &
[illegible] o be West Frisland. [illegible] west England. Here the Generall, & other Gen-
[illegible] ent ashore, bein[illegible] ians that we haue true notice of, that euer
[illegible] on that grou[illegible] erall tooke possession thereof to the vse of
[illegible] igne Lad[illegible] d discouered here a goodly harborough for
[illegible] whe[illegible] of that countrey. And being there landed,
[illegible] trey, which were (as they iudge) in all sorts,
[illegible] ita, [illegible] parell, and other things which we found in
them [illegible]

West England.

The Sauage and [illegible] le so s[illegible] y perceiued our men comming towards them (supposing there ha[illegible] e no other w[illegible] theirs) fled fearefully away, as men much amazed at so strange a sight, and creature[illegible] mane shape, so farre in apparell, complexion, and other things different from themse[illegible] They left in their tents all their furniture for haste behind them, where amongst other things were found a boxe of small trifles, and certaine red Herrings, boords of Firre tree well cut, with diuers other things artificially wrought: whereby it appeareth, that they haue trade with some ciuill people, or els are indeede themselues artificiall workemen.

Our men brought away with them onely two of their dogs, leauing in recompense belles, looking-glasses, and diuers of our countrey toyes behinde them.

This countrey, no doubt, promiseth good hope of great commoditie and riches, if it may be well discouered. The description whereof you shall finde more at large in the second voyage.

Frisland supposed to be continent with Groenland.

Some are of opinion, that this West England is firme land with the Northeast partes of Meta Incognita, or else with Groenland. And their reason is, because the people, apparel, boates, and other things are so like to theirs: and another reason is, the multitude of Islands of yce, which lay betweene it and Meta Incognita, doth argue, that on the North side there is a bay, which cannot be but by conioyning of the two lands together.

The 23 of Iune.

Charing Crosse.

And hauing a faire and large winde we departed from thence towards Frobishers Streites, the three and twentieth of Iune. But first wee gaue name to a high cliffe in West England, the last that was in our sight, and for a certaine similitude we called it Charing crosse. Then wee bare Southerly towards the Sea, because to the Northwardes of this coast we met with much driuing yce, which by reason of the thicke mistes and weather might haue bene some trouble vnto vs.

On Munday the last of Iune, wee met with many great Whales, as they had bene Porposes.

A Whale strooke a ship.

This same day the Salamander being vnder both her corses and bonets, happened to strike a great Whale with her full stemme, with such a blow that the ship stoode still, and stirred neither forward or backward. The Whale thereat made a great and vgly noyse, and cast vp his body and taile, and so went vnder water, and within two dayes after, there was found a great Whale dead swimming aboue water, which wee supposed was that which the Salamander strooke.

Frobishers Streites choked vp with yce.

The second day of Iuly early in the morning we had sight of the Queenes Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and passing thorow great quantity of yce, by night were entred somewhat within the Streites, perceiuing no way to passe further in, the whole place being frozen ouer from the one side to the other, and as it were with many walles, mountaines, and bulwarks of yce, choked vp the passage, and denied vs entrance. And yet doe I not thinke that this passage or Sea hereabouts is frozen ouer at any time of the yere: albeit it seemed so vnto vs by the abundance of yce gathered together, which occupied the whole place. But I doe rather suppose these yce to bee bred in the hollow soundes and freshets thereabouts: which by the heate of the Sommers Sunne, being loosed, doe emptie themselues with the ebbes into the sea, and so gather in great abundance there together.

Salt water cannot freeze.

And to speake somewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen sea in these parts: I doe thinke it to be rather a bare coniecture of men, then that euer any man hath made exp [illegible] of any such Sea. And that which they speake of Mare glaciale, may be truely thoug [illegible] spoken of these parts: for this may well be called indeede the ycie sea, but not the fr [illegible] for no sea consisting of salt water can be frozen [illegible] re at large herein sh [illegible] opinion in my second voyage, for it seem [illegible] sea to bee froz [illegible] hath his course of ebbing and flowing, esp [illegible] here the tides [illegible] and flawe aboue ten fadome. And also all [illegible] ve somet [illegible] hundredth mile from lande, being gathered [illegible] esh. [illegible] dissolued, become sweete and holesome wat [illegible]

And the cause why this yere we haue be [illegible] ore [illegible] before, may be by reason of the Easterly & [illegible] inds [illegible] mely thither now then we looked for. Whic [illegible] from t [illegible] y vpon the place of our Streites, hath kept in the yce, and not [illegible] them to be ca [illegible] at by the ebbe to the maine sea, where they would in more short [illegible] haue bene dissolued. And all these fleeting yce are not only so dangerous in that the [illegible] wind and gather so neere together, that a man may passe sometimes tenne or twelue miles as it were vpon one firme Island of yce ; but also for that they open and shut together againe in such sort with the tides and sea-gate, that whilest one ship followeth the other with full sayles, the yce which was open vnto the foremost will ioyne and [illegible] together before the latter can come to follow the first, whereby many times our shippes were brought into great danger, as being not able so sodainely to take in our sayles, or stay [illegible] swift way of our ships.

We were forced many times to stemme and strike great rockes of yce, and so as it were make way through mighty mountaines. By which meanes some of the fleete, where they found the yce to open, entred in, and passed so farre within the danger thereof, with continuall desire to recouer their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they euer escaped safe, or were euer heard of againe. For euen at this present we missed two of the fleete, that is, the Iudith, wherein was the Lieutenant Generall Captaine Fenton ; and the Michael, whom both we supposed had bene vtterly lost, hauing not heard any tidings of them in moe then 20 dayes before.

And one of our fleete named the Barke Dennis, being of an hundreth tunne burden, seeking way in amongst these yce, receiued such a blow with a rocke of yce that she sunke downe therewith in the sight of the whole fleete. Howbeit hauing signified her danger by shooting off a peece of great Ordinance, new succour of other ships came so readily vnto them, that the men were all saued with boats.

Barke Dennis sunke.

Within this ship that was drowned there was parcell of our house which was to bee erected for them that should stay all the Winter in Meta Incognita.

Part of the house lost.

This was a more fearefull spectacle for the Fleete to beholde, for that the outragious storme which presently followed, threatned them the like fortune and danger. For the Fleete being thus compassed (as aforesayd) on euery side with yce, hauing left much behinde them, thorow which they passed, and finding more before them, thorow which it was not possible to passe, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the Southeast, which blowing from the maine sea, directly vpon the place of the Streites, brought together all the yce a sea-boorde of vs vpon our backes, and thereby debard vs of turning backe to recouer sea-roome againe ; so that being thus compassed with danger on euery side, sundry men with sundry deuises sought the best way to saue themselues. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more cleare of yce, and get a little birth of sea roome, did take in their sayles, and there lay a drift. Other some fastened & mored Anker vpon a great Island of yce, and roade vnder the Lee therof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outragious winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting yce. And againe some where so fast shut vp, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countreys and Islands of yce, that they were faine to submit themselues and their ships to the mercy of the vnmercifull yce, and strengthened the sides of their shipps with iunckes of cables, beds, Mastes, plankes and such like, which being [illegible] ouerboord on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outra[illegible]ay and strokes of the said yce. But as in greatest distresse, men of best valor are [illegible] discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what inuincible [illegible]ry Captaine encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the paine[illegible]rs and poore Miners ([illegible]uainted with such extremities) to the euerlasting re[illegible]ur nation, did oue[illegible]e brunt of these so great and extreme dangers : for [illegible] without boord vpon the yce, and some within boord vpon the sides of their [illegible]ales, pikes, pieces of timber, and Ores in their handes, stoode almost day [illegible] without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the yce with [illegible]credible paine and perill, that it was wonderfull to beholde, which otherwise no [illegible] had striken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our form[illegible] prouision : for plankes of timber of more then three inches thicke, and other things of greater force and bignesse, by the surging of the sea and billowe, with the yce were shiuered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seeme more then credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainely to bee prooued, and that by many substantiall witnesses, that our ships, euen those of greatest burdens,

dens, with the meeting of contrary waues of the sea, were heaued vp betweene Islands of yce, a foote welneere out of the sea aboue their watermarke, hauing their [illegible] and timbers within boord both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidst these extremes, whilest some laboured for defence [illegible] ships, and sought to saue their bodies, other some of more milder spirit sought t[illegible] saue the soule by deuout prayer and meditation to the Almightie, thinking indeede by [illegible] meanes possible then by a diuine Miracle to haue their deliuerance: so that there [illegible] none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himselfe in best securitie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remayning for his best safetie.

Thus all the gallant Fleete and miserable men without hope of euer getting foorth againe, distressed with these extremities remayned here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting foure ships, that is, the Anne Francis, the Moone, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriell, which being somewhat a Seaboord of the Fleete, and being fast ships by a winde, hauing a more scope of cleare, tryed it out all the time of the storme vnder sayle, being hardly able to beare a coast of each.

And albeit, by reason of the fleeting yce, which were dispersed here almost the whole sea ouer, they were brought many times to the extreamest point of perill, mountaines of yce tenne thousand times scaping them scarce one ynch, which to haue striken had bene their present destruction, considering the swift course and way of the ships, and the vnwieldinesse of them to stay and turne as a man would wish: yet they esteemed it their better safetie, with such perill to seeke Sea-roome, than without hope of euer getting libertie to lie striuing against the streame, and beating amongst the Isie mountaines, whose hugenesse and monstrous greatnesse was such, that no man would credite, but such as to their paines sawe and felt it. And these foure shippes by the next day at noone got out to Sea, and were first cleare of the yce, who now enioying their owne libertie, beganne a new to sorrow and feare for their fellowes safeties. And deuoutly kneeling about their maine Mast, they gaue vnto God humble thankes, not only for themselues, but besought him likewise highly for their friendes deliuerance. And euen now whilest amiddest these extremities this gallant Fleete and valiant men were altogither ouerlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearefull continuance of the foresayd dangers, it pleased God with his eyes of mercie to looke downe from heauen to sende them helpe in good time, giuing them the next day a more fauourable winde at the West Northwest, which did not onely disperse and driue foorth the yce before them, but also gaue them libertie of more scope and Sea-roome, and they were by night of the same day following perceiued of the other foure shippes, where (to their greatest comfort) they enioyed againe the fellowship one of another. Some in mending the sides of their ships, some in setting vp their top Mastes, and mending their sayles and tacklings; Againe, some complayning of their false Stemme borne away, some in stopping their leake[illegible] some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time & labour. So that I d[illegible] auouch, there were neuer men more dangerously distressed, nor more mercifully [illegible] prouidence deliuered. And hereof both the torne ships, and the forwearied bod[illegible] men arriued doe beare most euident marke and witnesse. And now the whole Fl[illegible] off to Seaward, resoluing there to abide vntill the S[illegible] might consume, or th[illegible] winde disperse these yce from the place of their p[illegible]nd being a good l[illegible] shore, they tooke in their sailes, and lay adrift.

Another assault.

Fogge, snow, and mistes hinder the Mariners marks.

The seuenth of Iuly as men nothing yet dismayed, we cast about towards the [illegible] had sight of land, which rose in forme like the Northerland of the straights, whic[illegible] the Fleete, and those not the worst Mariners, iudged to be the North Foreland [illegible] other some were of contrary opinion. But the matter was not well to be discerned [illegible] son of the thicke fogge which a long time hung vpon the coast, & the new fallin[illegible] snow which yeerely altereth the shape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the Mariners markes. And by reason of the darke mists which continued by the space of twentie dayes togither, this doubt grewe the greater and the longer perilous. For whereas indeede we thought our selues to be vpon the Northeast side of Frobishers straights, we were now caried to the

Southwestwards of the Queenes Foreland, and being deceiued by a swift current comming from the Northeast, were brought to the Southwestwards of our said course many miles more then we did thinke possible could come to passe. The cause whereof we haue since found, and it shall be at large hereafter declared.

A swift current from the Northeast.

Here we made a point of land which some mistooke for a place in the straightes called Mount Warwicke: but how we should be so farre shot vp so suddainely within the said straights the expertest Mariners began to maruell, thinking it a thing impossible that they could be so farre ouertaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceiue them here which they had not by former experience prooued and found out. Howbeit many confessed that they found a swifter course of flood then before time they had obserued. And truely it was wonderfull to heare and see the rushing and noise that the tides do make in this place with so violent a force that our ships lying a hull were turned sometimes round about euen in a moment after the maner of a whirlepoole, and the noyse of the streame no lesse to be heard afarre off, then the waterfall of London Bridge.

A current.

But whilest the Fleete lay thus doubtfull amongst great store of yce in a place they knew not without sight of Sunne, whereby to take the height, and so to know the true eleuation of the pole, and without any cleere of light to make perfite the coast, the Generall with the Captaines & Masters of his ships, began doubtfully to question of the matter, and sent his Pinnesse aboord to heare each man's opinion, and specially of Iames Beare, Master of the Anne Francis, who was knowen to be a sufficient and skilfull Mariner, and hauing bene there the yere before, had wel obserued the place, and drawen out Cardes of the coast. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtfull, for that Christopher Hall chiefe Pilot of the voyage, deliuered a plaine and publique opinion in the hearing of the whole Fleete, that hee had neuer seene the foresayd coast before, and that he could not make it for any place of Frobishers Streits, as some of the Fleete supposed, and yet the landes doe lie and trend so like, that the best Mariners therein may bee deceiued.

Iames Beare a good Mariner.

Christopher Hall chiefe Pylot.

The tenth of Iuly, the weather still continuing thicke and darke, some of the ships in the fogge lost sight of the Admirall and the rest of the fleete, and wandering to and fro, with doubtfull opinion whether it were best to seeke backe againe to seaward through great store of yce, or to follow on a doubtfull course in a Sea, Bay, or Streites they knew not, or along a coast, whereof by reason of the darke mistes they could not discerne the dangers, if by chance any rocke or broken ground should lie of the place, as commonly in these parts it doth.

The Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke considering the foresayd opinion of the Pylot Hall, who was with him in the Thomas Allen, hauing lost sight of the Fleete, turned backe to sea againe, hauing two other ships in company with him.

Also the Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing likewise lost companie of the Fleete, and being all alone, held it for best to turne it out to sea againe, vntill they might haue cleere weather to take the Sunnes altitude, and with incredible paine and perill got out of the doubtfull place, into the open Sea againe, being so narrowly distressed by the way, by meanes of continuall fogge and yce, that they were many times ready to leape vpon an Island of yce to auoide the present danger, and so hoping to prolong life awhile meant rather to die a pining death.

Some hoped to saue themselues on chestes, and some determined to tie the Hatches of the ships togither, and to binde themselues with their furniture fast thereunto, and so to be towed with the ship bote ashore, which otherwise could not receiue halfe of the companie, by which meanes if happily they had arriued they should eyther haue perished for lacke of foode to eate, or else should themselues haue beene eaten of those rauenous, bloodie, and Men-eating people.

Hard shifts to saue mens liues.

The rest of the Fleete following the course of the Generall which led them the way, passed vp aboue sixtie leagues within the saide doubtfull and supposed straights, hauing alwayes a faire continent vpon their starreboorde side, and a continuance still of an open Sea before them.

The coast along ye Southside of Groenland 60 leagues.

Mistaken straights which indeede are no straights.

Frobisher could haue passed to Catair.

The Generall albeit with the first perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the olde straights, yet he perswaded the Fleete alwayes that they were in their right course, and knowen straights. Howbeit I suppose he rather dissembled his opinion therein then otherwise, meaning by that policie (being himselfe led with an honourable desire of further discouerie) to induce the Fleete to follow him, to see a further proofe of that place. And as some of the companie reported, he hath since confessed that if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleete and fraughted ships, he both would and could haue gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolued the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to find to the rich countrey of Cataya.

Faire open way.

Reasons to prooue a passage here.

1 Of which mistaken straights, considering the circumstance, we haue great cause to confirme our opinion, to like and hope well of the passage in this place. For the foresaid Bay or Sea, the further we sayled therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endlesse continuance. And where in other places we were much troubled with yce, as in the entrance of the same, so after we had sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues therein we had no let of yce, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

Great indrafts.

2 Also this place seemeth to haue a maruellous great indraft, and draweth vnto it most of the drift yce, and other things which doe fleete in the Sea, either to the North or Eastwards of the same, as by good experience we haue found.

A current to the West.

3 For here also we met with boordes, lathes, and diuers other things driuing in the Sea, which was of the wracke of the ship called the Barke Dennis, which perished amongst the yce as beforesaid, being lost at the first attempt of the entrance ouerthwart the Queenes forelande in the mouth of Frobishers straights, which could by no meanes haue bene so brought thither, neither by winde nor tyde, being lost so many leagues off, if by force of the said current the same had not bene violently brought. For if the same had bene brought thither by tide of flood, looke how farre the said flood had carried it, the ebbe would haue recarried it as farre backe againe, and by the winde it could not so come to passe, because it was then sometime calme, and most times contrarie.

Nine houres flood to three houres ebbe.

And some Mariners doe affirme that they haue diligently obserued, that there runneth in this place nine houres flood to three ebbe, which may thus come to passe by force of the sayd current: for whereas the Sea in most places of the world, doth more or lesse ordinarily ebbe and flow once euery twelue houres with sixe houres ebbe, and sixe houres flood, so also would it doe there, were it not for the violence of this hastening current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to beginne before his ordinary time one houre and a halfe, and also to continue longer than his naturall course by an other houre and a halfe, vntill the force of the ebbe be so great that it will no longer be resisted: according to the saying, Naturam expellas furca licet, vsque recurret. Although nature and naturall courses be forced and resisted neuer so much, yet at last they will haue their owne sway againe.

4 Moreouer it is not possible that so great course of floods and current, so high swelling tides with continuance of so deepe waters, can be digested here without vnburdening themselues into some open Sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the passage to be hereabouts. Also we suppose these great indrafts doe growe and are made by the reuerberation and reflection of that same currant, which at our comming by Ireland, met and crossed vs, of which in the first part of this discourse I spake, which comming from the bay of Mexico, passing by and washing the Southwest parts of Ireland, reboundeth ouer to the Northeast parts of the world, as Norway, Island, &c. where not finding any passage to an open Sea, but rather being there encreased by a new accesse, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian Sea, passing the bay of Saint Nicholas Westward, it doth once againe rebound backe, by the coastes of Greenland, and from thence vpon Frobishers straights being to the Southwestwardes of the same.

The sea moueth from East to West continually.

5 And if that principle of Philosophie be true, that Inferiora corpora reguntur à superioribus, that is, if inferior bodies be gouerned, ruled, and carried after the maner and course of the superiors, then the water being an inferior Element, must needes be

gouerned after the superior heauen, and so follow the course of Primum mobile from East to West.

6 But euery man that hath written or considered any thing of this passage, hath more doubted the returne by the same way by reason of a great downefall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we also by experience partly find) than any mistrust they haue of the same passage at all. For we find (as it were) a great downefall in this place, but yet not such but that we may returne, although with much adoe. For we were easier carried in one houre then we could get forth againe in three. Also by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceiue vs in this sort: That wheras we supposed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the shore contrarie to all expectation.

Authoritie.

Hard but yet possible turning backe againe.

Our men that sayled furthest in the same mistaken straights (hauing the maine land vpon their starboord side) affirme that they met with the outlet or passage of water which commeth thorow Frobishers straights, and followeth as all one into this passage.

Some of our companie also affirme that they had sight of a continent vpon their larboord side being 60 leagues within the supposed straights: howbeit except certaine Ilands in the entrance hereof we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foresaid tract of land seemeth to be more fruitfull and better stored of Grasse, Deere, Wilde foule, as Partridges, Larkes, Seamewes, Guls, Wilmots, Falcons and Tassel gentils, Rauens, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and other things, than any other part we haue yet discouered, and is more populous. And here Luke Ward, a Gentleman of the companie, traded marchandise, and did exchange kniues, bels, looking glasses, &c. with those countrey people, who brought him foule, fish, beares skinnes, and such like, as their countrey yeeldeth for the same. Here also they saw of those greater boats of the countrey, with twentie persons in a peece.

Traffique.

Now after the Generall had bestowed these many dayes here, not without many dangers, he returned backe againe. And by the way sayling alongst this coast (being the backeside of the supposed continent of America) and the Queenes Foreland, he perceiued a great sound to goe thorow into Frobishers straights. Whereupon he sent the Gabriel the one and twentieth of Iuly, to prooue whether they might goe thorow and meete againe with him in the straights, which they did: and as wee imagined before, so the Queenes foreland prooued an Iland, as I thinke most of these supposed continents will. And so he departed towardes the straights, thinking it were high time now to recouer his Port, and to prouide the Fleete of their lading, whereof he was not a little carefull, as shall by the processe and his resolute attempts appeare. And in his returne with the rest of the fleete he was so intangled by reason of the darke fogge amongst a number of Ilands and broken ground that lye off this coast, that many of the shippes came ouer the top of rockes, which presently after they might perceiue to lie dry, hauing not halfe a foote water more then some of their ships did draw. And by reason they could not with a smal gale of wind stemme the force of the flood, whereby to goe cleare off the rockes, they were faine to let an anker fall with two bent of Cable togither, at an hundred and odde fadome depth, where otherwise they had bene by the force of the tides caried vpon the rockes againe, and perished: so that if God in these fortunes (as a mercifull guide, beyond the expectation of man) had not carried vs thorow, we had surely perished amidst these dangers. For being many times driuen hard aboord the shore without any sight of land, vntill we were ready to make shipwracke thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to sound before our ships, least we might light thereupon before we could discerne the same; it pleased God to giue vs a cleare of Sunne and light for a short time to see and auoyde thereby the danger, hauing bene continually darke before, and presently after. Manie times also by meanes of fogge and currents being driuen neere vpon the coast, God lent vs euen at the very pinch one prosperous breath of winde or other, whereby to double the land, and auoid the perill, and when that we were all without hope of helpe, euery man recommending himselfe to death, and crying out, Lord now helpe or neuer, now Lord looke downe from heauen and saue vs sinners, or else our safetie commeth too

Returne out of the mistaken straights.

Great dangers.

too late: euen then the mightie maker of heauen, and our mercifull God did deliuer vs: so that they who haue bene partakers of these dangers doe euen in their soules confesse, that God euen by miracle hath sought to saue them, whose name be praysed euermore.

Anne Francis met with some of the fleete.

Long time now the Anne Francis had layne beating off and on all alone before the Queenes foreland, not being able to recouer their Port for yce, albeit many times they dangerously attempted it, for yet the yce choaked vp the passage, and would not suffer them to enter. And hauing neuer seene any of the fleete since twenty dayes past, when by reason of the thicke mistes they were seuered in the mistaken straights, they did now this present 23 of Iuly ouerthwart a place in the straights called Hattons Hedland, where they met with seuen ships of ẏ Fleete againe, which good hap did not onely reioyce them for themselues, in respect of the comfort which they receiued by such good companie, but especially that by this meanes they were put out of doubt of their deare friends, whose safeties long time they did not a little suspect and feare.

At their meeting they haled the Admirall after the maner of the Sea, and with great ioy welcommed one another with a thundring volly of shot. And now euery man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had passed.

Francis of Foy.

Bridgwater ship.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much adoe sought way backe againe, through the yce from out of the mistaken straights, where (to their great perill) they prooued to recouer their Port. They brought the first newes of the Vizadmirall Captaine Yorke, who many dayes with themselues, and the Busse of Bridgewater was missing. They reported that they left the Vizeadmirall reasonably cleare of the yce, but the other ship they greatly feared, whom they could not come to helpe, being themselues so hardly distressed as neuer men more. Also they told vs of the Gabriel, who hauing got thorow from the backside, and Western point of the Queenes foreland, into Frobishers straights, fell into their company about the cape of Good hope.

The Streits frozen ouer.

And vpon the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, the ship of Bridgewater got out of the yce and met with the Fleete which lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland. They reported of their maruellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ship to be so leake that they must of necessitie seeke harborow, hauing their stem so beaten within their huddings, that they had much adoe to keepe themselues aboue water. They had (as they say) fiue hundreth strokes at the pump in lesse then halfe a watch, being scarce two houres; their men being so ouerwearied therewith, and with the former dangers that they desired helpe of men from the other ships. Moreouer they declared that there was nothing but yce and danger where they had bene, and that the straights within were frozen vp, and that it was the most impossible thing of the world, to passe vp vnto the Countesse of Warwicks sound, which was the place of our Port.

The report of these dangers by these ships thus published amongst the fleete, with the remembrance of the perils past, and those present before their face, brought no small feare and terror into the hearts of many considerate men. So that some beganne priuily to murmure against the Generall for this wilfull maner of proceeding. Some desired to discouer some harborow thereabouts to refresh themselues and reforme their broken vessels for a while, vntill the North and Northwest windes might disperse the yce, and make the place more free to passe. Other some forgetting themselues, spake more vndutifully in this behalfe, saying: that they had as leeue be hanged when they came home, as without hope of safetie to seeke to passe, and so to perish amongst the yce.

A valiant mind of M. Frobisher.

The Generall not opening his eares to the peeuish passion of any priuate person, but chiefly respecting the accomplishment of the cause he had vndertaken (wherein the chiefe reputation and fame of a Generall and Captaine consisteth) and calling to his remembrance the short time he had in hand to prouide so great number of ships their loading, determined with this resolution to passe and recouer his Port, or else there to burie himselfe with his attempt.

Notwithstanding somewhat to appease the feeble passions of the fearefuller sort, and the better to entertaine time for a season, whilest the yce might the better be dissolued, he haled on the Fleete with beleefe that he would put them into harborow: thereupon whilest the shippes lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland, he sought to goe in with his Pinnesses amongst the Ilandes there, as though hee meant to search for harborowe, where indeede he meant nothing lesse, but rather sought if any Ore might be found in that place, as by the sequele appeared.

In the meane time whilest the Fleete lay thus doubtfull without any certaine resolution what to do, being hard aboord the lee-shore, there arose a sodaine and terrible tempest at the Southsoutheast, whereby the yce began maruellously to gather about vs.

Whereupon euery man, as in such case of extremitie he thought best, sought the wisest way for his owne safety. The most part of the Fleete which were further shot vp within the straights, and so farre to the leeward, as that they could not double the land, following the course of the Generall, who led them the way, tooke in their Sayles, and layde it a hull amongst the yce, and so passed ouer the storme, and had no extremitie at all, but for a short time in the same place.

Howbeit the other ships which plyed out to Seaward, had an extreme storme for a longer season. And the nature of the place is such, that it is subiect diuersly to diuers windes, according to the sundry situation of the great Alps and mountaines there, euery mountaine causing a seuerall blast, and parrie, after the maner of a Leuant.

In this storme being the sixe and twentieth of Iuly, there fell so much snow, with such bitter cold aire, that we could not scarce see one another for the same, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and sayles, the snow being aboue halfe a foote deepe vpon the hatches of our ship, which did so wet thorow our poore Mariners clothes, that hee that had fiue or sixe shifts of apparell had scarce one drie threed to his backe, which kind of wet and coldnesse, togither with the ouerlabouring of the poore men amiddest the yce, bred no small sicknesse amongst the fleete, which somewhat discouraged some of the poore men, who had not experience of the like before, euery man perswading himselfe that the winter there must needes be extreme, where they found so vnseasonable a Sommer.

Snow in Iuly.

Extreme winter.

And yet notwithstanding this cold aire, the Sunne many times hath a maruellous force of heate amongst those mountaines, insomuch that when there is no breth of winde to bring the colde aire from the dispersed yce vpon vs, we shall be wearie of the bloming heate and then sodainely with a perry of winde which commeth downe from the hollownesse of the hilles, we shall haue such a breth of heate brought vpon our faces as though we were entred within some bathstoue or hote-house, and when the first of the pirry and blast is past, we shall haue the winde sodainely a new blow cold againe.

Great heat in Meta Incognita.

Vnconstant weather.

In this storme the Anne Francis, the Moone, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who found themselues able to hold it vp with a saile, and could double about the Cape of the Queenes foreland, plyed out to the Seaward, holding it for better policie and safetie to seeke Sea roome, then to hazard the continuance of the storme, the danger of the yce, and the lee-shoare.

And being vncertaine at this time of the Generals priuate determinations, the weather being so darke that they could not discerne one another, nor perceiue which way he wrought, betooke themselues to this course for best and safest.

The General, notwithstanding the great storme, following his own former resolution, sought by all meanes possible, by a shorter way to recouer his Port, and where he saw the yce neuer so little open, he gate in at one gappe and out at another, and so himselfe valiantly led the way thorow before to induce the Fleete to follow after, and with incredible paine and perill at length gat through the yce, and vpon the one and thirtieth of Iuly recouered his long wished Port after many attempts and sundry times being put backe, and came to anker in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all perill past, he encountred a great Iland of yce which gaue the Ayde such a blow, hauing a little before wayed her anker a cocke bill, that it stroke the anker flouke through the ships bowes vnder the water, which caused so great a leake, that with much adoe they preserued the ship from sinking.

The Generall recouereth his port.

At their arriuall here they perceiued two ships at anker within the harborough, whereat they began much to maruell and greatly to reioyce, for those they knew to be the Michael, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton, and the small Barke called the Gabriel, who so long time were missing, and neuer heard of before, whom euery man made the last reckoning, neuer to heare of againe.

Master Wolfall Preacher.

Here euery man greatly reioyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped vp their sundry fortunes and perils past, they highly praysed God, and altogither vpon their knees gaue him due, humble and heartie thankes, and Maister Wolfall a learned man, appointed by her Maiesties Councell to be their Minister and Preacher made vnto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankefull to God for their strange and miraculous deliuerance in those so dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the vncertainetie of mans life, willed them to make themselues alwayes readie as resolute men to enioy and accept thankefully whatsoeuer aduenture his diuine Prouidence should appoint. This maister Wolfall being well seated and setled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honest woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to saue soules, and to reforme those Infidels if it were possible to Christianitie: and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage so well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole yeare if occasion had serued, being in euery necessary action as forward as the resolutest men of all. Wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true Pastor and minister of Gods word, which for the profite of his flocke spared not to venture his owne life.

The aduentures of Captaine Fenton and his companie.

But to returne againe to Captaine Fentons company, and to speake somewhat of their dangers (albeit they be more then by writing can be expressed) they reported that from the night of the first storme which was about the first day of Iuly vntill seuen dayes before the Generals arriuall, which was the sixe and twentith of the same, they neuer saw any one day or houre, wherin they were not troubled with continuall danger and feare of death, and were twentie dayes almost togither fast amongst the yce. They had their ship stricken through and through on both sides, their false stemme borne quite away, and could goe from their ships in some places vpon the yce very many miles, and might easily haue passed from one Iland of yce to another euen to the shore, and if God had not wonderfully prouided for them and their necessitie, and time had not made them more cunning and wise to seeke strange remedies for strange kindes of dangers, it had bene impossible for them euer to haue escaped: for among other deuises, wheresoeuer they found any Iland of yce of greater bignesse then the rest (as there be some of more then halfe a mile compasse about, and almost forty fadome high) they commonly coueted to recouer the same, and thereof to make a bulwarke for their defence, whereon hauing mored anker, they road vnder the lee therof for a time, being therby garded from the danger of the lesser driuing yce. But when they must needes forgoe this new found fort by meanes of other yce, which at length would vndermine and compasse them round about, and when that by heauing of the billow they were therewith like to be brused in peeces, they vsed to make fast the shippe vnto the most firme and broad peece of yce they could find, and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sayles whereon the winde hauing great power, would force forward the ship, and so the shippe bearing before her the yce, & so one yce driuing forward another, should at length get scope & searoome. And hauing by this meanes at length put their enemies to flight, they occupyed the cleare place for a prettie season among sundry mountaines and Alpes of yce. One there was found by measure to be 65 fadome aboue water, which for a kind of similitude, was called Salomons porch. Some thinke those Ilands eight times so much vnder water as they are aboue, because of their monstrous weight. But now I remember I saw very strange wonders, men walking, running, leaping and shooting vpon the mayne seas 40. myles from any land, without any Shippe or other vessell vnder them. Also I saw fresh Riuers running amidst the salt Sea a hundred myle from land, which if any man will not beleeue, let him knowe

Extremitie causeth men to deuise new arts and remedies.

Hard shifts.

trange won-ers.

that many of our company leapt out of their Shippe vpon Ilandes of yce, and running there vp and downe, did shoote at Buts vpon the yce, and with their Caliuers did kill great Seales, which vse to lye and sleepe vpon the yce, and this yce melting aboue at the toppe by reflection of the Sunne, came downe in sundry streames, which vniting together, made a pretie Brooke able to driue a Mill.

The sayde Captaine Fenton recouered his Port tenne dayes before any man, and spent good tyme in searching for Mine, and hee found good store thereof. He also discouered about tenne Miles vp into the Countrey, where he perceiued neither Towne, Village, nor likelihoode of habitation, but it seemeth (as he sayeth) barren, as the other parts which as yet we haue entred vpon: but their victuals and prouision went so scant with them, that they had determined to returne homeward within seuen dayes after, if the Fleete had not then arriued.

The Generall after his arriuall in the Countesses sound, spent no time in vaine, but immediatly at his first landing called the chiefe Captaines of his Councell together, and consulted with them for the speedier execution of such things as then they had in hand. As first, for searching and finding out good Minerall for the Miners to be occupyed on. Then to giue good Orders to bee obserued of the whole company on shore. And lastly, to consider for the erecting vp of the Fort and House for the vse of them which were to abide there the whole yeere. For the better handling of these, and all other like important causes in this seruice, it was ordeined from her Maiestie and the Councell, that the Generall should call vnto him certaine of the chiefe Captaines and Gentlemen in Councell, to conferre, consult and determine of all occurrents in this seruice, whose names are as here they follow.

Captaine Fenton.
Captaine Yorke.
Captaine Best.
Captaine Carew.
Captaine Philpot.

And in Sea causes to haue as assistants, Christopher Hall and Charles Iackman, being both very good Pilots, and sufficient Mariners, whereof the one was chiefe Pilot of the Voyage, and the other for the discouerie. From the place of our habitation Westward, Master Selman was appointed Notarie, to register the whole maner of proceeding in these affaires, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleased her Maiestie to require it.

The first of August euery Captaine by order, from the Generall and his councell, was commanded to bring ashoare vnto the Countesses Iland all such Gentlemen, souldiers, and Myners, as were vnder their charge, with such prouision as they had of victuals, tents, and things necessary for the speedy getting together of Mine, and fraight for the shippes.

The Muster of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and considered, euery man was set to his charge, as his place and office required. The Myners were appointed where to worke, and the Mariners discharged their shippes.

Vpon the second of August were published and proclaymed vpon the Countesse of Warwicks Iland with sound of Trumpet, certaine Orders by the Generall and his councell, appoynted to be obserued of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the meane time, whilest the Mariners plyed their worke, the Captaines sought out new Mynes, the Goldfiners madetryall of the Ore, the Mariners discharged their shippes, the Gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily, and honestly encouraged the inferiour sort to worke. So that the small tyme of that little leisure that was left to tarrie, was spent in vaine.

The second of August the Gabriel arriued, who came from the Vizeadmirall, and beeing distressed sore with Yce, put into Harborough neere vnto Mount Oxford. And now was the whole Fleete arriued safely at their Port, excepting foure, besides the Shippe that was lost: that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Moone, whose absence was some lette vnto the workes and other proceedings, aswell for that these

Shippes were furnished with the better sorte of Myners, as with other prouision for the habitation.

Consultation for inhabiting Meta incognita.

The ninth of August the Generall with the Captaynes of his counsell assembled together, and began to consider and take order for the erecting vp of the house or Fort for them that were to inhabite there the whole yeere, and that presently the Masons and Carpenters might goe in hande therewith. First therefore they perused the Bils of lading, what euery man receiued into his Shippe, and found that there was arriued only the Eastside, and the Southside of the house, and yet not that perfect and entier: for many pieces thereof were vsed for fenders in many Shippes, and so broken in pieces whilest they were distressed in the yce. Also after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drinke and fuel to serue one hundreth men, which was the number appoynted first to inhabite there, because their greatest store was in the Shippes which were not yet arriued. Then Captaine Fenton seeing the scarcitie of the necessary things aforesayd, was contented, and offred himselfe to inhabite there with sixtie men. Whereupon they caused the Carpenters and Masons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take vpon them to erect vp a lesse house for sixtie men. They required eight or nine weekes, if there were Tymber sufficient, whereas now they had but sixe and twentie dayes in all to remayne in that Countrey. Wherefore it was fully agreed vpon, and resolued by the Generall and his counsell, that no habitation should be there this yeere. And therefore they willed Master Selman the Register to set downe this decree with all their consents, for the better satisfying of her Maiestie, the Lords of the Counsell, and the Aduenturers.

An hundred men appointed to inhabite.

No habitation this yeere.

The Anne Francis, since shee was parted from the Fleete, in the last storme before spoken of, could neuer recouer aboue fiue leagues within the streights, the winde being sometime contrary, and most times the Yce compassing them round about. And from that time, being about the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, they could neither heare nor haue sight of any of the Fleete, vntill the 3. of August, when they descryed a sayle neere vnto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had spoken, they could vnderstand no newes of any of the Fleete at all. And this was the Thomas of Ipswich, who had layne beating off and on at Sea with very fowle weather, and contrary windes, euer since that foresayd storme, without sight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to loose one another againe, the Moone being consort alwayes with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company plyed vp together into the streights, with great desire to recouer their long wished Port: and they attempted as often, and passed as farre as possible the winde, weather, & yce gaue them leaue, which commonly they found very contrary. For when the weather was cleare and without fogge, then commonly the winde was contrary. And when it was eyther Easterly or Southerly, which would serue their turnes, then had they so great a fogge and darke miste therewith, that eyther they could not discerne way thorow the yce, or els the yce lay so thicke together, that it was impossible for them to passe. And on the other side, when it was calme, the Tydes had force to bring the yce so suddenly about them, that commonly then they were most therewith distressed, hauing no Winde to carry them from the danger thereof.

And by the sixt of August being with much adoe got vp as high as Leicester point, they had good hope to finde the Souther shore cleare, and so to passe vp towardes their Port. But being there becalmed and lying a hull openly vpon the great Bay which commeth out of the mistaken streights before spoken of, they were so suddenly compassed with yce round about by meanes of the swift Tydes which run in that place, that they were neuer afore so hardly beset as now. And in seeking to auoyde these dangers in the darke weather, the Anne Francis lost sight of the other two Ships, who being likewise hardly distressed, signified their danger, as they since reported, by shooting off their ordinance, which the other could not heare, nor if they had heard, could haue giuen them any remedie, being so busily occupied to winde themselues out of their owne troubles.

The Moone.

The Fleeboate called the Moone, was here heaued aboue the water with the force of the yce, and receiued a great leake thereby. Likewise the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Anne Francis were sore brused at that instant, hauing their false stemmes borne away, and their ship sides stroken quite through.

Now considering the continuall dangers and contraries, and the little leasure that they had left to tarie in these partes, besides that euery night the ropes of their Shippes were so frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his handes, together with the great doubt they had of the Fleetes safety, thinking it an impossibilitie for them to passe vnto their Port, as well for that they saw themselues, as for that they heard by the former report of the Shippes which had prooued before, who affirmed that the streights were all frozen ouer within: They thought it now very hie time to consider of their estates and safeties that were yet left together. And hereupon the Captaines and masters of these Shippes, desired the Captaine of the Anne Francis to enter into consideration with them of these matters. Wherefore Captaine Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipswich, with his Pilot Richard Cox, and Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, with his master Iohn Lakes came aboorde the Anne Francis the eight of August to consult of these causes. And being assembled together in the Captaines Cabin, sundry doubts were there alledged. For the fearefuller sort of Mariners being ouertyred with the continuall labour of the former dangers, coueted to returne homeward, saying that they would not againe tempt God so much, who had giuen them so many warnings, and deliuered them from so wonderfull dangers: that they rather desired to lose wages, fraight, and all, then to continue and follow such desperate fortunes. Againe, their Ships were so leake, and the men so wearie, that to amend the one, and refresh the other, they must of necessitie seeke into harborough.

The Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moore consult.

But on the other side it was argued againe to the contrary, that to seeke into harborough thereabouts, was but to subiect themselues to double dangers: if happily they escaped the dangers of Rockes in their entring, yet being in, they were neuerthelesse subiect there to the danger of the Ice, which with the swift tydes and currents is caryed in and out in most harboroughs thereabouts, and may thereby gaule their Cables asunder, driue them vpon the shoare, and bring them to much trouble. Also the coast is so much subiect to broken ground and rockes, especially in the mouth and entrance of euery Harborough, that albeit the Channell be sounded ouer and ouer againe, yet are you neuer the neerer to discerne the dangers. For the bottome of the Sea holding like shape and forme as the Land, being full of hils, dales, and ragged Rockes, suffreth you not by your soundings to knowe and keepe a true gesse of the depth. For you shall sound vpon the side or hollownesse of one Hill or Rocke vnder water, and haue a hundreth, fiftie, or fourtie fadome depth: and before the next cast, yer you shall be able to heaue your lead againe, you shall be vpon the toppe thereof, and come aground to your vtter confusion.

Another reason against going to harborough was, that the colde ayre did threaten a sudden freezing vp of the sounds, seeing that euery night there was new congealed yce, euen of that water which remayned within their shippes. And therefore it should seeme to be more safe to lye off and on at Sea, then for lacke of winde to bring them foorth of harborough, to hazard by sudden frosts to be shut vp the whole yeere.

After many such dangers and reasons alledged, and large debating of these causes on both sides, the Captaine of the Anne Francis deliuered his opinion vnto the company to this effect. First concerning the question of returning home, hee thought it so much dishonorable, as not to grow in any farther question: and againe to returne home at length (as at length they must neede) and not to be able to bring a certaine report of the Fleete, whether they were liuing or lost, or whether any of them had recouered their Port or not, in the Countesses sound, (as it was to bee thought the most part would if they were liuing) hee sayde that it would be so great an argument eyther of want of courage or discretion in them, as hee resolued rather to fall into any danger, then so shamefully to consent to returne home, protesting that it should neuer bee spoken of him, that hee would euer returne without doing his endeuour to finde the Fleete, and knowe the certaintie of the Generals safetie. Hee put his company in remembrance of a Pinnesse of fiue tunne burthen, which hee had within his Shippe,

Captaine Bests resolution.

A Pinnesse for the inhabiters.

Shippe, which was carved in pieces, and vnmade vp for the vse of those which should inhabite there the whole yeere, the which, if they could finde meanes to ioyne together, hee offered himselfe to prooue before therewith, whether it were possible for any Boate to passe for yce, whereby the Shippe might bee brought in after, and might also thereby giue true notice, if any of the Fleete were arriued at their Port or not.

But notwithstanding, for that he well perceiued that the most part of his company were addicted to put into harborough, hee was willing the rather for these causes somewhat to encline thereunto. As first, to search alongst the same coast, and the soundes thereabouts, hee thought it to be to good purpose, for that it was likely to finde some of the Fleete there, which being leake, and sore brused with the yce, were the rather thought likely to be put into an yll harborough, being distressed with foule weather in the last storme, then to hazard their vncertaine safeties amongst the yce: for about this place they lost them, and left the Fleete then doubtfully questioning of harborough.

It was likely also, that they might finde some fitte harborough thereabouts, which might bee behoouefull for them against another time. It was not likewise impossible to finde some Ore or Mine thereabouts wherewithall to fraight their Shippes, which would bee more commodious in this place, for the neerenesse to Seaward, and for a better outlet, then farther within the streights, being likely heere alwayes to loade in a shorter time, howsoeuer the streight should be pestered with yce within, so that if it might come to passe that thereby they might eyther finde the Fleete, Mine, or conuenient harborough, any of these three would serue their present turnes, and giue some hope and comfort vnto their companies, which now were altogether comfortlesse. But if that all fortune should fall out so contrary, that they could neyther recouer their Port, nor any of these aforesayde helpes, that yet they would not depart the Coast, as long as it was possible for them to tary there, but would lye off and on at Sea athwart the place. Therefore his finall conclusion was set downe thus, First, that the Thomas of Ipswich and the Moone should consort and keepe company together carefully with the Anne Francis, as neere as they could, and as true Englishmen and faithfull friends, should supply one anothers want in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, euery Shippe to send off his Boate with a sufficient Pylot, to search out and sound the harboroughs for the safe bringing in of their Shippes. And beeing arriued in harborough, where they might finde conuenient place for the purpose, they resolued foorthwith to ioyne and sette together the Pinnesse, wherewithall the Captaine of the Anne Francis might, according to his former determination, discouer vp into the streights.

After these determinations thus set downe, the Thomas of Ipswich the night following lost company of the other Shippes, and afterward shaped a contrary course homeward, which fell out as it manifestly appeared, very much against their Captaine Master Tanfields minde, as by due examination before the Lordes of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsell it hath since bene prooued, to the great discredite of the Pilot Cox, who specially persuaded his company against the opinion of his sayd Captaine, to returne home.

And as the Captaine of the Anne Francis doeth witnesse, euen at their conference togither, Captaine Tanfield tolde him, that he did not a little suspect the sayd Pilot Cox, saying that he had opinion in the man neither of honest duetie, manhoode, nor constancie. Notwithstanding the sayde Shippes departure, the Captaine of the Anne Francis being desirous to put in execution his former resolutions, went with his Shippe boate (being accompanied also with the Moones Skiffe) to prooue amongst the Ilands which lye vnder Hattons Hedland, if any conuenient harborough, or any knowledge of the Fleete, or any good Ore were there to be found. The Shippes lying off and on at Sea the while vnder Sayle, searching through many soundes, they sawe them all full of many dangers and broken ground: yet one there was, which seemed an indifferent place to harborough in, and which they did very diligently sound ouer, and searched againe.

Here the sayde Captaine found a great blacke Island, whereunto hee had good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were somewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his wordes rowed cheerefully vnto the place: where when they arriued, they found such plentie of blacke Ore of the same sort which was brought into England this last yeere, that if the goodnesse might answere the great plentie thereof, it was to be thought that it might reasonably suffice all the golde-gluttons of the world. This Iland the Captaine for cause of his good hap, called after his owne name, Bestes blessing, and with these good tydings returning abord his Ship the ninth of August about tenne of the clocke at night, hee was ioyfully welcommed of his company, who before were discomforted, and greatly expected some better fortune at his handes.

Bestes blessing.

The next day being the tenth of August, the weather reasonably faire, they put into the foresayde Harborough, hauing their Boate for their better securitie sounding before their Shippe. But for all the care and diligence that could bee taken in sounding the Channell ouer and ouer againe, the Anne Francis came aground vpon a suncken Rocke within the Harborough, and lay thereon more then halfe drye vntill the next flood, when by Gods Almighty prouidence, contrary almost to all expectation, they came afloat againe, being forced all that time to vndersette their Shippe with their mayne Yarde, which otherwise was likely to ouerset and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had aboue two thousand strokes together at the Pumpe, before they could make their Shippe free of the water againe, so sore shee was brused by lying vpon the Rockes. The Moone came safely, and roade at anchor by the Anne Francis, whose helpe in their necessitie they could not well haue missed.

Anne Francis in danger.

The Moone in harborough.

Now whilest the Mariners were romaging their Shippes, and mending that which was amisse, the Miners followed their labour for getting together of sufficient quantitie of Ore, and the Carpenters indeuoured to doe their best for the making vp of the Boate or Pinnesse: which to bring to passe, they wanted two speciall and most necessarie things, that is, certaine principall tymbers that are called knees, which are the chiefest strength of any Boate, and also nayles, wherewithall to ioyne the plancks together. Whereupon hauing by chance a Smyth amongst them, (and yet vnfurnished of his necessary tooles to worke and make nayles withall) they were faine of a gunne chamber to make an Anuile to worke vpon, and to vse a pickaxe in stead of a sledge to beate withall, and also to occupy two small bellowes in steade of one payre of greater Smiths bellowes. And for lacke of small Yron for the easier making of the nayles, they were forced to breake their tongs, grydiron, and fireshouell in pieces.

The eleuenth of August the Captaine of the Anne Francis taking the Master of his Shippe with him, went vp to the toppe of Hattons Hedland, which is the highest land of all the streights, to the ende to descry the situation of the Countrey vnderneath, and to take a true plotte of the place, whereby also to see what store of Yce was yet left in the streights, as also to search what Mineral matter or fruite that soyle might yeeld: And the rather for the honour the said Captaine doeth owe to that Honourable name which himselfe gaue thereunto the last yeere, in the highest part of this Hedland he caused his company to make a Columne or Crosse of stone, in token of Christian possession. In this place there is plentie of Blacke Ore, and diuers pretie stones.

Hattons Hedland.

Pretie stones.

The seuenteenth of August the Captaines with their companies chased and killed a great white Beare, which aduentured and gaue a fierce assault vpon twentie men being weaponed. And he serued them for good meate many dayes.

A mightie white Beare.

The eighteenth of August the Pinnesse with much adoe being set together, the sayd Captaine Best determined to depart vp the streights, to prooue and make tryall, as before was pretended, some of his companie greatly persuading him to the contrary, and specially the Carpenter that set the same together, who sayde that hee would not aduenture himselfe therein for fiue hundreth pounds, for that the boate hung together but onely by the strength of the nayles, and lacked some of her principall knees and tymbers.

A Pinnesse there built.

These wordes some what discouraged some of the company which should haue gone therein. Whereupon the Captaine, as one not altogether addicted to his owne selfe-will, but somewhat foreseeing how it might be afterwards spoken, if contrary fortune should happen him (Lo he hath followed his owne opinion and desperate resolutions, and so thereafter it is befallen him) calling the Master and Mariners of best iudgement together, declared vnto them how much the cause imported him in his credite to seeke out the Generall, as well to conferre with him of some causes of weight, as otherwise to make due examination and tryall of the Goodnesse of the Ore, whereof they had no assurance but by gesse of the eye, and it was well like the other: which so to cary home, not knowing the goodnesse thereof, might be as much as if they should bring so many stones. And therefore hee desired them to deliuer their plaine and honest opinion, whether the Pinnesse were sufficient for him so to aduenture in or no. It was answered, that by careful heede taking thereunto amongst the yce, and the foule weather, the Pinnesse might suffice. And hereupon the Masters mate of the Anne Francis called Iohn Gray, manfully and honestly offering himselfe vnto his Captaine in this aduenture and seruice, gaue cause to others of his Mariners to follow the attempt.

They aduenture by the streight in a weake Pinnesse.

And vpon the nineteenth of August the sayd Captaine being accompanied with Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, and eighteene persons in the small Pinnesse, hauing conuenient portion of victuals and things necessary, departed vpon the sayd pretended Voyage, leauing their shippe at anchor in a good readinesse for the taking in of their fraight. And hauing little winde to sayle withall, they plyed alongst the Souther shore, and passed aboue 30. leagues, hauing the onely helpe of mans labour with Oares, and so intending to keepe that shore aboord vntil they were got vp to the farthest and narrowest of the streights, minded there to crosse ouer and to search likewise alongst the Northerland vnto the Countesses sound, and from thence to passe all that coast along, whereby if any of the Fleete had bene distressed by wrecke of rocke or yce, by that meanes they might be perceiued of them, and so they thereby to giue them such helpe and reliefe as they could. They did greatly feare, and euer suspect that some of the Fleete were surely cast away, and driuen to seeke sowre sallets amongst the colde cliffes.

40. leagues within the streights.

Gabriels Ilands.

And being shotte vp about fortie leagues within the Streights, they put ouer towardes the Norther shore, which was not a little dangerous for their small boates. And by meanes of a sudden flawe were dryuen, and faine to seeke harborough in the night amongst all the rockes and broken ground of Gabriels Ilands, a place so named within the streights aboue the Countesse of Warwicks sound: And by the way where they landed, they did finde certaine great stones set vp by the Countrey people as it seemed, for markes, where they also made many Crosses of stone, in token that Christians had bene there. The 22. of August they had sight of the Countesses sound, and made the place perfect from the toppe of a hill, and keeping along the Norther shore, perceiued the smoke of a fire vnder a hils side: whereof they diuersly deemed. When they came neere the place, they perceiued people which wafted vnto them, as it seemed, with a flagge or ensigne. And because the Countrey people had vsed to doe the like, when they perceiued any of our boats to passe by, they suspected them to be the same. And comming somewhat neerer, they might perceiue certaine tents, and discerne this ensigne to be of mingled colours, blacke and white, after the English Fashion. But because they could see no Shippe, nor likelihood of harborough within fiue or sixe leagues about, and knewe that none of our men were woont to frequent those partes, they could not tell what to iudge thereof, but imagined that some of the ships being carried so high with the storme and mistes, had made shipwracke amongst the yce or the broken Islands there, and were spoyled by the countrey people, who might vse the sundry coloured flagge for a policie, to bring them likewise within their danger. Whereupon the sayd Captaine with his companies, resolued to recouer the same ensigne, if it were so, from those base people, or els to lose their liues, and all together. In the ende they discerned them to be their countreymen, and then they deemed them to haue lost their Ships, and so to be gathered together for their better strength. On the other side, the companie ashoare feared that the Captaine hauing lost his Shippe, came to seeke forth the Fleete for his reliefe in his poore Pinnesse, so that their extremities caused eche part to suspect the worst.

The Captaine now with his Pinnisse being come neere the shoare, commanded his Boate carefully to be kept aflote, lest in their necessitie they might winne the same from him, and seeke first to saue themselues: for euery man in that case is next himselfe. They haled one another according to the manner of the Sea, and demaunded what cheere? and either partie answered the other, that all was well: whereupon there was a sudden and ioyfull outshoote, with great flinging vp of caps, and a braue voly of shotte to welcome one another. And truely it was a most strange case to see how ioyfull and gladde euery partie was to see themselues meete in safetie againe, after so strange and incredible dangers: Yet to be short, as their dangers were great, so their God was greater.

Proximus sum egomet mihi.

And here the company were working vpon new Mines, which Captaine Yorke being here arriued not long before, had found out in this place, and it is named the Countesse of Sussex Mine.

Captain Yorke arriued.

After some conference with our friends here, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed towards the Countesse of Warwicks sound, to speake with the Generall, and to haue tryall made of such mettall as he had brought thither, by the Goldfiners. And so he determined to dispatch againe towards his ship. And hauing spoken with the General, he receiued order for all causes, and direction as well for the bringing vp of the shippe to the Countesses sound, as also to fraight his Ship with the same Oare which he himselfe had found, which vpon triall made, was supposed to be very good.

The 23. of August, the sayd Captaine mette together with the other Captaines (Commissioners in counsell with the Generall) aboorde the Ayde, where they considered and consulted of sundry causes, which being particularly registred by the Notarie, were appoynted where and how to be done against another yeere.

The 24. of August, the Generall with two Pinnesses and good numbers of men went to Beares sound, commanding the sayde Captaine with his Pinnesse to attend the seruice, to see if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people: for sundry times they shewed themselues busie thereabouts, sometimes with seuen or eyght Boates in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company which were working there at the Mines, in no great numbers. But when they perceiued any of our Shippes to ryde in that roade (being belike more amazed at the countenance of a Shippe, and a more number of men) they did neuer shewe themselues againe there at all. Wherefore our men sought with their Pinnesses to compasse about the Iland where they did vse, supposing there suddenly to intercept some of them. But before our men could come neere, hauing belike some watch in the toppe of the mountaines, they conueyed themselues priuily away, and left (as it should seeme) one of their great dartes behinde them for haste, which we found neere to a place of their caues and housing. Therefore, though our Generall were very desirous to haue taken some of them to haue brought into England, they being now growen more wary by their former losses, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the same day, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed thence and set his course ouer the straights towards Hattons Hedland, being about 15. leagues ouer, and returned aboord his Shippe the 25. of August to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his comming, where hee found his Shippes ready rigged and loden. Wherefore he departed from thence againe the next morning towards the Countesses sound, where he arriued the 28. of the same. By the way he set his Miners ashore at Beares sound, for the better dispatch and gathering the Ore togither: for that some of the ships were behind hand with their fraight, the time of the yeere passing suddenly away.

None of the people will be taken.

The thirtieth of August the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had 8. great leakes mended which she had receiued by meanes of the rocks and yce. This day the Masons finished a house which Captaine Fenton caused to be made of lyme and stone vpon the Countesse of Warwickes Island, to the ende we might proue against the next yeere, whither the snow could ouerwhelme it, the frost breake it vp, or the people dismember the same. And the better to allure those brutish and vnciuill people to courtesie against other times of our comming, we left therein diuers of our Countrey toyes, as belles, and kniues, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessary vse, and the other for the great pleasure thereof.

A house builded and left there.

Also pictures of men and women in lead, men on horsebacke, looking glasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an Ouen, and bread left baked therein for them to see and taste.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort. Also here we sowed pease, corne, and other graine, to proue the fruitfulnesse of the soyle against the next yeere.

M. Wolfall a godly Preacher.

Consultation for a further discouery.

Master Wolfall on Winters Fornace preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion vpon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the diuine mystery was the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christs name, death, and passion euer knowen in these quarters. The said M. Wolfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times, in seuerall and sundry ships, because the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place. The Fleet now being in some good readinesse for their lading, the Generall calling together the Gentlemen and Captaines to consult, told them that he was very desirous that some further discouery should be attempted, and that he would not onely by Gods helpe bring home his ships laden with Ore, but also meant to bring some certificate of a further discouery of the Countrey, which thing to bring to passe (hauing sometime therein consulted) they found very hard, and almost inuincible. And considering that already they had spent sometime in searching out the trending and fashion of the mistaken straites, therefore it could not be sayd, but that by this voyage they haue notice of a further discouery, and that the hope of the passage thereby is much furthered and encreased, as appeared before in the discourse thereof. Yet notwithstanding if any meanes might be further deuised, the Captaines were contented and willing, as the Generall shoulde appoynt and commaund, to take any enterprise in hand. Which after long debating was found a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning homeward, especially for these causes following. First the darke foggy mists, the continuall falling snowe and stormy weather which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily euer more and more increased, haue no small argument of the Winters drawing neere. And also the frost euery night was so hard congealed within the sound, that if by euill hap they should bee long kept in with contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared, that they should be shut vp there fast the whole yeere, which being vtterly vnprouided, would be their vtter destruction. Againe, drinke was so scant throughout all the Fleet by meanes of the great leakage, that not onely the prouision which was layd in for the habitation was wanting and wasted, but also each shippes seuerall prouision spent and lost, which many of our company to their great griefe found in their returne since, for all the way homewards they dranke nothing but water. And the great cause of this leakage and wasting was, for that the great timber and seacole, which lay so waighty vpon the barrels, brake, bruised, and rotted the hoopes insunder. Yet notwithstanding these reasons alleaged the Generall himselfe (willing the rest of the Gentlemen and Captaines euery man to looke to his seuerall charge and lading, that against a day appointed, they should be all in a readinesse to set homeward) went in a Pinnesse and discouered further Northward in the straights, and found that by Beares sound and Halles Island, the land was not firme, as it was first supposed, but all broken Islands in maner of an Archipelagus, and so with other secret intelligence to himselfe, he returned to the Fleet. Where presently vpon his arriuall at the Countesses sound, he began to take order for their returning homeward, and first caused certaine Articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of orders and courses in their returne, which Articles were deliuered to euery Captaine.

Broken Ilands in maner of an Archipelagus.

The Fleetes returning homeward.

HAuing now receiued articles and directions for our returne homewards, all other things being in forwardnesse and in good order, the last day of August the whole Fleete departed from the Countesses sound, excepting the Iudith, and the Anne Francis, who stayed for the taking in of fresh water and came the next day and mette the Fleete lying off and on, athwart Beares sound, who stayed for the Generall, which then was gone ashore to dispatch

Returne homeward.

the two Barkes and the Busse of Bridgewater, for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboord. The Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing most part of his company ashore, the first of September went also to Beares sound in his Pinnesse to fetch his men aboord, but the wind grewe so great immediatly vpon their landing, that the shippes at sea were in great danger, and some of them forcibly put from their ankers, and greatly feared to be vtterly lost, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captaine Carew and others, who could not tell on which side their danger was most: for hauing mightie rockes threatening on the one side, and driuing Islands of cutting yce on the other side, they greatly feared to make shipwracke, the yce driuing so neere them that it touched their bolt-sprit. And by meanes of the Sea that was growne so hie, they were not able to put to sea with their small Pinnesses to recouer their shippes. And againe, the shippes were not able to tarrie or lie athwart for them, by meanes of the outragious windes and swelling seas. The Generall willed the Captaine of the Anne Francis with his company, for that night to lodge aboord the Busse of Bridgewater, and went himselfe with the rest of his men aboord the Barkes. But their numbers were so great, and the prouision of the Barkes so scant, that they pestered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be faire, whereby they might recouer their shippes. But in the morning following it was much worse, for the storme continued greater, the Sea being more swollen, and the Fleete gone quite out of sight. So that now their doubts began to grow great: for the ship of Bridgewater which was of greatest receit, and whereof they had best hope and made most account, roade so farre to leeward of the harborowes mouth, that they were not able for the rockes (that lay betweene the wind and them) to lead it out to Sea with a saile. And the Barks were already so pestered with men, and so slenderly furnished with prouision, that they had scarce meat for sixe dayes for such numbers.

The Generall in the morning departed to Sea in the Gabriel to seeke the Fleete, leauing the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Michael behind in Beares sound. The Busse set sayle, and thought by turning in the narrow channell within the harborow to get to windward: but being put to leeward more, by that meanes was faine to come to anker for her better safetie, amongst a number of rockes, and there left in great danger of euer getting forth againe. The Michael set sayle to follow the Generall, and could giue the Busse no reliefe, although they earnestly desired the same. And the Captaine of the Anne Francis was left in hard election of two euils: eyther to abide his fortune with the Busse of Bridgewater, which was doubtfull of euer getting forth, or else to bee towed in his small Pinnesse at the sterne of the Michael thorow the raging Seas, for that the Barke was not able to receiue or relieue halfe his company, wherein his danger was not a little perillous.

So after hee resolued to commit himselfe with all his company vnto that fortune of God and Sea, and was dangerously towed at the sterne of the Barke for many miles, vntill at length they espyed the Anne Francis vnder sayle, hard vnder their Lee, which was no small comfort vnto them. For no doubt, both those and a great number more had perished for lacke of victuals, and conuenient roome in the Barks without the helpe of the sayd Ship. But the honest care that the Master of the Anne Francis had of his Captaine, and the good regarde of ductie towardes his Generall, suffered him not to depart, but honestly abode to hazard a dangerous roade all the night long, notwithstanding all the stormy weather, when all the Fleete besides departed. And the Pinnesse came no sooner aboord the shippe, and the men entred, but shee presently shiuered and fell in pieces and sunke at the ships sterne, with all the poore mens furniture: so weake was the boat with towing, and so forcible was the sea to bruise her in pieces. But (as God would) the men were all saued.

An vnknowen channell into the Northeast discouered by the Busse of Bridgewater.

At this present in this storme many of the Fleete were dangerously distressed, and were seuered almost all asunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the Fleete arriued safely in England about the first of October, some in one place and some in another. But amongst other, it was most marueilous how the Busse of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the Fleete in great danger of neuer getting forth, was forced to seeke a way Northward thorow an vnknowen channell full of rocks, vpon the backe side of Beares sound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North sea, a very dangerous attempt: saue that necessitie, which hath no law, forced them to trie masteries. This aforesayd North sea is the same which lyeth vpon the backe side of Frobishers straits, where first the Generall himselfe in his Finnesses, and after some other of our company haue discouered (as they affirme) a great foreland, where they would also haue a great likelihood of the greatest passage towards the South sea, or Mar del Sur.

A fruitful new Island discouered.

The Busse of Bridgewater, as she came homeward, to the Southeastward of Friseland, discouered a great Island in the latitude of 57 degrees and an halfe, which was neuer yet found before, and sailed three dayes alongst the coast, the land seeming to be fruitfull, full of woods, and a champion countrey.

There died in the whole Fleet in all this voyage not aboue forty persons, which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the Fleet, and how strange fortunes we passed.

A generall and briefe description of the Countrey, and condition of the people, which are found in Meta Incognita.

HAuing now sufficiently and truly set forth the whole circumstance, and particuler handling of euery occurrent in the 3. voyages of our worthy Generall, Captaine Frobisher, it shal not be from the purpose to speake somewhat in generall of the nature of this Countrey called Meta Incognita, and the condition of the sauages there inhabiting.

A Topographicall description of Meta Incognita.

First therefore touching the Topographical description of the place, It is now found in the last voyage, that Queene Elizabeths Cape being situate in latitude at 61. degrees and a halfe, which before was supposed to be part of the firme land of America, and also al the rest of the South side of Frobishers straites, are all seuerall Islands and broken land, and likewise so will all the North side of the said straites fall out to be as I thinke. And some of our company being entred aboue 60. leagues within the mistaken straites in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainely that they had discryed the firme land of America towards the South, which I thinke will fall out so to be.

These broken lands and Islands being very many in number, do seeme to make there an Archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatnesse, forme, and fashion one from another; so are they in goodnesse, colour, and soyle much vnlike. They all are very high lands, mountaines, and in most parts couered with snow euen all the Sommer long. The Norther lands haue lesse store of snow, more grasse, and are more plaine Countreys: the cause whereof may be, for that the Souther Ilands receiue all the snow, that the cold winds and percing ayre bring out of the North. And contrarily, the North parts receiue more warme blasts of milder ayre from the South, whereupon may grow the cause why the people couet to inhabit more vpon the North parts then the South, as farre as we can yet by our experience perceiue they doe. These people I iudge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed, of the same sort and condition of life that the Samoeds bee to the Northeastwards beyond Moscouy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to say in the Moscouy tongue as eaters of themselues, and so the Russians their borderers doe name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did sometime trauell in the parts of Moscouy) who hath great experience of those Samoeds and people of the Northeast, I find that in all their maner of liuing, those people of the Northeast, and these of the Northwest are like. They are of the colour of a ripe Oliue, which how it may come to passe, being borne in so cold a climate I referre to the iudgement of others, for they are naturally borne children of the same colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell vnder the Equinoctiall line.

The people of Meta Incognita like vnto Samoeds.

Their natiue colour.

They are men very actiue and nimble. They are a strong people and very warlike, for in our sight vpon the toppes of the hilles they would often muster themselues, and after the maner of a skirmish trace their ground very nimbly, and mannage their bowes and dartes with great dexterity. They go clad in coates made of the skinnes of beasts, as of Seales, Deere, Beares, Foxes, and Hares. They haue also some garments of feathers, being made of the cases of Foules, finely sowed and compact togither. Of all which sorts wee brought

Their apparel.

home some with vs into England, which we found in their tents. In Sommer they vse to weare the hairie side of their coates outward, and sometime goe naked for too much heate. And in Winter (as by signes they haue declared) they weare foure or fiue folde vpon their bodies with the haire (for warmth) turned inward. Hereby it appeareth, that the ayre there is not indifferent, but either it is feruent hote, or els extreme cold, & farre more excessiue in both qualities, then the reason of the climate should yeeld. For there it is colder, being vnder 62 degrees in latitude, then it is at Wardhouse in the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Moscouie, being at about aboue 72. degrees in latitude. The reason hereof perhaps may be, that this Meta Incognita is much frequented and vexed with Easterne and Northeastern winds, which from the sea and yce bringeth often an intollerable cold ayre, which was also the cause that this yeere our straits were so long shut vp with so great store of yce. But there is great hope and likelihood, that further within the Straights it will bee more constant and temperate weather.

The accidentall cause of the cold ayre at Meta Incognita.

These people are in nature very subtill and sharpe witted, ready to conceiue our meaning by signes, and to make answere well to be vnderstood againe. And if they haue not seene the thing whereof you aske them, they will wincke, or couer their eyes with their hands, as who would say, it hath bene hid from their sight. If they vnderstand you not whereof you aske them, they wil stop their eares. They will teach vs the names of each thing in their language which wee desire to learne, and are apt to learne any thing of vs. They delight in Musicke aboue measure, and will keepe time and stroke to any tune which you shall sing, both with their voyce, head, hand and feete, and will sing the same tune aptly after you. They will row with our Ores in our boates, and keepe a true stroke with our Mariners, and seeme to take great delight therein. They liue in Caues of the earth, and hunt for their dinners or praye, euen as the beare or other wild beastes do. They eat raw flesh and fish, and refuse no meat howsoeuer it be stinking. They are desperate in their fight, sullen of nature, and rauenous in their maner of feeding.

The Sauages delight in Musicke

Hard kind of liuing.

Their sullen & desperate nature doth herein manifestly appeare, that a company of them being enuironed by our men on the top of a hie cliffe, so that they could by no meanes escape our hands, finding themselues in this case distressed, chose rather to cast themselues headlong down the rocks into the sea, and so be bruised and drowned, rather then to yeeld themselues to our mens mercies.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withall, they haue darts, slings, bowes, and arrowes headed with sharpe stones, bones, and some with yron. They are exceeding friendly and kind hearted one to the other, and mourne greatly at the losse or harme of their fellowes, and expresse their griefe of mind, when they part one from another with a mourneful song, and Dirges. They are very shamefast in bewraying the secrets of nature, and very chaste in the maner of their liuing: for when the man, which wee brought from thence into England the last voyage, should put off his coat or discouer his whole body for change, hee would not suffer the woman to bee present, but put her forth of his Cabin. And in all the space of two or three moneths, while the man liued in company of the woman, there was neuer any thing seene or perceiued betweene them, more then might haue passed betweene brother and sister: but the woman was in all things very seruiceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was sicke, and he likewise in all the meates which they did eate together, woulde carue vnto her of the sweetest, fattest, and best morsels they had. They wondred much at all our things, and were afraid of our horses and other beasts out of measure. They began to grow more ciuill, familiar, pleasant, and docible amongst vs in very short time.

Their weapons.

Their chastity.

They haue boates made of leather, and couered cleane ouer sauing one place in the middle to sit in, planked within with timber, and they vse to row therein with one Ore, more swiftly a great deale, then we in our boates can doe with twentie. They haue one sort of greater boates wherein they can carrie aboue twentie persons, and haue a Mast with a saile thereon, which saile is made of thinne skinnes or bladders, sowed togither with the sinewes of fishes.

Their boates.

They are good Fishermen, and in their small Boates being disguised with their coates of Seales skinnes, they deceiue the fish, who take them rather for their fellow Seales, then for deceiuing men.

They are good marke-men. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a Ducke, or any other foule in the head, and commonly in the eye.

When they shoote at a great fish with any of their darts, they vse to tye a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them againe, and the fish not able to carry it so easily away (for that the bladder doth boy the dart) will at length be wearie, and dye therewith.

Traffique with some other nation vnknowen.

They vse to traffike and exchange their commodities with some other people, of whom they haue such things as their miserable Countrey, and ignorance of Art to make, denieth them to haue, as barres of yron, heads of yron for their darts, needles made foure square, certaine buttons of copper, which they vse to weare vpon their forehads for ornament, as our Ladies in the Court of England doe vse great pearle.

Gold.

Also they haue made signes vnto vs, that they haue seene gold, and such bright plates of mettals, which are vsed for ornaments amongst some people with whom they haue conference.

We found also in their tents a Guiny Beane of redde colour, the which doth vsually grow in they hote Countreys: whereby it appeareth they trade with other nations which dwell farre off, or else themselues are great trauellers.

Their fewell.

They haue nothing in vse among them to make fire withall, sauing a kinde of Heath and Mosse which groweth there.

How they make fire.

Their kettles and pannes.

And they kindle their fire with continuall rubbing and fretting one sticke against another, as we doe with flints. They drawe with dogges in sleads vpon the yce, and remooue their tents therewithall wherein they dwell in Sommer, when they goe a hunting for their praye and prouision against Winter. They doe sometime parboyle their meat a little and seeth the same in kettles made of beast skins: they haue also pannes cut and made of stone very artificially; they vse prety ginnes wherewith they take foule. The women carry their sucking children at their backes, and doe feede them with raw flesh, which first they do a little chaw in their owne mouths. The women haue their faces marked or painted ouer with small blewe spots: they haue blacke and long haire on their heads, and trimme the same in a decent order. The men haue but little haire on their faces, and very thinne beards. For their common drinke, they eate yce to quench their thirst withall. Their earth yeeldeth no graine or fruit of sustenance for man, or almost for beast to liue vpon: and the people will eate grasse and shrubs of the ground, euen as our kine doe. They haue no wood growing in their Countrey there abouts, and yet wee find they haue some timber among them, which we thinke doth growe farre off to the Southwards of this place, about Canada, or some other part of New found land: for there belike, the trees standing on the cliffes of the sea side, by the waight of yce and snow in Winter ouercharging them with waight, when the Sommers thaw commeth aboue, and also the Sea vnderfretting them beneath, which winneth dayly of the land, they are vndermined and fall downe from those cliffes into the Sea, and with the tydes and currents are driuen to and fro vpon the coastes further off, and by coniecture are taken vp here by these Countrey people, to serue them to planke and strengthen their boates withall, and to make dartes, bowes, and arrowes, and such other things necessarie for their vse. And of this kind of drift wood we find all the Seas ouer great store: which being cut or sawed asunder, by reason of long driuing in the Sea is eaten of wormes, and full of holes, of which sort theirs is found to be.

The people eate grasse and shrubs.

A strange kind of gnat.

We haue not yet found any venemous Serpent or other hurtfull thing in these parts, but there is a kind of small flie or gnat that stingeth and offendeth sorely, leauing many red spots in the face, and other places where she stingeth. They haue snow and haile in the best time of their Sommer, and the ground frosen three fadome deepe.

Inchanters.

These people are great inchanters, and vse many charmes of witchcraft: for when their heads doe ake, they tye a great stone with a string vnto a sticke, and with certaine prayers and wordes done to the sticke, they lift vp the stone from ground, which sometimes with all a mans force they cannot stirre, and sometime againe they lift as easily as a fether, and hope thereby with certaine ceremonious wordes to haue ease and helpe. And they made vs by signes to vnderstand, lying groueling with their faces vpon the ground, and making a noise downeward, that they worship the deuill vnder them.

They haue great store of Deere, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and innumerable numbers of sundry sorts of wild foule, as Seawmewes, Gulles, Wilmotes, Ducks, &c. whereof our men killed in one day fifteene hundred.

The beasts and foules of the Countrey.

They haue also store of haukes, as Falkons, Tassels, &c. whereof two alighted vpon one of our ships at their returne, and were brought into England, which some thinke wil proue very good.

There are also great store of rauens, larkes, and partriges, whereof the Countrey people feed.

All these foules are farre thicker clothed with downe and fethers, and haue thicker skinnes then any in England haue: for as that countrey is colder, so nature hath prouided a remedie thereunto.

Our men haue eaten of the Beares, Hares, Partriges, Larkes, and of their wild foule, and find them reasonable good meat, but not so delectable as ours.

Their wild foule must be all fleine, their skins are so thicke: and they tast best fryed in pannes.

The Countrey seemeth to be much subiect to Earthquakes.

The ayre is very subtile, piercing and searching, so that if any corrupted or infected body, especially with the disease called Morbus Gallicus come there, it will presently breake forth and shew it selfe, and cannot there by any kind of salue or medicine be cured.

Their longest Sommers day is of great length, without any darke night, so that in Iuly al the night long, we might perfitly and easily write and reade whatsoeuer had pleased vs, which lightsome nights were very beneficiall vnto vs, being so distressed with abundance of yce as we were.

The Sunne setteth to them in the Euening at a quarter of an houre after tenne of the clocke, and riseth againe in the morning at three quarters of an houre after one of the clocke, so that in Sommer their Sunne shineth to them twenty houres and a halfe, and in the night is absent three houres and a halfe. And although the Sunne bee absent these 3. houres and a halfe, yet it is not darke that time, for that the Sunne is neuer aboue three or foure degrees vnder the edge of their Horizon: the cause is that the Tropicke of Cancer doth cut their Horizon at very vneuen and oblique Angles. But the Moone at any time of the yeere being in Cancer, hauing North latitude, doth make a full reuolution aboue their Horizen, so that sometime they see the Moone aboue 24. houres togither. Some of our company of the more ignorant sort, thought we might continually haue seene the Sunne and the Moone, had it not bene for two or three high mountaines.

The length of their day.

A full reuolution of the Moone aboue their Horizon.

The people are now become so warie, and so circumspect, by reason of their former losses, that by no meanes we can apprehend any of them, although wee attempted often in this last voyage. But to say trueth wee could not bestow any great time in pursuing them, because of our great businesse in lading, and other things.

The Letters patents of the Queenes Maiestie, granted to Master Adrian Gylbert and others, for the search and discouery of the Northwest Passage to China.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all, to whome these presents shall come, greeting: Forasmuch as our trustie and welbeloued subiect Adrian Gylbert of Sandridge in the Countie of Deuon, Gentleman, to his great costes and charges, hath greatly and earnestly trauelled and sought, and yet doth trauell and seeke, and by diuers meanes indeuoureth and laboureth, that the Passage vnto China and the Iles of the Moluccas, by the Northwestward, Northeastward, or Northward, vnto which part or partes of the world, none of our loyall Subiects haue hitherto had any traffique or trade, may be discouered, knowen, and frequented by the Subiects of this our Realme: Knowe yee therefore that for the considerations aforesayd and for diuers other good considerations vs thereunto specially moouing. We of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and grant free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and to any other person by him or his heires to be assigned, and to those his associates and assistants, whose names are written in a Scedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one assigne of each of them, and each of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of these presents, vnder our Banners and Ensignes freely, without let, interruption, or restraint, of vs, our heires or successors, any law, statute, proclamation, patent charter, or prouiso to the contrary notwithstanding, to saile, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to passe and to depart out of this our Realme of England, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Hauens, and all maner of other places whatsoeuer, that by the sayde Northwestward, Northeastward, or Northward, is to be by him, his associates or assignes discouered, and for and in the sayd sayling, voyage, and passage, to haue and vse so many shippes, Barkes, Pinnesses, or other vessels of any quantitie or burthen, with all the furniture of men, victuals, and all maner of necessary prouision, armour, weapons, ordinance, targets, and appurtinances whatsoeuer, as to such a voyage shall or may be requisite, conuenient or commodious, any lawe, statute, ordinance or prouiso to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And also we doe giue and grant to the sayde Adrian Gylbert, and his sayde associates, and to such assignee of him, and his heires, and to the heires and one assignee of euery of his sayde associates for euer, full power and absolute authoritie to trade and make their resiance in any of the sayde Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, and all maner of other places whatsoeuer with all commodities, profites and emoluments in the sayde places or any of them, growing and arising, with all maner of priuiledges, prerogatiues, iurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land whatsoeuer, yeelding and paying therefore vnto vs, our heires and successors, the tenth part of all such golde and siluer oare, pearles, iewels, and precious stones, or the value thereof, as the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associates, their heires and assignes, seruants, factors, or workemen, and euery or any of them shall finde, the sayd tenth to bee deliuered duely to our Customer, or other officers by vs, our heires or successors thereunto assigned, in the Portes of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, at which three places onely the sayde Adrian Gylbert, and his sayde associates, their sayde heires and assignes, shall lade, charge, arriue, and discharge all maner of wares, goods, and merchandizes whatsoeuer to the sayde voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And moreouer, wee haue giuen, granted, and authorized, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe giue, graunt, and authorize the said Adrian Gilbert, and his sayd associats for euer, their heires and their said assignes & euery of them, that if the aforesayd Isles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, or Hauens, or any other of the premisses by the sayd Adrian Gylbert or his associats, their heires and their said assignes or any of them, to be found by them, discouered and traffiqued vnto by any trade as aforesayd, shall be by any other our subiects visited, frequented, haunted, traded vnto or inhabited by the wayes aforesayd, without the special licence in writing of the said Adrian Gylbert and his associats, and their heires and assignes for euer, or by the most part of them, so that the sayd Adrian Gilbert, his heires or assignes be one of them, that then aswell their ship, or ships in any such voyage or voyages be vsed, as all and singuler their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatsoeuer, from or to any of the places aforesayd transported, that so shall presume to visit, frequent, haunt, trade vnto, or inhabite, shall be forfaited and confiscated, ipso facto, the one halfe of the same goods and marchandizes, or other things whatsoeuer, or the value thereof to be to the vse of vs, our heires or successours, and the other moytie thereof to be to the vse of the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associats, their heires and assignes for euer: and vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his sayd associats, their heires and assignes wee impose, giue, assigne, create and confirme this name peculiar to be named by, to sue and to be sued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, and them for vs, our heires and successours by that name doe incorporate, and doe erect and create as one body corporate to haue continuance for euer. Moreouer vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his said associats, and vnto their heires and their sayd assignes for euer, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowship, for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, we haue giuen, granted, and confirmed, and doe by these presents giue, grant, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree and enact, constitute and ordeine, and appoynt all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and actes, as the sayd new corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, shall thinke meete, necessary, and conuenient, so that they or any of them be not contrary to the lawes of this realme, and of this our present graunt.

The collegues of the fellowship for the discouery of the Northwest passage.

And we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of our authority, of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, do establish, confirme & ratifie all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and acts to be in so full and great power and authority, as we, our heires or successours may or can in any such case graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our louing subiects in this discouerie, we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of authority for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue, graunt, establish, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allow by these presents, to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and to his associates, and to the heires and assignes of them and euery of them for euer, and to all other person or persons of our louing subiects whatsoeuer that shall hereafter trauaile, sayle, discouer, or make voyage as aforesayd to any the Iles, Mainelands, Countreys or Territories whatsoeuer, by vertue of this our graunt to be discouered, that the heires and assignes of them and euery of them being borne within any of the Iles, Mainelands and Countreys, or Territories whatsoeuer before mentioned, shall haue and inioy all the priuileges of free Denizens, as persons natiue borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for euer, in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and personally resiant within our sayd Realme, any law, statute, proclamation, custome or vsage to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Free Denization granted.

Moreouer, for the consideration aforesayd by vertue hereof, we giue and graunt vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie, licence and priuilege, that during the space of fiue yeeres next and immediatly ensuing the date hereof, it shall not be lawfull for any person or persons whatsoeuer, to visit, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage to any Iles, Mainlands, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, and Hauens, nor to any other Hauens or places whatsoeuer hitherto not yet discouered by any of our subiects by vertue of this graunt to be traded vnto, without the special consent and good liking of the said Adrian Gylbert, his heires or assignes first had in writing. And if any person or persons of the associats of the sayd Adrian, his heires or assignes, or any other person or persons whatsoeuer, free of this discouery, shall do any act or acts contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof, during the space of the sayd fiue yeeres, that then the partie and parties so offending, they and their heires for euer shall loose (ipso facto) the benefite and priuilege of this our graunt, and shall stand and remaine to all intents and purposes as persons exempted out of this graunt.

This Patent remained in force fiue yeeres.

And further by vertue hereof wee giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and successours at all times during the space of fiue yeers next ensuing the date hereof, libertie and licence, and full authority to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and assignes, that if it shall happen any one or moe in any ship or ships sayling on their sayd voyage, to become mutinous, seditious, disordered, or any way vnruly to the preiudice or hinderance of the hope for the successe in the attempt or prosecuting of this discouerie or trade intended,

Authoritie to proceede at Sea against mutineers.

to vse or execute vpon him or them so offending, such punishment, correction, or execution, as the cause shall be found in iustice to require by the verdict of twelue of the companie sworne thereunto, as in such a case apperteineth: That expresse mention of the certaintie of the premisses, or of other gifts or graunts by vs to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and his associats before this time made is not mentioned in these presents, or any other lawe, act, statute, prouiso, graunt, or proclamation heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof we haue made these our Letters to bee made patents: Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the sixt day of Februarie, in the sixe and twenty yeere of our reigne. 1583.

The first voyage of M. Iohn Dauis, vndertaken in Iune 1585. for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, Written by M. Iohn Ianes Marchant, sometimes seruant to the worshipfull Master William Sanderson.

CErtaine Honourable personages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court & Countrey, with diuers worshipful Marchants of London and of the West Countrey, mooued with desire to aduance Gods glory and to seeke the good of their natiue Countrey, consulting together of the likelyhood of the Discouerie of the Northwest passage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but vnhappily giuen ouer by accidents vnlooked for, which turned the enterprisers from their principall purpose, resolued after good deliberation, to put downe their aduentures to prouide for necessarie shipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductor of this so hard an enterprise. The setting forth of this Action was committed by the aduenturers, especially to the care of M. William Sanderson Marchant of London, who was so forward therein, that besides his trauaile which was not small, hee became the greatest aduenturer with his purse, and commended vnto the rest of the companie one M. Iohn Dauis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the Arte of Nauigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exployt.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readines, wee departed from Dartmouth the seuenth of Iune, towards the discouerie of the aforesayd Northwest passage, with two Barkes, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunneshine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Mooneshine of Dartmouth. In the Sunneshine we had 23. persons, whose names are these following, M. Iohn Dauis Captaine, William Eston Master, Richard Pope Masters mate, Iohn Iane Marchant, Henry Dauie gunner, William Crosse boatswayne, Iohn Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, Iohn Ellis, Iohn Kelley, Edward Helman, William Dicke, Andrew Maddocke, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Russel, Christopher Gorney boy: Iames Cole, Francis Ridley, Iohn Russell, Robert Cornish Musicians. Musitians.

The Mooneshine had 19. persons, William Bruton Captaine, Iohn Ellis Master, the rest Mariners.

The 7. of Iune the Captaine and the Master drewe out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the wind being at Southwest and West southwest, we put in for Falmouth, where we remained vntill the 13.

The 13. the wind blew at North, and being faire weather we departed.

The 14. with contrary wind we were forced to put into Silley.

The 15. wee departed thence, hauing the wind North and by East moderate and faire weather.

The 16. wee were driuen backe againe, and were constrained to arriue at newe Grymsby in Silley: here the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that space the Captaine, the Master and I went about all the Ilands, and the Captaine did plat out and describe the situation of all the Ilands, rocks and harboroughs to the exact vse of Nauigation, with lines and scale thereunto conuenient.

The 28. in Gods name we departed the wind being Easterly but calme. They depart from Silley.

The first of Iuly wee sawe great store of Porposes; The Master called for an harping yron, and July.

and shot twise or thrise: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and strooke him in the side, and wound him into the ship: when we had him aboord, the Master sayd it was a Darlie head.

The 2. we had some of the fish sodden, and it did eat as sweete as any mutton.

The 3. wee had more in sight, and the Master went to shoote at them, but they were so great, that they burst our yrons, and we lost both fish, yrons, pastime and all: yet neuerthelesse the Master shot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was so strong that he burst off the barres of the pike and went away: then he tooke the boat-hooke, and hit one with that, but all would not preuaile, so at length we let them alone.

The 6. we saw a very great Whale, and euery day we saw whales continually.

The 16. 17. and 18. we saw great store of Whales.

Great store of whales.

The 19. of Iuly we fell into a great whirling and brustling of a tyde, setting to the Northwards: and sayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the Southsouthwest. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had bene the breach of some shoare, the ayre being so foggie and full of thicke mist, that we could not see the one ship from the other, being a very small distance asunder: so the Captaine and the Master being in distrust how the tyde might set them, caused the Mooneshine to hoyse out her boate and to sound, but they could not finde ground in 300. fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Master, and I went towards the breach, to see what it should be, giuing charge to our gunners that at euery glasse they should shoote off a musket shot, to the intent we might keepe ourselues from loosing them. Then comming nere to the breach, we met many Ilands of yce floting, which had quickly compassed vs about: then we went vpon some of them, and did perceiue that all the roaring which we heard, was caused onely by the rowling of this yce together: Our companie seeing vs not to returne according to our appoyntment, left off shooting muskets, and began to shoote falkonets, for they feared some mishap had befallen vs, but before night we came aboord againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good fresh water. Then wee bent our course toward the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

The rowling of the yce together made a great roaring.

Yce turned into water.

The 20. as we sayled along the coast the fogge brake vp, and we discouered the land, which was the most deformed rockie and mountainous land that euer we saw: The first sight whereof did shew as if it had bene in forme of a sugar-loafe, standing to our sight aboue the cloudes, for that it did shew ouer the fogge like a white liste in the skie, the tops altogether couered with snow, and the shoare beset with yce a league off into the Sea, making such yrkesome noyse as that it seemed to be the true patterne of desolation, and after the same our Captaine named it, The land of Desolation.

The land of Desolation.

The 21. the winde came Northerly and ouerblew, so that we were constrained to bend our course South againe, for we perceiued that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almost compassed with yce, for we saw very much toward the Northnortheast, West, and Southwest: and this day and this night wee cleared our selues of the yce, running Southsouthwest along the shoare.

Vpon Thursday being the 22. of this moneth, about three of the clocke in the morning, wee hoysed out our boate, and the Captaine with sixe sayles went towards the shoare, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceiue the coast to be voyde of yce to our iudgement, and the same night wee were all perswaded that we had seene a Canoa rowing along the shoare, but afterwards we fell in some doubt of it, but we had no great reason so to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the shoare, willed the Master to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the shoare by the space of a league, or about two miles, hee found so much yce, that hee could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to see if they could get any fish, because there were so many seales vpon the coast, and the birds did beate vpon the water, but all was in vaine: The water about this place was very blacke and thicke like to a filthy standing poole, we sounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. While the Captaine was rowing to the shoare, our men sawe woods vpon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I

Very blacke water.

could

Floting wood.

could not discerne them, yet it might be so very well: for we had wood floting vpon the coast euery day, and the Mooneshine tooke vp a tree at Sea not farre from the coast being sixtie foote of length and foureteene handfuls about, hauing the roote vpon it: After this the Captaine came aboord, the weather being very calme, and faire we bent our course toward the South, with intent to double the land.

The 23. we coasted the land which did lie Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest.

Colde by reason of yce.

The 24. the winde being very faire at East, we coasted the land which did lie East and West, not being able to come neere the shoare by reason of the great quantitie of yce. At this place, because the weather was somewhat colde by reason of the yce, and the better to encourage our men, their allowance was increased: the captaine and the master tooke order that euery messe, being fiue persons, should haue halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere euery morning to breakfast. The weather was not very colde, but the aire was moderate like to our April-weather in England: when the winde came from the land, or the ice, it was some what colde, but when it came off the sea it was very hote.

They saile Northwestward aboue foure dayes.

The 25 of this moneth we departed from sight of this land at sixe of the clocke in the morning, directing our course to the Northwestward, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our desired passage, and so continued aboue foure dayes.

Land in 64 degrees 15 min.

The sound where our ships did ride was called Gilberts sound.

Musicians.

The people of the countrey came and conferred with our men.

The 29 of Iuly we discouered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing Northeast from vs. The winde being contrary to goe to the Northwestwards, we bare in with this land to take some view of it, being vtterly void of the pester of yce and very temperate. Comming neere the coast, we found many faire sounds and good roads for shipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we judged this land to be a great number of Islands standing together. Heere hauing mored our barke in good order, we went on shoare vpon a small Island to seeke for water and wood. Vpon this Island we did perceiue that there had bene people: for we found a small shoo and pieces of leather sowed with sinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Beuer. Then we went vpon another Island on the other side of our shippes: and the Captaine, the master, and I, being got vp to the top of an high rocke, the people of the countrey hauing espied vs, made a lamentable noise, as we thought, with great outcries and skreechings: we hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues. At last I hallowed againe, and they likewise cried. Then we perceiuing where they stood, some on the shoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a small Island fast by them, we made a great noise, partly to allure them to vs, and partly to warne our company of them. Whereupon M. Bruton and the Master of his shippe, with others of their company, made great haste towards vs, and brought our Musicians with them from our shippe, purposing either by force to rescue vs, if need should so require, or with courtesie to allure the people. When they came vnto vs, we caused our Musicians to play, our selues dancing, and making many signes of friendship. At length there came tenne Canoas from the other Islands, and two of them came so neere the shoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a prety way off. Their pronunciation was very hollow thorow the throat, and their speech such as we could not vnderstand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and signes of curtesie. At length one of them pointing vp to the Sunne with his hand, would presently strike his breast so hard that we might heare the blow. This hee did many times before he would any way trust vs. Then Iohn Ellis the Master of the Mooneshine was appointed to vse his best policie to gaine their friendship: who strooke his breast, and pointed to the Sunne after their order: which when he had diuers times done, they beganne to trust him, and one of them came on shoare, to whom we threw our cappes, stockings and gloues, and such other things as then we had about vs, playing with our musicke, and making signes of ioy, and dauncing. So the night comming, we bade them farewell, and went aboord our barks.

Thirty seuen Canoas.

Their musicke.

The next morning being the 30 of Iuly there came 37 Canoas rowing by our ships, calling to vs to come on shoare: we not making any great haste vnto them, one of them went vp to the toppe of the rocke, and leapt and daunced as they had done the day before, shewing vs a seales skinne, and another thing made like a timbrell, which he did beat vpon with a sticke, making a noise like a small drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all staying in their Canoas: we come to the water side were they were: and after we had sworne by the Sunne after their fashion, they did trust vs. So I shooke hands with one of them, and he kissed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in so great credit with them vpon this single acquaintance, that we could haue any thing they had. We bought fiue Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of seales skinnes & birds skinnes; their buskins, their hose, their gloues, all being commonly sowed and well dressed: so that we were fully perswaded that they haue diuers artificers among them. We had a paire of buskins of them full of fine wooll like beuer. Their apparell for heat was made of birds skinnes with their feathers on them. We saw among them leather dressed like Glouers leather, and thicke thongs like white leather of a good length. We had of their darts and oares, and found in them that they would by no meanes displease vs, but would giue vs whatsoeuer we asked of them, and would be satisfied with whatsoeuer we gaue them. They tooke great care one of another: for when we had bought their boats, then two other would come and cary him away betweene them that had solde vs his. They are very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and easie to be brought to any ciuility or good order: but we iudge them to be idolaters and to worship the Sunne.

Great familiarity with the Sauages.

During the time of our abode among these Islands we found reasonable quantitie of wood, both firre, spruse and iuniper; which whether it came floating any great distance to these places where we found it, or whether it grew in some great Islands neere the same place by vs not yet discouered, we know not; but we iudge that it groweth there further into the land then we were, because the people had great store of darts and oares which they made none account of, but gaue them to vs for small trifles, as points and pieces of paper. We saw about this coast maruellous great abundance of seales skulling together like skuls of small fish. We found no fresh water among these Islands, but onely snow water, whereof we found great pooles. The cliffes were all of such oare as M. Frobisher brought from Meta incognita. We had diuers shewes of Study or Muscouy glasse shining not altogether vnlike to Christall. We found a herbe growing vpon the rocks, whose fruit was sweet, full of red iuice, and the ripe ones were like corinths. We found also birch and willow growing like shrubbes low to the ground. These people haue great store of furres as we iudge. They made shewes vnto vs the 30 of this present, which was the second time of our being with them, after they perceiued we would haue skinnes and furres, that they would go into the countrey and come againe the next day with such things as they had: but this night the winde comming faire, the captaine and the master would by no meanes detract the purpose of our discouery. And so the last of this moneth about foure of the clocke in the morning in Gods name we set saile, and were all that day becalmed vpon the coast.

Diuers sorts of wood.

They may make much traine, if they had meanes how to vse it.

Moscouie glasse.

A fruit like corinths.

The first of August we had a faire winde, and so proceeded towards the Northwest for our discouery.

August.

The sixt of August we discouered land in 66 degrees 40 minuts of latitude, altogether void from the pester of ice: we ankered in a very faire rode vnder a braue mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as golde. This mount was named Mount Raleigh. The rode where our ships lay at anker was called Totnes rode. The sound which did compasse the mount was named Exeter sound. The foreland towards the North was called Diers cape. The foreland towards the South was named Cape Walsingham. So soone as we were come to an anker in Totnes rode vnder Mount Raleigh, we espied foure white beares at the foot of the mount: we supposing them to be goats or wolues, manned our boats and went towards them: but when we came neere the shore, we found them to be white beares of a monstrous bignesse: we being desirous of fresh victuall and the sport, began to assault them, and I being on land, one of them came downe the hill right against me: my piece was charged with hailshot & a bullet: I discharged my piece and shot him in the necke; he roared a litle, and tooke the water straight, making small account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boare-speares, & two more that night. We found

Land in 66 degrees 40 min.

Foure white beares.

nothing in their mawes; but we iudged by their dung that they fed vpon grasse, because it appeared in all respects like the dung of an horse, wherein we might very plainly see the very strawes.

The 7 we went on shore to another beare which lay all night vpon the top of an Island vnder Mount Raleigh, and when we came vp to him he lay fast asleep. I leuelled at his head, and the stone of my piece gaue no fire: with that he looked vp, and layed downe his A huge white beare. head againe: then I shot being charged with two bullets, and strooke him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: whereupon we ran all vpon him with boare-speares, and thrust him in the body: yet for all that he gript away our boare-speares, and went towards the water; and as he was going downe, he came backe againe. Then our Master shot his boare-speare, and strooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swimme into a coue fast by, where we killed him, and brought him aboord. The breadth of his forefoot from one side to the other was foureteene inches ouer. They were very fat, so as we were constrained to cast the fat away. We saw a rauen vpon Mount Raleigh. We found withies also growing like low shrubs & flowers like Primroses in the sayd place. The coast is very mountainous, altogether without wood, grasse, or earth, and is onely huge mountaines of stone; but the brauest stone that euer we saw. The aire was very moderate in this countrey.

The 8 we departed from Mount Raleigh, coasting along the shoare, which lieth Southsouthwest, and Eastnortheast.

The 9 our men fell in dislike of their allowance, because it was too small as they thought: wherupon we made a new proportion; euery messse being fiue to a messe should haue foure pound of bread a day, twelue wine quarts of beere, six Newland fishes; and the flesh dayes a gill of pease more: so we restrained them from their butter and cheese.

The 11 we came to the most Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of Gods mercy, as being the place of our first entrance for the discouery. The weather being very foggy we coasted this North land; at length when it brake vp, we perceiued that we were shot into a very faire entrance or passage, being in some places twenty leagues broad, and in some thirty, altogether void of any pester of ice, the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the maine ocean, which gaue vs the greater hope of our passage. Hauing sailed Northwest sixty leagues in this entrance we discouered certaine Islands standing in the midst thereof, hauing open passage on both sides. Whereupon our ships diuided themselues, the one sailing on the North side, the other on the South side of the sayd Isles, where we stayed fiue dayes, hauing the winde at Southeast, very foggy and foule weather.

The 14 we went on shoare and found signes of people, for we found stones layed vp together like a wall, and saw the skull of a man or a woman.

The 15 we heard dogs houle on the shoare, which we thought had bene wolues, and therefore we went on shoare to kill them. When we came on land the dogges came presently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to pray vpon vs, and therefore we shot at them, and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a letherne coller wherupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like mastiues with prickt eares and long bush tailes: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. Then we went farther, and found two sleads made like ours in England: the one was made of firre, Timber sawen. spruse and oken boords sawen like inch boords: the other was made all of whale bone, & there hung on the tops of the sleads three heads of beasts which they had killed. We saw ale. here larks, rauens, and partridges.

The 17 we went on shoare, and in a little thing made like an ouen with stones I found n image. many small trifles, as a small canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads hauing small holes in one end of them to hang about their neckes, & other small things. The coast was very barren without wood or grasse: the rocks were very faire like marble, full of vaines of diuers colours. We found a seale which was killed not long before, being fleane, and hid vnder stones.

Our Captaine and Master searched still for probabilities of the passage, and first found, that this place was all Islands, with great sounds passing betweene them.

Probabilities for the passage.

Secondly, the water remained of one colour with the maine ocean without altering.

Wee neuer came into any bay before or after, but the waters colour was altered very blackish.

Thirdly, we saw to the West of those Isles three or foure whales in a skull, which they iudged to come from a Westerly sea, because to the Eastward we saw not any whale.

Also as we were rowing into a very great sound lying Southwest, frō whence these whales came, vpon the sudden there came a violent counter-checke of a tide from the Southwest against the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was mainteined.

Fiftly, in sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had sounding in 90 fadoms, faire grey osie sand, and the further we ran into the Westwards the deeper was the water; so that hard aboord the shoare among these Isles we could not haue ground in 330 fadoms.

Lastly, it did ebbe and flow sixe or seuen fadome vp and downe, the flood comming from diuers parts, so as we could not perceiue the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18 and 19 our Captaine and Master determined what was best to doe, both for the safegard of their credits, and satisfying of the aduenturers, and resolued, if the weather brake vp, to make further search.

The 20 the winde came directly against vs: so they altered their purpose, and reasoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21 the winde being Northwest, we departed from these Islands; and as we coasted the South shoare we saw many faire sounds, whereby we were perswaded that it was no firme land but Islands.

The 23 of this moneth the wind came Southeast, with very stormy and foule weather: so we were constrained to seeke harborow vpon the South coast of this entrance, where we fell into a very faire sound, & ankered in 25 fadoms greene osie sand. Here we went on shore, where we had manifest signes of people where they had made their fire, and layed stones like a wall. In this place we saw foure very faire faulcons; and M. Bruton tooke from one of them his prey, which we iudged by the wings and legs to be a snite, for the head was eaten off.

Faulcons.

The 24 in the afternoone, the winde comming somewhat faire, we departed from this road, purposing by Gods grace to returne for England.

The 26 we departed from sight of the North land of this entrance, directing our course homewards vntill the tenth of the next moneth.

Their returne.

The 10. of September wee fell with The land of desolation, thinking to goe on shoare, but we could get neuer a good harborough. That night wee put to sea againe thinking to search it the next day: but this night arose a very great storme, and separated our ships, so that we lost the sight of the Mooneshine.

September.

The 13. about noone (hauing tried all the night before with a goose wing) we set saile, & within two houres after we had sight of the Mooneshine againe: this day we departed from this land.

They saile from The land of desolation to England in 14 dayes.

The 27. of this moneth we fell with sight of England. This night we had a marueilous storme and lost the Mooneshine.

The 30. of September wee came into Dartmouth, where wee found the Mooneshine being come in not two houres before.

The second voyage attempted by M. Iohn Dauis with others, for the Discouery of the Northwest passage, in Anno 1586.

THe 7. day of May, I departed from the port of Dartmouth for the discouery of the Northwest passage, with a ship of an hundred and twentie tunnes named the Mermayd, a barke of 60. tunnes named the Sunneshine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the Mooneshine, and a pinnesse of tenne tunnes named the North starre.

And the 15. of Iune I discouered land in the latitude of 60. degrees, and in longitude from the Meridian of London Westward 47. degrees, mightily pestered with yce and snow, so that

Land discouered in 60. degrees.

[illegible] yce lay in some places tenne leagues, in some 20. and in [illegible] eat wee were constrained to beare into 57. degrees to double [illegible] which through Gods fauourable mercy we at length obtained. [illegible] pestuous storms we againe discouered land, in longitude [illegible] egr. 30. min. and in latitude 64. being East from vs: into [illegible] contrary winds to force vs, I thought it very necessary to [illegible] our pinnesse, prouided in the Mermayd to be our scout [illegible] the rather because the yere before I had bene in the same [illegible] for such a purpose, wel stored with flote wood, & pos- [illegible] uersation: so that the 29. of this moneth we arriued with- [illegible] and, lying North northwest, and South southeast, we know [illegible] high & mountainous, hauing before it on the West side a [illegible] faire sounds, and harboroughs. This land was very litle [illegible] together voyd of yce.

[illegible] nds wee sent our boates to search for shole water, where [illegible] ace is very hard to finde: and as the boat went sounding [illegible] countrey hauing espied them, came in their Canoas towards [illegible]: but after they had espied in the boat some of our com- [illegible] here with vs, they presently rowed to the boate, and tooke [illegible] t the boate with such comfortable ioy, as would require a [illegible] y came with the boates to our ships, making signes that they [illegible] before had bene with them. After I perceiued their ioy and [illegible] e Merchants & others of the company went a shoare, bear- [illegible] ad no sooner landed, but they lept out of their Canoas and [illegible] st, and embraced vs with many signes of heartie welcome: [illegible] ne of them, and to eche of them I gaue a knife: they of- [illegible] ut I made signes that they were not solde, but giuen them [illegible] em for that time, with signes that they should returne againe [illegible]

[illegible] speede the pinnesse was landed vpon an Isle there to be fin- [illegible] e discouerie, which Isle was so conuenient for that purpose, [illegible] defend ourselues against many enemies. During the time [illegible] tting vp, the people came cōtinually vnto vs sometime an [illegible] ime fourtie, fiftie, more and lesse, as occasion serued. They [illegible], stagge skinnes, white hares, Seale fish, samon peale, smal [illegible] and birds such as the countrey did yeeld.

[illegible] a further search of this place, sent one of the shipboates to [illegible] elfe went to another part to search for the habitation of this [illegible] ement that there should be no iniurie offered to any of the [illegible]

[illegible] e found the tents of the people made with seale skinnes set [illegible] found great store of dried Caplin, being a litle fish no big- [illegible] and bags of Trane oyle, many litle images cut in wood, [illegible] many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

[illegible] within the snowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, [illegible] moory and waste grounds of England are: they went vp into [illegible] place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it still [illegible] we farre: but I with my company tooke another riuer, which although at the first it offered a large inlet, yet it proued but a deepe bay, the ende whereof in foure houres I attained, and there leauing the boat well manned, went with the rest of my company three or foure miles into the countrey, but found nothing, nor saw any thing, saue onely gripes, rauens, and small birds, as larkes and linnets.

The third of Iuly I manned my boat, and went with fifty Canoas attending vpon me vp into another sound where the people by signes willed mee to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made signes that I should goe into a warme place to sleepe, at which place I went on shore, and ascended the toppe of an high hill to see into the countrey, but perceiuing my labor vaine, I returned againe to my boat, the people still following me, and my company very diligent to attend vs, and to helpe vs vp the rockes, and likewise downe: at length I was desirous to haue our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did ouerleape them: from leaping they went to wrestling, we found them strong and nimble, and to haue skil in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

The fourth of Iuly we lanched our pinnesse, and had fortie of the people to helpe vs, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wrestled with them, and found them as before, strong and skilfull. This fourth of Iuly the Master of the Mermayd went to certaine Ilands to store himselfe with wood, where he found a graue with diuers buried in it, only couered with seale skinnes, hauing a crosse laid ouer them. The people are of good stature, wel in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, with broad visages, and small eyes, wide mouthes, the most part vnbearded, great lips, and close toothed. Their custome is as often as they go from vs, still at their returne to make a new truce, in this sort, holding his hand vp to the Sun with a lowd voice he crieth Ylyacute, and striketh his brest with like signes, being promised safety, he giueth credit. These people are much giuen to bleed, and therefore stop their noses with deeres haire, or the hare of an elan. They are idolaters and haue images great store, which they weare about them, and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and haue many kinds of inchantments, which they often vsed, but to small purpose, thankes be to God.

A graue with a crosse layd ouer.

The Tartars & people of Iapan are also small eyed.

Being among them at shore the fourth of Iuly, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire in this maner: he tooke a piece of a board wherein was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round stick like vnto a bedstaffe, wetting the end thereof in Trane, and in fashion of a turner with a piece of lether, by his violent motion doeth very speedily produce fire: which done, with turfes he made a fire, into which with many words and strange gestures, he put diuerse things, which wee supposed to be a sacrifice: my selfe and diuers of my company standing by, they were desirous to haue me go into the smoke, I willed them likewise to stand in the smoke, which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thrust him into the smoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, & to spurne it into the sea, which was done to shew them that we did contemne their sorcery.

Their maner of kindling fire like to that in America. A fire made of turfes.

These people are very simple in all their conuersation, but marueilous theeuish, especially for iron, which they haue in great accoũt. They began through our lenitie to shew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonelights boat from her sterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to aire, though we did carefully looke vnto it, they stole our oares, a caliuer, a boare speare, a sword, with diuers other things, whereat the company and Masters being grieued, for our better securitie, desired me to dissolue this new friendship, and to leaue the company of these theeuish miscreants: whereupon there was a caliuer shot among them, and immediatly vpon the same a faulcon, which strange noice did sore amaze them, so that with speed they departed: notwithstanding their simplicitie is such, that within ten houres after they came againe to vs to entreat peace: which being promised, we againe fell into a great league. They brought vs Seale skinnes, & sammon peale, but seeing iron, they could in no wise forbeare stealing: which when I perceiued, it did but minister vnto mee an occasion of laughter, to see their simplicitie, and I willed that in no case they should bee any more hardly vsed, but that our owne company should be the more vigilant to keepe their things, supposing it to be very hard in so short time to make them know their euils. They eate all their meat raw, they liue most vpon fish, they drinke salt water, and eate grasse and ice with delight: they are neuer out of the water, but liue in the nature of fishes, saue only when dead sleepe taketh them, and then vnder a warme rocke laying his boat vpon the land, hee lyeth downe to sleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but some of them haue bow and arrowes and slings. They make nets to take their fish of the finne of a whale: they do all their things very artificially: and it should seeme that these

Great theeues.

Their diet.

Their weapons.

Strange nets.

[illegible] were with those of the maine, for many of them are sore wounded: [illegible] receiued vpon the maine land, as by signes they gaue vs to vnderstand. [illegible] copper oare, blacke copper, and red copper: they pronounce [illegible] hollow, and deepe in the throat: these words following we [illegible]

[illegible]me.
[illegible]llan.
[illegible]kinne.
Conah, Leape.
Maatuke, Fish.
Sambah, Below.
Maconmeg, Wil you haue this.
Cooah, Go to him.
Aba, Fallen downe.
Icune, Come hither.
Awennye, Yonder.
Nugo, No.
Tucktodo, A fogge.
Lechiksah, A skinne.
Maccoah, A dart.
Sugnacoon, A coat.
Gounah, Come downe.
Sasobneg, A bracelet.
Vgnake, A tongue.
Ataneg, A seale.
Macuah, A beard.
Pignagogah, A threed.
Quoysah, Giue it to me.

[illegible] rous to search the habitation of this countrey, I went my [illegible] the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, [illegible] a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby wee were con[illegible] night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my [illegible] a high mountaine, hoping from thence to see into the coun[illegible] so many and so mighty as that my purpose preuailed not: [illegible] my pinnesse, and willing diuers of my company to gather [illegible] in this place there was great store, myselfe hauing espied [illegible] me that neuer before saw the like, which was a mighty [illegible] in very great quantitie, furiously mounting it into the aire, [illegible] puffe or blast, but continual, for the space of three houres, [illegible] which sith it was in the course that I should passe, we were [illegible] our lodging vnder the rocks.

[illegible] being broken vp, we went forward in our attempt, and sailed [illegible] into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no [illegible] e, and desert Isles with mighty sounds, and inlets passing betweene [illegible] pon we returned towards our shippes, and landing to stoppe a floud, [illegible] of these miscreants; we found of their fish in bagges, plaices, and [illegible] which wee tooke onely one bagge and departed. The ninth of this moneth [illegible] our ships, where wee found the people desirous in their fashion, of friendship [illegible] our Marriners complained heauily against the people, and said that my lenitie and friendly vsing of them gaue them stomacke to mischiefe: for they haue stollen an anker from vs, they haue cut our cable very dangerously, they haue cut our boats from our sterne, and nowe since your departure, with slings they spare vs not with stones of halfe a pound weight: and wil you stil indure these iniuries? It is a shame to beare them. I desired them to be content, and said, I doubted not but al should be wel. The 10. of this moneth I went to the shore, the people following me in their Canoas: I tolled them on shoare, and vsed

Slings.

them with much courtesie, and then departed aboord, they following me, and my company. I gaue some of them bracelets, & caused seuen or eight of them to come aboord, which they did willingly, and some of them went into the top of the ship: and thus curteously vsing them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no sooner downe, but they began to practise their deuilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Moonelight, and strake one of her men then boatswaine, that he ouerthrew withall: whereat being moued, I changed my curtesie, and grew to hatred, my self in my owne boate well manned with shot, and the barks boat likewise pursued them, and gaue them diuers shot, but to small purpose, by reason of their swift rowing: so smally content we returned.

The 11. of this moneth there came fiue of them to make a new truce: the master of the Admiral came to me to shew me of their comming, and desired to haue them taken and kept as prisoners vntill we had his anker againe: but when he sawe that the chiefe ringleader and master of mischiefe was one of the fiue, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was determined to take him: he came crying Iliaout, and striking his brest offered a paire of gloues to sell, the master offered him a knife for them: so two of thē came to vs, the one was not touched, but the other was soone captiue among vs: then we pointed to him and his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made signes that he should be set at libertie: within one houre after he came aboord the winde came faire, wherevpon we weyed and set saile, and so brought the fellow with vs: one of his fellowes still following our ship close aboord, talked with him and made a kinde of lamentation, we still vsing him wel with Yliaout, which was the common course of curtesie. At length this fellow aboord vs spake foure or fiue words vnto the other and clapped his two hands vpon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we suppose with heauie chere. We iudged the couering of his face with his hands and bowing of his body downe, signified his death. At length he became a pleasant companion among vs. I gaue him a new sute of frize after the English fashion, because I saw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very ioyfull, he trimmed vp his darts, and all his fishing tooles, and would make okam, and set his hand to a ropes end vpon occasion. He liued with the dry Caplin that I tooke when I was searching in the pinnis, and did eate dry Newland fish.

One of the people taken which after dyed.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at sea the fourteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the sea, with praise giuen to God by seruice, was cast ouerboord.

The 17 of this moneth being in the latitude of 63. degrees 8. minuts, we fell vpon a most mighty and strange quantitie of yce in one intire masse, so bigge as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall so very high in forme of a land, with bayes and capes and like high cliffe land, as that we supposed it to be land, and therefore sent our pinnesse off to discouer it: but at her returne we were certainely informed that it was onely yce, which bred great admiration to vs all considering the huge quantitie thereof, incredible to be reported in trueth as it was, and therefore I omit to speake any further thereof. This onely I thinke, that the like before was neuer seene: and in this place we had very stickle and strong currents.

A huge quantitie of yce in 63. degrees of latitude.

We coasted this mightie masse of yce vntill the 30 of Iuly, finding it a mighty barre to our purpose: the ayre in this time was so contagious and the sea so pestered with yce, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the 24 of Iuly all our shrowds, ropes and sailes were so frosen, and compassed with yce, onely by a grosse fogge, as seemed to me more then strange, sith the last yeere I found this sea free and nauigable, without impediments.

The nature of fogges.

Our men through this extremity began to grow sicke and feeble, and withall hopelesse of good successe: whereupon very orderly, with good discretion they intreated me to regard the state of this busines, and withall aduised me, that in conscience I ought to regard the saftie of mine owne life with the preseruation of theirs, and that I should not through my ouerboldnes leaue their widowes and fatherlesse children to giue me bitter curses. This matter in conscience did greatly moue me to regard their estates: yet considering the excellencie of the businesse if it might be attained, the great hope of certaintie by the last yeeres discouery, and that there was yet a third way not put in practise, I thought it would growe to my great disgrace, if this action by my negligence should grow into discredite: whereupon seeking helpe from God, the fountaine of all mercies, it pleased his diuine maiestie to imbue my heart to prosecute that which I hope shal be to his glory, and to the contentation of euery Christian minde. Whereupon falling into consideration that the Mermaid, albeit a very strong & sufficient ship, yet by reason of her burthen was not so conuenient and nimble as a smaller bark, especially in such desperate hazzards: further hauing in account her great charge to the aduenturers being at 100.li. the moneth, and that at doubtfull seruice: all the premisses considered with diuers other things, I determined to furnish the Moonelight with reuictualling and sufficient men, and to proceede in this action as God should direct me. Whereupon I altered our course from the yce, and bare Eastsoutheast to recouer the next shore where this thing might be performed: so with fauourable winde it pleased God that the first of August we discouered the land in Latitude 66. degrees, 33. min. and in longitude from the Meridian of London 70. degrees voyd of trouble without snow or ice.

The second of August wee harboured our selues in a very excellent good road, where with all speed we graued the Moonelight, and reuictualled her: wee searched this countrey with our pinnesse while the barke was trimming, which William Eston did; he found all this land to be onely Ilands, with a Sea on the East, a Sea on the West, and a Sea on the North. In this place wee found it very hot, and wee were very much troubled with a flie which is called Muskyto, for they did sting grieuously. The people of this place at our first comming in caught a Seale, and with bladders fast tied to him sent him vnto vs with the floud, so as hee came right with our shippes, which we tooke as a friendly present from them.

Great heat.

The fift of August I went with the two Masters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William Eston espied three Canoas lying vnder a rocke, and went vnto them: there were in them skinnes, darts, with diuers superstitious toyes, whereof wee diminished nothing, but left vpon euery boat a silke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the sixt of August, the people came vnto vs without feare, and did barter with vs for skinnes, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their Canoas nor apparel, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our Sauage aboord vs kept himselfe close, and made shew that he would faine haue another companion. Thus being prouided, I departed from this lande the twelft of August at sixe of the clocke in the morning, where I left the Mermayd at an anker: the foureteenth sailing West about fiftie leagues, we discouered land, being in latitude 66. degrees 19 minuts: this land is 70. leagues from the other from whence we came. This fourteenth day from nine a clocke at night till three a clocke in the morning, wee ankered by an Island of yce, twelue leagues off the shore, being mored to the yce.

66. degrees 19. minutes.

The fifteenth day at three a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of August we discouered land Northwest from vs in the morning, being a very faire promontory, in latitude 65. degrees, hauing no land on the South. Here wee had great hope of a through passage.

Great hope of a passage.

This day at three a clocke in the afternoone wee againe discouered lande Southwest and by South from vs, where at night wee were becalmed. The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by obseruation, we were in 64. degrees 20. minuts. From the eighteenth day at noone vnto the nineteenth at noone, by precise ordinary care, wee had sailed 15. leagues South and by West, yet by art and more exact obseruation, we found our course to be Southwest, so that we plainely perceiued a great current striking to the West.

64. degr. 20. min.

A great current to the West.

This land is nothing in sight but Isles, which increaseth our hope. This nineteenth of August at sixe a clocke in the afternoone, it began to snow, and so continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, so that we were constrained to lie at hull all night fiue leagues off the shore: In the morning being the twentieth of August, the fogge and storme breaking vp, we bare in with the lande, and at nine a clocke in the morning wee ankered in a very faire and safe road and lockt for all weathers. At tenne of the clocke I went on shore to the toppe of a very high hill, where I perceiued that this land was Islands: at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee weyed anker, hauing a faire North northeast winde, with very faire weather; at six of the clocke we were cleare without the land, and so shaped our course to the South, to discouer the coast, where by the passage may be through Gods mercy found.

Ilands.

We coasted this land till the eight and twentieth of August, finding it still to continue towards the South, from the latitude of 67. to 57. degrees: we found marueilous great store of birds, guls and mewes, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calme weather, we lay one glasse vpon the lee, to proue for fish, in which space we caught 100. of cod, although we were but badly prouided for fishing, not being our purpose. This eight and twentieth hauing great distrust of the weather, we arriued in a very faire harbour in the latitude of 56. degrees, and sailed 10. leagues into the same, being two leagues broad, with very faire woods on both sides: in this place wee continued vntil the first of September, in which time we had two very great stormes. I landed, & went sixe miles by ghesse into the countrey, and found that the woods were firre, pineapple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here wee saw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great store of birds, as fezant, partridge, Barbary hennes or the like, wilde geese, ducks, black birdes, ieyes, thrushes, with other kinds of small birds. Of the partridge and fezant we killed great store with bow and arrowes: in this place at the harborough mouth we found great store of cod.

They runne 8. dayes Southward from 67 to 57. degrees vpon the coast.

A harborough in 56. degrees.

Faire woods.

Store of cod.

The first of September at ten a clocke wee set saile, and coasted the shore with very faire weather. The thirde day being calme, at noone we strooke saile, and let fall a cadge anker, to proue whether we could take any fish, being in latitude 54. degrees 30. minuts, in which place we found great abundance of cod, so that the hooke was no sooner ouerboord, but presently a fish was taken. It was the largest and the best fed fish that euer I sawe, and diuers fisher men that were with me sayd that they neuer saw a more suaule or better skull of fish in their liues: yet had they seene great abundance.

The fourth of September at fiue a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great store of Isles, the countrey low land, pleasant and very full of fayre woods. To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the passage, finding a mightie great sea passing betweene two lands West. The South land to our iudgement being nothing but Isles: we greatly desired to goe into this sea, but the winde was directly against vs. We ankered in foure fathome fine sand. In this place is foule and fish mightie store.

A perfect hope of the passage about 54. degrees and an halfe.

The sixt of September hauing a faire Northnorthwest winde, hauing trimmed our Barke we purposed to depart, and sent fiue of our sailers yong men a shore to an Island, to fetch certaine fish which we purposed to weather, and therefore left it al night couered vpon the Isle: the brutish people of this countrey lay secretly lurking in the wood, and vpon the sudden assaulted our men; which when we perceiued, we presently let slip our cables vpon the halse, and vnder our foresaile bare into the shoare, and with all expedition discharged a double musket vpon them twise, at the noyse whereof they fled: notwithstanding to our very great griefe, two of our men were slaine with their arrowes, and two grieuously wounded, of whom at this present we stand in very great doubt, onely one escaped by swimming, with an arrow shot thorow his arme. These wicked miscreants neuer offered parly or speech, but presently executed their cursed fury.

Two of our men slaine by the Sauages.

This present euening it pleased God further to increase our sorowes with a mighty tempestuous storme, the winde being Northnortheast, which lasted vnto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We vnrigged our ship, and purposed to cut downe our masts, the cable of our shutanker brake, so that we onely expected to be driuen on shoare among these Canibals for their pray. Yet in this deepe distresse the mightie mercie of God, when hope was past, gaue vs succour, and sent vs a faire lee, so as we recouered our anker againe, and newe mored our ship; where we saw that God manifestly deliuered vs: for the straines of one of our cables were broken, and we only rode by an olde iunke. Thus being freshly mored a new storme arose, the winde being Westnorthwest, very forcible, which lasted vnto the tenth day at night.

The eleuenth day with a faire Westnorthwest winde we departed with trust in Gods mercie, shaping our course for England, and arriued in the West countrey in the beginning of October.

Master Dauis being arriued, wrote his letter to M. William Sanderson of London, concerning his voyage, as followeth.

Sir, the Sunneshine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: she hath bene at Island, and from thence to Groenland, and so to Estotiland, from thence to Desolation, and to our Marchants, where she made trade with the people, staying in the countrey twentie dayes. They haue brought home fiue hundred seale skinnes, and an hundred and fortie halfe skinnes and pieces of skinnes. I stand in great doubt of the pinnesse, God be mercifull vnto the poore men, and preserue them, if it be his blessed will.

I haue now experience of much of the Northwest part of the world, & haue brought the passage to that likelihood, as that I am assured it must bee in one of the foure places, or els not at all. And further I can assure you vpon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profite to the aduenturers, if I may haue but your fauour in the action. I hope I shall finde fauour with you to see your Card. I pray God it be so true as the Card shal be which I will bring you: and I hope in God, that your skill in Nauigation shall be gaineful vnto you, although at the first it hath not proued so. And thus with my humble commendations I commit you to God, desiring no longer to liue, then I shall be yours most faithfully to command. Exon this fourteenth of October. 1586.

Yours to command
IOHN DAVIS.

The relation of the course which the Sunshine a barke of fiftie tunnes, and the Northstarre a small pinnesse, being two vessels of the fleete of M. Iohn Dauis, helde after hee had sent them from him to discouer the passage betweene Groenland and Island, written by Henry Morgan seruant to M. William Sanderson of London.

May.

THe seuenth day of May 1586. wee departed out of Dartmouth hauen foure sailes, to wit, the Mermaid, the Sunshine, the Mooneshine, & the Northstarre. In the Sunshine were sixteene men, whose names were these: Richard Pope Master, Marke Carter Masters mate, Henry Morgan Purser, George Draward, Iohn Mandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Iane, Hugh Hempson, Richard Borden, Iohn Philpe, Andrew Madock, William Wolcome, Robert Wag carpenter, Iohn Bruskome, William Ashe, Simon Ellis.

Our course was Westnorthwest the seuenth and eight dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Tarrose of Silley. Thus coasting along the South part of Ireland the 11. day, we were on head of the Dorses: and our course was Southsouthwest vntill sixe of the clocke the 12. day. The 13. day our course was Northwest. We remained in the company of the Mermaid and the Mooneshine vntil we came to the latitude of 60. degrees: and there it seemed best to our Generall M. Dauis to diuide his fleete, himself sayling to the Northwest, and to direct the Sunshine, wherein I was, and the pinnesse called the Northstarre, to seeke a passage Northward between Groenland and Island to the latitude of 80. degrees, if land did not let vs. So the seuenth day of Iune wee departed from them: and the ninth of the same we came to a firme land of yce, which we coasted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleuenth dayes of Iune: and the eleuenth day at sixe of the clocke at night we saw land which was very high, which afterward we knew to be Island: and the twelft day we harboured there, and found many people: the land lyeth East and by North in 66. degrees.

M. Dauis in the latitude of 60. deg. diuideth his fleete into 2. parts.

The 7. of Iune.

Island descryed. 66. degrees.

Their commodities.

Their commodities were greene fish, and Island lings, and stockfish, and a fish which is called Scatefish: of all which they had great store. They had also kine, sheep and horses, and hay for their cattell, and for their horses. Wee saw also their dogs. Their dwelling houses were made on both sides with stones, and wood layd crosse ouer them, which was couered ouer with turfes of earth, and they are flat on the tops, and many of these stood hard by the shore.

Their dwellings.

Their boates were made with wood and yron all along the keele like our English boates: and they had nayles for to naile them withall, and fish-hookes and other things for to catch fish as we haue here in England. They had also brasen kettles, and girdles and purses made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets, and other small tooles as necessary as we haue. They drie their fish in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them vp in the top of their houses. If we would goe thither to fishing more then we doe, we should make it a very good voyage: for wee got an hundreth greene fish in one morning. Wee found heere two English men with a shippe, which came out of England about Easter day of this present yeere 1586, and one of them came aboord of vs, and brought vs two lambs. The English mans name was M. Iohn Roydon of Ipswich marchant: hee was bound for London with his ship. And this is the summe of that which I obserued in Island. We departed from Island the sixteenth day of Iune in the morning, and our course was Northwest, and we saw on the coast two small barkes going to an harborough: we went not to them, but saw them a farre off. Thus we continued our course vnto the end of this moneth.

Their boats.

M. Iohn Roydon of Ipswich.

They departed from Island Northwest.

The third day of Iuly we were in betweene two firme lands of yce, and passed in betweene them all that day vntill it was night: and then the Master turned backe againe, and so away we went towards Groenland. And the seuenth day of Iuly we did see Groenland, and it was very high and it looked very blew: we could not come to harborough into the land, because we were hindered by a firme land as it were of yce, which was along the shoares side: but we were within three leagues of the land, coasting the same diuers dayes together. The seuenteenth day of Iuly wee saw the place which our Captaine M. Iohn Dauis the yeere before had named The land of Desolation, where we could not goe on shore for yce. The eighteenth day we were likewise troubled with yce, and went in amongst it at three of the clocke in the morning. After wee had cleared our selues thereof, wee ranged all along the coast of Desolation vntill the ende of the aforesayd moneth.

Iuly.

Groenland discouered.

The land of Desolation.

Groenland coasted from the 7. till the last of Iuly.

The third day of August we came in sight of Gilberts sound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min. which was the place where wee were appoynted to meete our Generall and the rest of our Fleete. Here we came to an harborough at 6. of the clocke at night.

August.

The 4. day in the morning the Master went on shore with 10. of his men, and they brought vs foure of the people rowing in their boats aboord of the ship. And in the afternoone I went on shore with 6. of our men, and there came to vs seuen of them when we were on land. We found on shore three dead people, and two of them had their staues lying by them, and their olde skinnes wrapped about them and the other had nothing lying by, wherefore we thought it was a woman. We also saw their houses neere the Sea side, which were made with pieces of wood on both sides, and crossed ouer with poles and then couered ouer with earth: we found Foxes running vpon the hilles: as for the place it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Islands.

The houses of Groenland.

The 21. of August the Master sent the boate on shore for wood with sixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on shore to them, & they went about to kill them as we thought, for they shot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboord the ship, did see them goe on shore to our men: whereupon the Master sent the pinnesse after them, and when they saw the pinnesse comming towards them, they turned backe, and the Master of the pinnesse did shoote off a caliuer to them the same time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. Diuers times they did [illegible] shore to play with them at the football, and some of our company went on shore [illegible] them, and our men did cast them downe as soone as they did come to strike the [illegible]s much of that which we did see and do in that harborough where we arriued first. [illegible]y wee departed from the Merchants Isle, where wee had beene first, and our [illegible] thence was South & by West, and the wind was Northeast, and we ran that [illegible] about 5. or 6. leagues, vntill we came to another harborough.

Our men play at football with the Sauages.

[illegible]ut eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone wee entred into the aforesayd new [illegible] as wee came in, we did see dogs running vpon the Islands. When we were [illegible] came to vs foure of the people which were with vs before in the other harbo-

Sweete wood found.

rough, and where we rode, we had sandie ground. We saw no wood growing, but found small pieces of wood vpon the Islands, & some small pieces of sweete wood among the same. We found great Harts hornes, but could see none of the Stagges where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we receiued of the Sauages I cannot tell of what beasts they be.

The stones that we found in the countrey were black, and some white, as I thinke they be of no value, neuerthelesse I haue brought examples of them to you.

A skirmish between the Sauages and our men.

The 30. of August we departed from this harborough towards England, & the wind tooke vs contrary, so that we were faine to go to another harborough the same day at 11. of the clocke. And there came to vs 39. of the people, and brought vs 13. Seale skins, and after we receiued these skins of them, the Master sent the carpenter to change one of our boates which wee had bought of them before, and they would haue taken the boate from him perforce, and when they sawe they could not take it from vs, they shot with their dartes at vs, and stroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and Iohn Philpe shot one of them into the brest with an arrow. And they came to vs againe, and foure of our men went into the shipboate, and they shot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the shipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the brests, and he that was aboord our boat, was shot in with an arrow, and hurt with a sword, and beaten with staues, whome our men cast ouerboord, but the people caught him and carried him on shore vpon their boates, and the other two also, and so departed from vs. And three of them went on shore hard by vs, where they had their dogs, and those three came away from their dogs, and presently one of their dogs came swimming towards vs hard aboord the ship, whereupon our Master caused the Gunner to shoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and so the dog turned backe to land and within an houre after there came of the people hard aboord the ship, but they would not come to vs as they did come before.

The 31. of August we departed from Gylberts sound for England, and when we came out of the harborough there came after vs 17. of the people looking which way we went.

September.

The 2. of September we lost sight of the land at 12. of the clocke at noone.

The pinnesse neuer returned home.

The third day at Night we lost sight of the Northstarre our pinnesse in a very great storme, and lay a hull tarying for them the 4. day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we shaped our course the 5. day Southsoutheast, and sayling vntill the 27. of the sayd moneth, we came in sight of Cape Clere in Ireland.

The 30. day we entred into our owne chanell.

The 2. of October we had sight of the Isle of Wight.

The 3. we coasted all along the shore, and the 4. and 5.

The 6. of the said moneth of October wee came into the riuer of Th [illegible] liffe in safetie God be thanked.

The third voyage Northwestward, made by M. Iohn Dauis Gentlem [illegible] taine & Pilot generall, for the discouery of a passage to the [illegible] luccas, or the coast of China, in the yeere 1587. Written by [illegible]

May.

THe 19. of this present moneth about midnight wee weyed our a [illegible] departed from Dartmouth with two Barkes and a Clincher, the one na [illegible] Dartmouth, the other the Sunneshine of London, and the Clincher calle [illegible] dō: thus in Gods name we set forwards with the wind at Northeast [illegible] About 3. houres after our departure, the night being somewhat thicke [illegible] had lost the pinnesse: the Captaine imagining that the men had runne [illegible] ed the Master of the Sunshine to stand to Seawards, and see if we co [illegible] bearing in with the shore for Plimmouth. At length we descried her, b [illegible] manded what the cause was: they answered that the tiller of their helme [illegible]

west, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make
ing our course Westsouth vs were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that she was a Clinch-
a good ending, yet so our trust in God.
er; neuerthelesse et with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coast of Spaine, which
The 21. we we had bene men of warre, but we hailed th little
was afrayd that Master to carie our Lett directed to my vncl conference,
we desired the safe deliuerie. And after wee had heaued them a lead and Sanderson, who
promised vs a fast our letters, before they could get them into the ship a line, whereunto
wee had made our labour and theirs also was lost; notwithstanding they p they fell into the
Sea, and so at London, and so we departed, and the same day we had sig promised to certifie
our departure was at Northeast by East with faire weather, and so the 23. t of Silley. The
22. the wind layd our ships on the Lee for the Sunneshine, who was a and 24. the like.
The 25. we 0. strokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northwest. romaging for a leake,
they had 50 and 27. wee had faire weather, but this 27. the Pinnesses
The 26 The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinnesse, which was so much remast was blowen
ouerboor fore we came out of England, but at Sea she was like a bragged of by the
own d her because she could not cart drawen with
o asked if the pinnesse
p. This made vs saile for scant wind. swered that she
was e. were stanch, Peerson an sawe she would
broc othing glad, when we

Iune.

wea

THe first ner: after that for 5. dayes wee had fogge and raine,
the winde being had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunneshine and
the Master could Mariners would goe on their voyage a fishing, because the
yeere began to wa aster would not depart till hee had the companie of the Eliza-
beth, whereupon the told our Captaine that hee was afrayd his men would shape some
contrary course while he as asleepe, and so he should lose vs. At length after much talke
and many threatnings, they were content to bring vs to the land which we looked for daily.
The 14. day we discouered land at fiue of the clocke in the morning, being very great Land descried.
and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being couered with snow. Here the wind was va-
sometimes North east, Eastnortheast, and East by North: but we imagined our selues to
among or 17. leagues off from the shore.
16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke after noone, the people came
tly to vs after the old maner, with crying Ilyaoute, and shewing vs Seales skinnes.
17. we began to set vp the pinnesse that Peerson framed at Dartmouth, with the boords
ch hee brought from London.
18. Peerson and the Carpenters of the ships began to set on the plankes. The 19. as
about an Island, were found blacke Pumise stones, and salt kerned on the rockes Salt kerned on the rockes.
glistering. This day also the Master of the Sunneshine tooke of the people a
ng fellow.
of the clocke in the morning, the Sauages came to the Island where our
adie to bee launched, and tore the two vpper strakes, and carried them
ue of the yron in the boords. While they were about this practise, we
is boate to goe a shore to them: our men being either afrayd or amazed,
were so long they came to shore, that our Captaine willed them to stay, and made the
Gunner giue fire to a Saker, and layd the piece leuell with the boate which the Sauages had
turned on the one side because wee should not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the
boate their bulwarke against the arrowes which we shot at them. Our Gunner hauing made
all things readie, gaue fire to the piece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding
the owners profite, thought belike hee would saue a Sakers shot, doubting wee should haue
occasion to fight with men of warre, and so shot off the Saker without a bullet: we looking
stil when the Sauages t ere hurt should run away without legs, at length wee could per-
ceiue

M. Iohn Dauis. 3.

ceiue neuer a ma hurt, but all hauing their legges could carie aw
no sooner shot off the piece, but the Master of the Sunneshine r ay their bodies: wee had
rowing toward the Island, the very sight of whom made each of hanned his boate, and came
ten, and flee awa as fast as they could to another Island about two miles of that hee had got-
the nayies out of ft the wood on the Isle. When we came o here they tooke
led the boat, after m of the matter, we agreed shore, and saw
how they had spo her to fish withall: wherevpon she was presently carye that the Eliza-
beth should haue d aboord, and
stowed. trouble, being resolued to depart with the first wind, there
Now after this then all the rest, and that was in this maner. Iohn Churchy fell out ano-
ther matter worse appoynted as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and one whom
our Captaine had the good ship which we must all hazard our liues in, had th Master Bru-
ton, and told them th as she rode in the harbour: This disquieted vs all greatly. ee hundred
strokes at one timer. At length our Captaine by whom we were all to be goue and many
doubted to goe in h his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and di ed, deter-
mined rather to en wee purposed to liue and die together, and committed and so
being all agreed, our things aboord, about the
ship. Now the 2 ose Isles, which lie in t
Isles in 64. degrees. night, we set sai 1. hauing brought al our course to goe our
ships being now a e and departed from th d the shore of th-
wards vpon the Easterne Sea, and wee shap calle here wee we
met with people which traffique, which vs, but of our
ship. had

Store of Whales In 67. degrees. The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, wee , and a kinde of sea birds which the Mariners call Cortinous. This da clocke at night, we espied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking y had bene two great Seales, vntill wee sawe their oares glistering with the S y came rowing towardes vs, as fast as they could, and when they came within hearin held vp their oares, and cryed Ilyaoute, making many signes: and at last they came vs, giuing vs birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Vnicorns horne, as I did iudge. This dart he made store of, but when he saw a knife, he let it go, being more desirous of the knife then of his dart: these people continued rowing after our ship the space of 3. houres.

The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we descried 30. sauages rowing after vs, by iudgement 10. leagues off from the shore: they brought vs Salmon Peales, Bird Caplin, and we gaue them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, kniues, bels, looking glasses, other small trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call *Ponigmah*, they wo sell their boate, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the shore. had but few skinnes of them, about 20. but they made signes to vs that if wee would the shore, wee should haue more store of Chichsanege: they stayed with vs till clocke, at which time wee went to prayer, and they departed from vs.

The 28. and 29. were foggie with cloudes, the 30. day wee tooke t
72. deg. 12. min. our selues in 72. degrees and 12 minutes of latitude both at noone and
The great variation of the compasse. being 5. degrees aboue the Horizon. At midnight the compasse set to th
grees to the Westward. Now hauing coasted the land, which wee calle
London coast. the 21. of this present, till the 30. the Sea open all to the Westwards
Betweene Groniand & the North of America about 40. leagues. land on starboord side East from vs, the winde shifted to the North, wh
shore, naming the same Hope Sanderson, and shaped our course West, and
and better without the sight of any land.

Iuly.

A mightie banke of yce lying North and South. THe second of Iuly wee fell with a mightie banke of yce West from vs, South, which banke wee would gladly haue doubled out to the Northwards, would not suffer vs, so that we were faine to coast it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out, that wee might haue run so farre West till wee had found land, or els to haue beene thorowly resolued of our pretended purpose.

The 3. wee fell with the yce againe, and putting off from it, we sought to the Northwards, but the wind crossed vs.

The 4. was foggie: so was the 5. also with much wind at the North.

The 6. being very cleare, we put our barke with oares through a gap in the yce, seeing the Sea free on the West side, as we thought, which falling out otherwise, caused vs to returne after we had stayed there betweene the yce. The 7. and the 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recouered the open Sea, the weather being faire and calme, and so was the 9. The 10. we coasted the yce. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

The 12. we coasted againe the yce, hauing the wind at Northnorthwest. The 13. bearing off from the yce, we determined to goe with the shoare and come to an anker, and to stay 5. or 6. dayes for the dissoluing of the yce, hoping that the Sea continually beating it, and the Sunne with the extreme force of heat which it had alwayes shining vpon it, would make a quicke dispatch, that we might haue a further search vpon the Westerne shore. Now when we were come to the Easterne coast, the water something deepe, and some of our companie fearefull withall, we durst not come to an anker, but bare off into the Sea againe. The poore people seeing vs goe away againe, came rowing after vs into the Sea, the waues being somewhat loftie. We truckt with them for a few skinnes and dartes, and gaue them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles and cardes, they poynting to the shore, as though they would shew vs some great friendship: but we little regarding their curtesie, gaue them the gentle farewell, and so departed.

Extreme heate of the Sunne.

The 14. wee had the wind at South. The 15. there was some fault either in the barke, or the set of some current, for wee were driuen sixe points beyond our course West. The 16. wee fell with the banke of yce West from vs. The 17. and 18. were foggie. The 19. at one a clocke after noone, wee had sight of the land which we called Mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, we were thwart the streights which we discouered the first yeere. The 20. wee trauersed in the mouth of the streight, the wind being at West, with faire and cleare weather. The 21. and 22. wee coasted the Northerne coast of the streights. The 23. hauing sayled threescore leagues Northwest into the streights, at two a clocke after noone wee ankered among many Isles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the same The Earle of Cumberlands Isles, where riding at anker, a Whale passed by our ship and went West in among the Isles. Heere the compasse set at thirtie degrees Westward variation. The 2[illegible]. wee departed, shaping our course Southeast to recouer the Sea. The 25. wee were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the ayre being extreme hot. Master Bruton and some of the Mariners went on shoare to course dogs, where they found many Graues and Trane spilt on the ground, the dogs being so fat that they were scant able to run.

They were driuen West sixe points out of their course in 67. degrees, 45. minutes.

Mount Raleigh.

The Earle of Cumberlands Isles.

The variation of the compasse 30. deg. Westward.

The 26. wee had a prety storme, the winde being at Southeast. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the streights, hauing coasted the South shore, and this day at noone we were in 62. degrees of latitude. The 30. in the afternoone wee coasted a banke of yce, which lay on the shore, and passed by a great banke or Inlet, which lay between 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumlies Inlet. We had oftentimes as we sailed alongst the coast, great ruttes, the water as it were whirling and ouerfalling, as if it were the fall of some great water through a bridge.

The land trendeth from this place Southwest and by South.

My lord Lumleys Inlet.

The 31. as we sayled by a Headland, which we named Warwicks Foreland, we fell into one of those ouerfals with a fresh gale of wind, and bearing all our sailes, wee looking vpon an Island of yce betweene vs and the shoare, had thought that our barke did make no way, which caused vs to take markes on the shoare: at length wee perceiued our selues to goe very fast, and the Island of yce which we saw before, was carried very forcibly with the set of the current faster then our ship went. This day and night we passed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roaring as it were the meetings of tydes.

Warwicks Foreland.

A very forcible current Westward.

August.

THe first of August hauing coasted a banke of ice which was driuen out at the mouth of this gulfe, we fell with the Southermost cape of the gulfe, which we named Chidleis cape, which lay in 61 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude. The 2 and 3 were calme and foggie, so were the 4, 5, and 6. The 7 was faire and calme: so was the 8, with a litle gale in the morning. The 9 was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10 we had a frisking gale at Westnorthwest. The 11 faire. The 12 we saw fiue deere on the top of an Island, called by vs Darcies Island. And we hoised out our boat, and went ashore to them, thinking to haue killed some of them. But when we came on shore, and had coursed them twise about the Island, they tooke the sea and swamme towards Islands distant from that three leagues. When we perceiued that they had taken the sea we gaue them ouer because our boat was so small that it could not carrie vs, and rowe after them, they swamme so fast: but one of them was as bigge as a good prety Cow, and very fat, their feet as bigge as Oxe feet. Here vpon this Island I killed with my piece a gray hare.

Childleys cape.

The lord Darcies Island.

The 13 in the morning we saw three or foure white beares, but durst not go on shore to them for lacke of a good boat. This day we stroke a rocke seeking for an harborow, and receiued a leake: and this day we were in 54 degrees of latitude.

The 14 we stopt our leake in a storme not very outragious, at noone.

The 15 being almost in 52 degrees of latitude, and not finding our ships, nor (according to their promise) any kinde of marke, token, or beacon, which we willed them to set vp, and they protested to do so vpon euery head land, Island or cape, within twenty leagues euery way off from their fishing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54 and 55 degrees: This 15 I say we shaped our course homewards for England, hauing in our ship but litle wood, and halfe a hogshead of fresh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man more forward then Peerson, for he feared to be put out of his office of stewardship: but because euery man was so willing to depart, we consented to returne for our owne countrey: and so we had the 16 faire weather, with the winde at Southwest.

The fishing place betweene 54 and 55 degrees of latitude.

The 17 we met a ship at sea, and as farre as we could iudge it was a Biskaine: we thought she went a fishing for whales; for in 52 degrees or thereabout we saw very many.

A whaundance of degrees in 52

The 18 was faire, with a good gale at West.

The 19 faire also, with much winde at West and by South.

And thus after much variable weather and change of winds we arriued the 15 of September at Dartmouth anno 1587, giuing thanks to God for our safe arriuall.

They arriue at Dartmouth the 15 of September.

A letter of the sayd M. Iohn Dauis written to M. Sanderson of London concerning his forewritten voyage.

Good M. Sanderson, with Gods great mercy I haue made my safe returne in health, with all my company, and haue sailed threescore leagues further then my determination at my departure. I haue bene in 73 degrees, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easie, as at my comming you shall fully know.

Yesterday the 15 of September I landed all weary; therefore I pray you pardon my shortnesse.

Sandridge this 16 of September anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which
by triall you shall best know,
IOHN DAVIS.

A Trauerse-

A Traverse-Booke made by M. Iohn Davis in his third voyage for the discouerie of the North-west passage. Anno 1587.

Moneth. May.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
	19		W. S. W. Westerly.		50	30	N. E.	This day we departed from Dartmouth at two of the clocke at night.
	20							
	21	35	W. S. W. Westerly.	50	50		N. E.	This day we descried Silly N. W. by W. from vs.
	22	15	W. N. W.	14			N. E. by E.	This day at noone we departed from Silly.
	22	6	W. N. W.	6			N. E. by E.	
	22	3	W. N. W.	2				
	23	15	N. W. by W.	18			N. E.	
	23	39	W. N. W.	36	50	40		The true course, distance, and latitude.
		3	W. N. W.	2			N. N. E.	
		5	N. W. by W.	5			N. E. by N.	
		3	W. N. W.	3			N. N. E.	
		12	W. N. W.	12			N. E.	
Noone the 24		24	W. N. W. Northerly.	25	51	16		The true course, distance and latitude.
		3	W. N. W.	3			N. N. E.	
		3	W. N. W.	2½			N. by E.	
		6	W. by N.	5			N.	
		6	W. by N.	5			N.	
		2	S.	½			N.	Now we lay vpon the lee for the Sunshine, which had taken a leake of 50[illegible]kes in a watch.
Noone the 25		24	W. by N.	20	51	30		The true course, distance and latitude.
		3	W.	3			N. N. W.	
		3	W. S. W.	2			N. W.	
		1	S. W.	1			W. N. W.	
		2	W. N. W.	1½			N.	
		3	W. N. W.	1½			N.	
		3					Calme.	
		4	W. N. W.	4			S. S. E.	
		5	W.	6			S. S. E.	
Noone the 26		24	W. by N. Westerly.	23	51	40		The true course, distance, &c.
		11	W.	15			S. S. E.	
		6	W. N. W.	2			S. S. E.	We lay at hull with much winde, raine, and fog.
		7	W.	5			S. E.	
Noone the 27		24	W. Northerly.	23				The common course supposed.
Noone the 28		24	W.	20	52	13	E. S. E.	We towed the pinnesse 18 houres of this day.
Noone the 28		28	W. by N. Northerly.	43	52	13		The true course, distance, &c.
Noone the 29		24	N. W.	30			S. by E.	
		6	N. W.	10			S.	
		3	N. by W.	2			W. by N.	
		3	W. by W.	3			W. by S.	
		12	N. W.	12			S. S. W.	
Noone the 30		48	N. W. by N.	65	54	50		The true course, &c.
		9	N. W.	12			S. W.	

Moneth. May.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
		9	N. W. by W.	12			S. S. W.	
		3	W. N. W.	3			N. N. E.	
		3	W. by N.	4			N.	
	30	24	W. N. W. Northerly.	27	55	30		The true course, &c.
Iune	1	12	W.	10			N. N. W.	
		9	N. W.	8			E. N. E.	
		3	N. W.	9½			E. N. E.	
	1	24	W. N. W. Westerly.	17	55	45		The true course, &c.
		12	N. W.	16			E. S. E.	
		6	N. W.	7			S.	
		6	N. W.	8			S. S. W.	
Noone the	2	24	N. W. Northerly.	32	56	55		The true course &c.
Noone the	5	72	W. by S. southerly.	45	56	20		The true course, &c. drawne from diuers trauerses.
Noone the	6	24	S. W.	16			W. N. W.	
		7	S. W. by W.	6			W. by N.	
		5					Calme.	
		3	W. N. W.	1			S.	
Noone the	7	9	W. N. W.	12			S.	
		12	W. N. W.	20			S.	
		3	W. N. W.	4			S.	
Noone the	8	9	W. N. W.	7			S.	
		12	W. N. W.	3			S.	
Noone the	9	12	W. N. W.	15			S. E.	
Noone the	9	96	W. by N. northerly.	86	57	30		The true course, distance, & latitude for 96 houres.
		3	W. N. W.	4			S. E.	
		5	W. N. W.	2			S. E.	
		6	W. N. W.	1			Calme.	
Noone the	10	12	W. N. W.	16½			E.	
		7	W. N. W.	12			E.	
		2	N. W.	2			E.	
Noone the	11	15	N. W.	18			E. N. E.	
		12	N. W.	12			E. N. E.	
		12	N. W.	13			E. by S.	
Noone the	12	72	N. W. by W. northerly.	78	59	50		The true course, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	13	24	N. N. W. Westerly.	26	60	58	E. by N.	
Noone the	14	24	N. N. W.	32	62	30	N. E.	This day in the morning at fiue of the clocke we discouered land being distant from vs at the neerest place sixteene leagues. This land in generall lay Northwest and to the Westwards, being very mountainous. The winde was this day variable; and the aire sometime foggie, and sometime cleere. The foresayd land bare from vs (so neere as we could iudge) North, Northwest, and Southeast.
		9	W. N. W.	7			N.	
		3	N. W.	2			N. N. E.	
		3	N. W. by N.	2			N. E. by N.	
	13	9	N. N. W.	8			N. E.	
Noone the	15	24	N. W. Northerly.	22	63	20		The true course, &c.
Noone the	16	24	N. N. E. Easterly.	14	64			The true course, &c. This 16 of Iune at 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, being in the latitude of 64 degrees, through Gods helpe we came to an anker among many low islands which lay before the high land. This 17 of Iune we set vp our pinnesse. The 20 she was spoiled by the Sauages. At midnight the 21 of Iune we departed from this coast, our two barks for their fishing voyage, and my selfe in the pinnesse for the discouery. From midnight the 21 we shaped our course as followeth.*
	17							
	20							
* At midnight ye	21	6	W. N. W.	7			S. E.	
Noone the	22	4	N. W.	6			S. E.	
		13	N. W.	19			S. E.	
		11	N.	13			S. E.	At this time we saw great store of whales.
Noone the	23	36	N. W. by N.	32	65	40		The true course, &c.

Noone

Moneth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole. Deg.	Min.	The winds.	THE DISCOVRSE.
Iune. Noone the	24	24	N. by E. Northerly.	41	67	40	S. S. E.	The true course, &c. Here the weather was very hot. This 24 of Iune at 6 of the clocke at night we met two sauages at sea in their small canoas, vnto whom we gaue bracelets, and nailes, for skins & birds. At 9 of the clocke they departed from vs. The next day at 7 of the clocke in the morning, there came vnto vs 30 sauages 20 leagues off the shore, intreating vs to goe to the shore. We had of them fish, birds, skinnes, darts, and their coats from their backs, for bracelets, nailes, kniues &c. They remained with vs foure houres, and departed.
	2							
Noone the	26	48	N.				S.	
		3	N. W.	2			S. W.	
		7	N. N. E.	10			S.	
		6	N.	8			S. W.	
		8	W. N. W.	5			S. E.	
Noone the	27	72	N. Westerly.	52	70	4		The true course for, &c. 72 houres.
Noone the	29	72	N.	43	72	12		The true course, &c. Since the 21 of this moneth I haue continually coasted the shore of Gronland, hauing the sea all open towards the West, and the land on yͤ starboord side East from me. For these last 4 dayes the weather hath bene extreame hot and very calme, the Sun being 5 degrees aboue the horizon at midnight. The compasse in this place varieth 28 degrees toward yͤ West.
	30							
Iuly	1	30	W. by S. Westerly.	44	71	36	N. W. by N.	The true course, &c. This day at noone wee coasted a mighty banke of ice West from vs.
	2	24	S. E.	12	71	9		
Noone the	3	8	N. N. W.	17	71	40	N.	This day we fell againe with the ice, seeking to double it out by the North.
Noone the	5	48	S. S. E.	36	70		N.	The true course, &c.
	6	24	S. S. W.	22	69		Variable.	The true course, &c. This 6 of of Iuly we put our barke thorow the ice, seeing the sea free on the West side: and hauing sailed 5 leagues West, we fell with another mighty barre, which we could not passe: and therefore returning againe, we freed our selues the 8 of this moneth at midnight, and so recouered the sea through Gods fauour, by faire winds, the weather being very calme.
	7							
	8							
Noone the	9	72	E. S. E.	7	68	50	Calme.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	10	24	S. E. by S.	8	68	30	E. by N.	The true course, &c. This day we coasted the ice.
Noone the	11	24	E. N. E.	11½	68	45	Variable.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	12	24	S. S. E.	16	68		N. N. W.	The true course, &c.
	13	24	E. by S.	20			S.	This day the people came to vs off the shore, and bartered with vs. Being within the Isles, & not finding good ankorage, we bare off againe into the sea.
Noone the	14	24	W. by N.	11	67	50	S.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	15	24	W. S. W.	5	67	45	E.	The true course, &c. This day a great current set vs West 6 points from our course.
Noone the	16	24	S. W. by W. westerly.	23	67	10	S.	The true course, &c. This day we fell wᵗ a mighty banke of ice West of vs.
Noone the	18	48	S. by W.	30	65	33	N. fog.	The true course, &c. Collected by diuers experiments.
Noone the	19	24	W. southerly.	13	65	30	S. fog.	The true course, &c. This 19 of Iuly at one a clocke in the afternoone we had sight of the land of Mount Ralegh, and by 12. of the clocke at night wee were thwart the Streights which (by Gods helpe) I discouered the first yere.
	20							The 20 day wee trauersed in the mouth of the sayd Streights with a contrary winde, being West and faire weather.
	23							This 23 day at 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, hauing sailed 60 leagues Northwest, we ankered among an huge number of isles lying in the bottome of the sayd supposed passage, at which place the water riseth 4 fademe vpright. Here as we rode at anker, a great whale passed by vs, and swam West in among the isles. In this place a S. W. by W. moone maketh, a full sea. Here the compasse varied 30 degrees.
	24							The 24 day at 5 of the clocke in the morning we set saile, departing from this place, and shaping our course S. E. to recouer the maine Ocean againe.
	25							This 25 we were becalmed almost in the bottome of the Streights, & had the weather maruellous extreame hot.
	26							
	27						S. E.	This day being in the Streights, we had a very quicke storme.
Noone the	29						S.	Being still in the Streight, we had this day faire weather.
Noone the	30	24			64			At this present we got cleere of the Streights, hauing coasted the South shore, the land trending from hence S. W. by S.
			S. S. W.	22	63			This day we coasted the shore, a banke of ice lying thereupon. Also this 30 of Iuly in the afternoone we crossed ouer the entrance or mouth of a great inlet or passage, being 20 leagues broad, and situate betweene 62 & 63 degrees. In which place we had 8 or 9 great rases, currents or ouerfals, lothsomly crying like the rage of the waters vnder London bridge, and bending their course into the sayd gulfe.

Month.	Dayes.	Houres.	Course.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the Pole. Deg.	Min.	The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
Iuly.								
	31	24	S. by W.	27	62		N. W.	This 31 at noone, comming close by a foreland or great cape, we fell into a mighty rase, where an island of ice was carried by the force of the current as fast as our barke could saile with lum wind, all sailes bearing. This cape as it was the most Southerly limit of the gulfe which we passed ouer the 30 day of this moneth, so was it the North promontory or first beginning of another very great inlet, whose South limit at this present wee saw not. Which inlet or gulfe this afternoone, and in the night, we passed ouer: where to our great admiration we saw the sea falling downe into the gulfe with a mighty ouerfal, and roring, and with diuers circular motions like whirlepooles, in such sort as forcible streames passe thorow the arches of bridges.
August.								
Noone the	1	24	S. E. by S.	16	61	10	W. S. W.	The true course, &c. This first of August we fell with the promontory of the sayd gulfe or second passage, hauing coasted by diuers courses for our sauegard, a great banke of the ice driuen out of that gulfe.
Noone the	3	48	S. S. E.	16	60	26	Variable.	
Noone the	6	72	S. E. Southerly.	22	59	35	Variable w^{t} calme.	The true course, &c.
	7	24	S. S. E.	22	58	40	W. S. W.	The true course, &c.
	8	24	S. E.	13	58	12	W. fog.	The true course, &c.
	9	24	S. by W.	13	57	30	Variable & calme.	The true course, &c.
	10	24	S. S. E.	17	56	40	S. W. by W.	The true course, &c.
	11	24	S. E. easterly.	40	55	13	W. N. W.	The true course, &c.
	12	24	S. E. easterly.	20	54	32	W. S. W.	The true course, &c.
	13	24	S. S. E.	4	54		N. W.	This day seeking for our ships that went to fish, we strooke on a rocke, being among many iles, and had a great leake.
Noone the	14	24	S. S. E.	28	52	40	N. W.	This day we stopped our leake in a storme. The 15 of August at noon, being in the latitude of 52 degrees 12. min. and 16 leagues from the shore, we shaped our course for England, in Gods name, as followeth.*
* Noone y^{e}	15				52	12	S. S. W.	The true latitude.
	16	20	E. S. E. halfe point S.	50	51		S. W.	The true course, &c.
	17	24	E. by S.	30	50	40	S.	The true course, &c. This day vpon the Banke we met a Biscaine bound either for the Grand Bay or for the passage. He chased vs.
	18	24	E. by N. northerly.	49	51	18	W.	The true course, &c.
	19	24	E. halfe point north.	51	51	35	Variable W. & S.	The true course, &c.
	20	24	E. S. E.	31	50	50	S. W.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	22	48	E. by N.	68	51	30	S. S. W.	The true course, &c.
	23	24	E. by N. Northerly.	33	51	52	S.	The true course, &c.
	24	24	E. by N.	31	52	19	Variable.	The true course, &c. This 24 of August obseruing the variation, I found the compasse to vary towards the East, from the true *Meridian*, one degree.
Noone the	27	72	E. Northerly.	40	52	22	Variable & calme.	The true course, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	29	48	E. S. E.	47	51	28	Variable W. & N.	The true course, &c.
Noone the	31	48	S. E. by E. Easterly.	14	51	9	Variable.	The true course, &c.
September	2	48	E. Southerly.	65	51		N. W.	The true course, &c.
	3	24	E. by S. Easterly.	24	50	50	W. N. W.	The true course, &c.
	4	24	S. E. by E.	20	50	21	N. N. E.	The true course, &c.
	5	24	S. E. by E.	18	49	48	N. N. E.	The true course, &c. Now we supposed our selues to be 55 leagues frō Sillie.
	6	24	E. by S.	15	49	40	N.	The true course, &c.
	7	24	E. S. E.	20	49	15	N. N. W.	The true course, &c.
	8	24	N. E.	18	49	40		
	9	24	W. S. W.	7	49	32		
	10	24	S. E. by E.	8½	49	28	Variable.	
	11	24	N. E. by E.	10	49	45	Variable.	
	12	24	N. W. by W.	6	50		N. E.	
	13	24	E. by S. southerly.	15	49	47	N. E.	
	15							This 15 of Septēber 1587 we arriued at Dartmouth.

Vnder the title of the houres, where any number exceedeth 24, it is the summe or casting vp of so many other dayes and parts of dayes going next before, as conteine the foresayd summe.

A report of Master Iohn Dauis of his three Voyages made for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, taken out of a Treatise of his, Intituled the worlds Hydrographicall description.

NOw there onely resteth the North parts of America, vpon which coast my selfe haue had most experience of any in our age: for thrise I was that waye imployed for the discouery of this notable passage, by the honourable care and some charge of Syr Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretary to her Maiestie, with whom diuers noble men and worshipfull marchants of London ioyned in purse and willingnesse for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

The 1. voyage.

In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and hauing no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell vpon the shore which in ancient time was called Groenland, fiue hundred leagues distant from the Durseys Westnorthwest Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with snow, no viewe of wood, grasse or earth to be seene, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of yce as that no shipping could by any meanes come neere the same. The lothsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceites among vs, so that we supposed the place to be wast and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation: so coasting this shore towards the South in the latitude of sixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, I still followed the leading thereof in the same height, and after fifty or sixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I still followed, and in thirtie leagues sayling vpon the West side of this coast by me named Desolation, we were past al the yce and found many greene & pleasant Iles bordering vpon the shore, but the hils of the maine were still couered with great quantities of snow, I brought my ship among those Isles and there moored to refresh our selues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees or thereabout. The people of the countrey hauing espied our shippes came downe vnto vs in their Canoas, and holding vp their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would strike their breasts: we doing the like the people came aboard our shippes, men of good stature, vnbearded, small eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as signes would permit, we vnderstood that towards the North and West there was a great sea, and vsing the people with kindenes in giuing them nayles and kniues which of all things they most desired, we departed, and finding the sea free from yce supposing our selues to be past al daunger we shaped our course Westnorthwest thinking thereby to passe for China, but in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees we fell with another shore, and there found another passage of twenty leagues broad directly West into the same, which we supposed to be our hoped straight, we entred into the same thirtie or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor streighten, then considering that the yeere was spent (for this was the fine of August) not knowing the length of the straight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our best course to returne with notice of our good successe for this small time of search. And so returning in a sharpe fret of Westerly windes the 29. of September we arriued at Dartmouth. And acquainting Master Secretary Walsingham with the rest of the honourable and worshipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the second yere to search the bottome of this straight, because by all likelihood it was the place and passage by vs laboured for. In this second attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the West became aduenturers in the action, so that being sufficiently furnished for sixe moneths, and hauing direction to search these straights, vntill we found the same to fall into another sea vpon the West side of this part of America, we should againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but shipping with trade might safely be conueied to China, and the parts of Asia. We departed from Dartmouth, and arriuing vpon the South part of the coast of Desolation coasted the same vpon his West shore to the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees, and there anchored among the Isles

The 2. voyage.

bordering vpon the same, where we refreshed our selues, the people of this place came likewise vnto vs, by whom I vnderstood through their signes that towards the North the sea was large. At this place the chiefe ship whereupon I trusted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occasions of discontentment, and being vnwilling to proceed shee there forsook me. Then considering how I had giuen my faith and most constant promise to my worshipfull good friend Master William Sanderson, who of all men was the greatest aduenturer in that action, and tooke such care for the performance thereof, that he hath to my knowledge at one time disbursed as much money as any fiue others whatsoeuer, out of his owne purse, when some of the companie haue bene slacke in giuing in their aduenture: And also knowing that I should loose the fauour of M. Secretary Walsingham, if I should shrink from his direction; in one small barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof M. Sanderson was owner, alone without farther company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at these straights followed the same 80. leagues, vntill I came among many Islands, where the water did ebbe and flow sixe fadome vpright, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by such things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had vsed that trade: in fine by searching with our boat, we found small hope to passe any farther that way, and therefore recouered the sea and coasted the shore towards the South, and in so doing (for it was too late to search towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entred in with violent swiftnesse, this we also thought might be a passage: for no doubt the North partes of America are all Islands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but because I was alone in a small barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere spent, I entred not into the same, for it was now the seuenth of September, but coasting the shore towardes the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fishermen aboord our Barke they all concluded that there was a great skull of fish, we being vnprouided of fishing furniture with a long spike nayle made a hooke, and fastened the same to one of our sounding lines, before the baite was changed we tooke more then fortie great Cods, the fish swimming so abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a small portion of salt that we had, we preserved some thirtie couple, or thereaboutes, and so returned for England. And hauing reported to M. Secretarie Walsingham the whole successe of this attempt, he commanded me to present vnto the most honourable Lord high Treasurour of England, some part of that fish: which when his Lordship saw, and heard at large the relation of this second attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduising me to prosecute the action, of which his Lordship conceiued a very good opinion. The next yere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Westerne marchants, and most of those in London: yet some of the aduenturers both honourable & worshipfull continued their willing fauour and charge, so that by this meanes the next yere two shippes were appointed for the fishing and one pinnesse for the discouerie.

The North partes of America, all Islands.

The 3. voyage.

Departing from Dartmouth, through Gods mercifull fauour, I arriued at the place of fishing, and there according to my direction I left the two ships to follow that busines, taking their faithful promise not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which should be in the fine of August, and so in the barke I proceeded for the discouerie: but after my departure, in sixeteene dayes the two shippes had finished their voyage, and so presently departed for England, without regard of their promise: my selfe not distrusting any such hard measure proceeded for the discouerie, and followed my course in the free and open sea betweene North and Northwest to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might see America West from me, and Gronland, which I called Desolation, East: then when I saw the land of both sides I began to distrust it would prooue but a gulfe: notwithstanding desirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the passage enlarged, so that I could not see the Westerne shore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees in a great sea, free from yce, coasting the Westerne shore of Desolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fishes dryed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-base and such like, besides diuers kinds of birds, as Partrige, Fesant, Guls, Sea birds and other kindes of flesh: I still laboured by signes to know from them what they knew of any sea toward the North, they still made signes of a great sea as we vnderstood them, thē I departed from that coast, thinking to discouer the North parts of America: & after I had sailed towards the West 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was constrained to coast the same toward the South, not seeing any shore West from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great sea, free, large very salt and blew, & of an vnsearchable depth: So coasting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ships to fish, but found them not. Then being forsaken & left in this distresse referring my self to the mercifull prouidence of God, I shaped my course for England, & vnhoped for of any, God alone releeuing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this last discouery it seemed most manifest that the passage was free & without impediment toward the North: but by reason of the Spanish fleet & vnfortunate time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted & neuer sithens attempted. The cause why I vse this particular relation of all my proceedings for this discouery, is to stay this obiection, why hath not Dauis discouered this passage being thrise that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded & in what forme this discouery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which M. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserueth great fauor & commendations.

The discouerie of the Isles of Frisland, Iseland, Engroneland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria: made by two brethren, namely M. Nicholas Zeno, and M. Antonio his brother: Gathered out of their letters by M. Francisco Marcolino.

IN the yere of our Lord 1200 there was in the Citie of Venice a famous Gentleman, named Messer Marino Zeno, who for his great vertue and singular wisdome, was called and elected gouernour in certaine common wealths of Italy: in the administration whereof he bore himselfe so discretly, that he was beloued of all men, and his name greatly reuerenced of those that neuer knew or saw his person. And amongst sundry his worthy workes, this is recorded of him, that he pacified certaine grieuous ciuile dissentions that arose among the citizens of Verona: whereas otherwise, if by his graue aduise and great diligence they had not bene preuented, the matter was likely to breake out into hot broyles of warre. He was the first Podesta, or Ruler, that the Common wealth of Venice appointed in Constantinople in the yeere 1205 when our state had rule thereof with the French Barons. This Gentleman had a sonne named Messer Pietro, who was the father of the Duke Rinieri, which Duke dying without issue, made his heire M. Andrea, the sonne of M. Marco his brother. This M. Andrea was Captaine Generall and Procurator, a man of great reputation for many rare partes, that were in him. He had a sonne M. Rinieri, a worthy Senatour and prudent Counsellour: of whom descended M. Pietro Captaine Generall of the league of the Christians against the Turkes, who was called Dragon, for that in his shield, in stead of a Manfrone which was his armes at the first, he bare a Dragon. He was father to M. Carlo Il grande the famous Procurator and Captaine generall against the Genowayes in those cruell warres, when as almost all the cheife Princes of Europe did oppugne and seeke to ouerthrow our Empire and libertie, wherein by his great valiancie and prowesse, as Furius Camillus deliuered Rome, so he deliuered his countrey from the present perill it was in, being ready to become a pray and spoile vnto the enemie: wherefore he was afterward surnamed the Lyon, and for an eternall remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gaue the Lyon in his armes. M. Carlo had two brethren, M. Nicolo, the knight and M. Antonio, the father of M. Dragon, of whom issued M. Caterino, the father M. Pietro da i Grocecchieri. This M. Pietro had sonnes M. Caterino, that died the last yere, being brother vnto M. Francisco, M. Carlo, M. Battista, and M. Vincenzo: Which M. Caterino was father to M. Nicolo, that is yet liuing.

Now M. Nicolo, the knight, being a man of great courage, after this aforesaid Genouan warre of Chioggia that troubled so our predecessours, entred into a great desire and fansie to see the fashions of the worlde and to trauell and acquaint himselfe with the maners of sundry nations and learne their languages, whereby afterwards vpon occasions he might be the better able to doe seruice to his countrey, and purchase to himselfe credite and honour. Wherefore he caused a ship to be made, and hauing furnished her at his proper charges

The ship of M. N. Zeno cast away vpon Frisland in Anno 1380.

A forraine prince happing to be in Frisland with armed men, when M. Zeno suffered shipwracke there came vnto him and spake Latine.

Zichmni prince of Porland or Duke of Zorani.

charges (as he was very wealthy) he departed out of our seas and passing the straites of Gibraltar, he sailed for certaine dayes vpon the Ocean, keeping his course still to the Northwards, with intent to see England and Flanders. Where being assalted in those Seas by a terrible tempest, he was so tossed for the space of many dayes with the sea and winde, that he knew not where he was, till at length he discouered land, and not being able any longer to susteine the violence of the tempest the ship was cast away vpon the Isle of Friseland. The men were saued, and most part of the goods that were in the ship. And this was in the yere 1380. The inhabitants of the Island came running in great multitudes with weapons to set vpon M. Nicolo and his men, who being sore weather-beaten and ouerlaboured at sea, and not knowing in what part of the world they were, were not able to make any resistance at all, much lesse to defend themselues couragiously, as it behooued them in such a dangerous case. And they should haue bene doubtlesse very discourteously intreated and cruelly handled, if by good hap there had not beene hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who vnderstanding that there was euen at that present a great ship cast away vpon the Island, came runing at the noyse and outcryes that they made against our poore Mariners, and dryuing away the inhabitants, spake in Latine and asked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceiuing that they came from Italy and that they were men of the sayd Countrey, he was surprised with maruelous great ioy. Wherefore promising them all, that they should receiue no discourtesie, and that they were come into a place where they should be well vsed and very welcome, he tooke them into his protection vpon his faith. This was a great Lord, and possessed certaine Islands called Porland, lying on the South side of Frisland, being the richest and most populous of all those parts, his name was Zichmni: and beside the said little Islands, he was Duke of Sorani, lying ouer against Scotland.

Frisland the king of Norwayes.

Of these North parts I thought good to draw the copie of a Sea carde, which amongst other antiquities I haue in my house, which although it be rotten through many yeres, yet it falleth out indifferent well: and to those that are delighted in these things, it may serue for some light to the vnderstanding of that, which without it cannot so easily be conceiued. Zichmni being Lord of those Sygnories (as is said) was a very warlike and valiant man and aboue all things famous in Sea causes. And hauing the yere before giuen the ouerthrow to the king of Norway, who was Lord of the Island, being desirous to winne fame by feates of armes, hee was come on land with his men to giue the attempt for the winning of Frisland, which is an Island much bigger then Ireland. Wherefore seeing that M. Nicolo was a man of iudgement & discretion, and very expert both in sea matters and martiall affaires, hee gaue him commission to goe aboord his Nauy with all his men, charging the captaine to honor him and in all things to vse his counsaile.

This Nauy of Zichmni was of thirteene vessels, whereof two onely were rowed with oares, the rest small barkes and one ship, with the which they sayled to the Westwards and with little paines wonne Ledouo and Ilofe and diuers other small Islands: and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the hauen of the towne named Sanestol, they tooke certaine small barks laden with fish. And here they found Zichmni, who came by land with his armie conquering all the countrey as he went: they stayed here but a while, and led on their course to the Westwards till they came to the other Cape of the gulfe or bay, then turning againe, they found certaine Islandes and broken lands which they reduced al vnto the Signorie & possession of Zichmni. These seas, for as much as they sailed, were in maner nothing but sholds & rocks, in so much that if M. Nicolo and the Venetian mariners had not bene their Pilots, the whole fleete in iudgement of all that were in it, had bene cast away, so small was the skill of Zichmnis men, in respect of ours, who had bene trained vp in the arte and practise of Nauigation all the dayes of their life. Now the fleete hauing done such things as are declared, the Captaine, by the counsaile of M. Nicolo, determined to goe a land, at a towne called Bondendon, to vnderstand what successe Zichmni had in his warres: where they heard to their great content, that he had fought a great battell and put to flight the armie of his enemie: by reason of which victory, they sent Embassadours from all parts of the Island to yeeld the countrey vp into his handes, taking downe their ensignes in euery towne and castle: they thought good to stay in that place for his comming, it being reported for certaine that hee would be there very shortly. At his comming there was great congratulation and many signes of gladnesse shewed, as well for the victory by land, as for that by sea: for the which the Venetians were honoured and extolled of all men, in such sort that there was no talke but of them, and of the great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince, who was a great fauourer of valiant men and especially of those that could behaue themselues well at sea, caused M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after hauing commended him with many honourable speeches, and praysed his great industrie and dexteritie of wit, by the which two things he acknowledged himselfe to haue receiued an inestimable benefite, as the sauing of his fleet and the winning of many places without any great trouble, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many rich & bountiful gifts. Then departing from thence they went in tryumphing maner toward Frisland, the chiefe citie of that Island, situate on the Southeast side of the Isle, within a gulfe, as there are many in that Island. In this gulf or bay there is such great abundance of fish taken, that many ships are laden therewith to serue Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmarke, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

N. Zeno, made knight by Zichmni.

Ships laden with fish at Frisland, for Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmarke. But not to be proued that euer any came thence.

And thus much is taken out of a letter, that M. Nicolo sent to M. Antonio his brother, requesting that he would seeke some meanes to come to him. Wherefore he who had as great desire to trauaile as his brother, bought a ship, and directed his course that way: & after he had sailed a great while and escaped many dangers, he arriued at length in safetie with M. Nicolo, who receiued him very ioyfully, for that he was his brother not onely in flesh and blood, but also in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Frisland and dwelt there for the space of 14 yeres, 4 yeres with M. Nicolo, and 10 yeres alone. Where they came in such grace and fauour with the Prince, that he made M. Nicolo Captaine of his Nauy, and with great preparation of warre they were sent forth for the enterprise of Estland, which lyeth vpon the coast betweene Frisland and Norway, where they did many dammages: but hearing that the king of Norway was coming towardes them with a great fleet, they departed with such a terrible flaw of winde, that they were driuen vpon certaine sholds: were a great part of their ships were cast away, the rest were saued vpon Grisland, a great Island but dishabited. The king of Norway his fleete being taken with the same storme, did vtterly perish in those seas: Whereof Zichmni hauing notice, by a ship of his enemies that was cast by chance vpon Grisland, hauing repayred his fleet, and perceiuing himself Northerly neere vnto the Islands, determined to set vpon Island, which together with the rest, was subiect to the king of Norway: but he found the countrey so well fortified and defended, that his fleete being so small, and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, he was glad to retire. And so he left that enterprise without performing any thing at all: and in the same chanels he assaulted the other Isles called Islande, which are seuen, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere, and Bres: and hauing spoyled them all, hee built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo, with certaine small barkes and men and munition. And now thinking he had done wel for this voyage, with those few ships which were left he returned safe into Frisland. M. Nicolo remaining nowe in Bres, determined in the spring to go forth and discouer land: wherefore arming out three small barkes in the moneth of Iuly, he sayled to the Northwards, and arriued in Engroneland. Where he found a Monasterie of Friers, of the order of the Predicators, and a Church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that casteth forth fire, like Vesuuius and Etna.

A letter sent by M. N. Zeno, from Frisland to his brother M. Antonio in Venice. The end of the first letter.

Engroneland. Preaching fryers of Saint Thomas.

There is a fountaine of hot burning water with the which they heate the Church of the Monastery and the Fryers chambers, it commeth also into the kitchin so boyling hot, that they vse no other fire to dresse their meate: and putting their breade into brasse pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot ouen. They haue also smal gardens couered ouer in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the snow and colde, which in those partes being situate farre vnder the pole, is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites and herbes of sundry sorts, euen as in other temperate countries in their seasons, in such sort that the rude and sauage people of those partes seeing these supernaturall effects, doe take those Fryers for Gods, and bring them many presents, as chickens, flesh, and diuers other things, and haue them all in great reuerence as Lords. When the frost and snowe is great, they heate their houses in maner beforesaid, and wil by letting in the water or opening the windowes, at an instant temper the heate and cold at their pleasure. In the buildings of the Monasterie they vse no other matter but that which is ministred vnto them by the fire: for they take the burning stones that are cast out as it were sparkles or cinders at the fierie mouth of the hill, and when they are most enflamed, cast water vpon them, whereby they are dissolued and become excellent white lime and so tough that being contriued in building it lasteth for euer. And the very sparkles after the fire is out of them doe serue in stead of stones to make walles and vautes: for being once colde they wil neuer dissolue or breake, except they be cut with some iron toole, and the vautes that are made of them are so light that they need no sustentacle or prop to holde them vp, and they will endure continually very faire and whole. By reason of these great commodities, the Fryers haue made there so many buildings and walles that it is a wonder to see. The couerts or roofes of their houses for the most part are made in maner following: first they rayse vp the wall vp to his full height, then they make it enclining or bowing in by little and litle in fourme of a vaut. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in those partes, because the climate (as I haue saide) is extreme colde: for the first snow being fallen, it thaweth no more for the space of nine moneths, for so long dureth their winter. They feede of the flesh of wilde foule and of fish: for whereas the warme water falleth into the sea, there is a large and wide hauen, which by reason of the heate of the water, doeth neuer freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is such concourse and flocks of sea foule and such aboundance of fish, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, whereby they maintaine a great number of people round about, which they kepe in continuall worke, both in building and taking of foules and fish, and in a thousand other necessarie affaires and busines about the Monasterie.

Winter of 9. moneths.

Their houses are built about the hill on euery side, in forme round, and 25 foote broad, and in mounting vpwards they goe narower and narower, leauing at the top a litle hole, whereat the aire commeth in to giue light to the house, and the flore of the house is so hot, that being within they feele no cold at all. Hither in the Summer time come many barkes from the Islands their about, and from the cape aboue Norway, and from Trondon, and bring to the Friers al maner of things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fish, which they dry in the sunne or in the cold, & skins of diuers kindes of beasts. For the which they haue wood to burne and timber very artificially carued, and corne, and cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two aforesaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them couet to trafficke with them, and so they without any trauell or expences haue that which they desire. To this Monasterie resort Fryers of Norway, of Suetia and of other countreys, but the most part are of Islande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, waiting for the spring of the yere to dissolue the yce. The fishers boates are made like vnto a weauers shuttle: taking the skins of fishes, they fashion them with the bones of the same fishes, and sowing them together in many doubles they make them so sure and substanciall, that it is miraculous to see, howe in tempests they will shut themselues close within and let the sea and winde cary them they care not whether, without any feare either of breaking or drowning. And if they chance to be driuen vpon any rocks, they remaine sound without the least bruse in the world: & they haue as it were a sleeue in the bottome, which is tyed fast in the middle, and when there commeth any water into the boat, they put it into the one halfe of the sleeue, then fastening the ende thereof with two pieces of wood and loosing the band beneath, they conuey the water forth of the boat: and this they doe as often as they haue occasion, without any perill or impediment at all.

Trade in summer time from Trondon to S. Thomas Friers in Groneland. Resort of Fryers from Norway and Sueden, to the Monastery in Engroneland, called S. Tho.

M. Frobisher brought these kinde of boats from these parts into England.

Moreouer, the water of the Monastery, being of sulphurious or brimstonie nature, is conueyed into the lodgings of the principall Friers by certaine vesselles of brasse, tinne, or stone, stoue, so hot that it heateth the place as it were a stoue, not carying with it any stinke or other noysome smell.

Besides this they haue another conueyance to bring hot water with a wall vnder the ground, to the end it should not freeze, vnto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great vessel of brasse that standeth in the middle of a boyling fountaine, and this is to heat their water to drinke & to water their gardens, & thus they haue from the hill the greatest commodities that may be wished: and so these Fryers employ al their trauaile and studie for the most part in trimming their gardens and in making faire and beautifull buildings, but especially handsome and commodious: neyther are they destitute of ingenious and paineful artificers for the purpose; for they giue very large payment, and to them that bring them fruits and seedes they are very bountifull, and giue they care not what. So that there is great resort of workemen and masters in diuers faculties, by reason of the good gaines and large allowance that is there.

The most of them speake the Latine tongue, and specially the superiours and principals of the Monastery. And this is as much as is knowen of Engroueland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular description of a riuer that he discouered, as is to be seene in the carde that I drew. And in the end M. Nicolo, not being vsed & acquainted with these cruell coldes, fel sicke, and a litle while after returned into Frisland, where he dyed. He left behind him in Venice, two sonnes, M. Giouanni and M. Toma, who had two sonnes, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom descended the other Zenos, that are liuing at this day.

In the Monastery of Saint Thomas most of them spake the Latine tongue.

The end of the 2. letter.

Now M. Nicolo being dead, M. Antonio succeeded him both in his goods, and in his dignities and honour: and albeit he attempted diuers wayes, and made great supplication, he could neuer obtaine licence to returne into his countrey. For Zichmni, being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himselfe Lord of the sea. Wherefore vsing alwayes the counsaile and seruice of M. Antonio, he determined to send him with certaine barks to the Westwards, for that towards those parts, some of his fishermen had discouered certaine Islands very rich and populous: which discouery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this maner, sauing that we haue changed some old words, leauing the matter entire as it was.

N. Zeno dyed in Frisland.

Sixe and twentie yeeres agoe there departed foure fisher boats, the which, a mightie tempest arising, were tossed for the space of many dayes very desperately vpon the Sea, when at length, the tempest ceasing, and the wether waxing faire, they discouered an Island called Estotiland, lying to the Westwards aboue 1000 Miles from Frisland, vpon the which one of the boats was cast away, and sixe men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a faire and populous citie, where the king of the place sent for many interpreters, but there was none could be found that vnderstood the language of the fishermen, except one that spake Latine, who was also cast by chance vpon the same Island, who in the behalfe of the king asked them what countreymen they were: and so vnderstanding their case, rehearsed it vnto the king, who willed that they should tary in the countrey: wherefore they obeying his commandement, for that they could not otherwise doe, dwelt fiue yeres in the Island, & learned the language, and one of them was in diuers partes of the Island, and reporteth that it is a very rich countrey, abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is litle lesse then Island, but farre more fruitfull, hauing in the middle thereof a very high mountaine, from the which there spring foure riuers that passe through the whole countrey.

The discouerie of Estotiland Westward.

Sixe fishermen taken.

Fishermen of Frisland speake Latine.

Sixe were fiue yeeres in Estotiland.

One of the fishers of Frisland, reporteth of Estotiland.

Estotiland rich, abounding with all the commodities of the world.

The inhabitants are very wittie people, and haue all artes and faculties, as we haue: and it is credible that in time past they haue had trafficke with our men, for he said, that he saw Latin bookes in the kings Librarie, which they at this present do not vnderstand: they haue a peculiar language, and letters or caracters to themselues. They haue mines of all maner of mettals, but especial they abound with gold. They haue their trade in Engroneland, from whence they bring furres, brimstone & pitch: and he saith, that to the Southwards, there is a great populous countrey very rich of gold. They sow corne, and make beere and ale,

Abundance of golde.

Trade from Estotiland, to Engroneland: Skins, brimstone, and pitch: golde, corne, and beere, or ale.

Many cities and castles.

A countrey called Drogio.

ale, which is a kinde of drinke that North people do vse as we do wine. They haue mighty great woods, they make their buildings with wals, & there are many cities and castles. They build small barks and haue sayling, but they haue not the load-stone, nor know not the vse of the compasse. Wherefore these fishers were had in great estimation, insomuch that the king sent them with twelue barks to the Southwards to a countrey which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had such contrary weather, that they thought to haue perished in the sea: but escaping that cruell death, they fell into another more cruell: for they were taken in the countrey and the most part of them eaten by the Sauage people, which fed vpon mans flesh, as the sweetest meat in their iudgements that is.

The 6 fishermen of Frisland onely saued, by shewing the maner to take fish.

But that fisher with his fellowes shewing them the maner of taking fish with nets, saued their liues: and would goe euery day a fishing to the sea and in fresh riuers, and take great abundance of fish and giue it to the chiefe men of the countrey, whereby he gate himselfe so great fauour, that he was very well beloued and honoured of euery one.

The chiefest of the 6 fishers, specified before and his companions.

In the space of 13 yeeres he arriued 25 lords of Drogio.

The fame of this man being spread abroad in the countrey, there was a Lord there by, that was very desirous to haue him with him, and to see how he vsed his miraculous arte of catching fish, in so much that he made warre with the other Lord with whom he was before, and in the end preuailing, for that he was more mightie and a better warriour, the fisherman was sent vnto him with the rest of his company. And for the space of thirteene yeres that he dwelt in those parts, he saith, that he was sent in this order to more then 25 Lords, for they had continuall war amongst themselues, this Lord with that Lord, and he with another, onely to haue him to dwell with them: so that wandring vp and downe the countrey without any certaine abode in one place, he knew almost all those parts He saith, that it is a very great countrey & as it were a new world: the people are very rude and voide of all goodnesse, they goe all naked so that they are miserably vexed with colde, neither haue they the wit to couer their bodyes with beasts skins which they take in hunting, they haue no kinde of mettal, they liue by hunting, they carry certaine lances of wood made sharpe at the point, they haue bowes, ẏ strings whereof are made of beasts skins: they are very fierce people, they make cruell warres one with another, and eate one another, they haue gouernours & certaine lawes very diuers among themselues. But the farther to the Southwestwards, the more ciuiltie there is, the ayre being somewhat temperate, so that there they haue cities and temples to idols, wherein they sacrifice men and afterwards eate them, they haue there some knowledge and vse of gold and siluer.

Now this fisherman hauing dwelt so many yeeres in those countreys purposed, if it were possible, to returne home into his countrey, but his companions despairing euer to see it againe, let him goe in Gods name, and they kept themselues where they were. Wherefore he bidding them farwell, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was very well receiued of the Lord that dwelt next to that place; who knew him and was a great enemie of the other Lord: and so running from one Lord to another, being those by whom he had passed before, after long time & many trauels he came at length to Drogio, where he dwelt three yeres. When as by good fortune he heard by the inhabitants, that there were certaine boates arriued vpon the coast: wherefore entring into good hope to accomplish his intent, he went to the sea side, and asking them of what countrey they were; they answered of Estotiland, whereat he was exceeding glad, and requested that they would take him in to them, which they did very willingly, and for that he had the language of the countrey, and there was none that could speake it, they vsed him for their interpreter.

He returned from Estotiland to Frisland.

And afterward he frequented that trade with them in such sort, that he became very rich, and so furnishing out a barke of his owne, he returned into Frislande, where he made reporte vnto this Lord of that wealthy countrey.

Zichemni minded to send M. Antonio Zeno with a fleete towards those parts of Estotiland.

And he is throughly credited because of the mariners, who approue many strange things, that he reporteth to be true. Wherefore this Lord is resolued to send me forth with a fleet towards those parts, and there are so many that desire to go in the voyage, for the noueltie and strangenesse of the thing, that I thinke we shall be very strongly appointed, without any publike expence at all. And this is the tenor of the letter before mentioned, which I haue here set downe to giue intelligence of another voyage that M. Antonio made, being set out with many barkes, and men, notwithstanding he was not captaine, as he had thought at the first he should: for Zichmni went in his owne person: and concerning that matter I haue a letter in forme following.

Our great preparation for the voyage of Estotiland was begun in an vnlucky houre: for three dayes before our departure the fisherman died that should haue bene our guide: notwithstanding this Lord would not giue ouer the enterprize, but instead of the fisherman tooke certaine mariners that returned out of the Island with him: and so making our Nauigation to the Westwards, we discouered certaine Islands subiect to Frisland, and hauing passed certaine shelues we stayed at Ledouo for the space of 7 daies to refresh our selues, and to furnish the fleet with necessarie prouision. Departing from thence we arriued the first of Iuly at the Isle of Ilofe: and for that the wind made for vs, we stayed not there, but passed forth, and being vpon the maine sea, there arose immediately a cruel tempest, wherewith for eight dayes space we were miserably vexed, not knowing where we were: & a great part of the barks were cast away, afterward the weather waxing faire, we gathered vp the broken peices of the barkes that were lost, and sayling with a prosperous winde we discouered land at West. Wherefore keeping our course directly vpon it, we arriued in a good and safe harborough, where we saw an infinit companie of people ready in armes, come running very furiously to the water side, as it were for defence of the Iland. Wherefore Zichmni causing his men to make signes of peace vnto them, they sent 10 men vnto vs that could speake ten languages, but we could vnderstand none of them, except one that was of Island. He being brought before our prince and asked, what was the name of the Island, and what people inhabited it, & who gouerned it, answered, that the Island was called Icaria, and that all the kings that reigned there, were called Icari, after the name of the first king of that place, which as they say was the sonne of Dedalus king of Scotland, who conquered that Island, left his sonne there for king, and left them those lawes that they retaine to this present, and after this, he desiring to sayle further, in a great tempest that arose, was drowned, wherefore for a memoriall of his death, they call those seas yet, the Icarian Sea, and the kings of the Island Icari, and for that they were contented with that state, which God had giuen them, neither would they alter one iote of their lawes and customes, they would not receiue any stranger: wherefore they requested our prince, that hee would not seeke to violate their lawes, which they had receiued from that king of worthy memory and obserued very duly to that present: which if he did attempt, it would redound to his manifest destruction, they being all resolutely bent rather to leaue their life, then to loose in any respect the vse of their lawes. Notwithstanding, that we should not thinke they did altogether refuse conuersation and traffick with other men, they tolde vs for conclusion that they would willingly receiue one of our men, & preferre him to be one of the chiefe amongst them, onely to learne my language the Italian tongue, and to be informed of our manners and customes, as they had already receiued those other ten of ten sundry nations, that came into their Island. To these things our Prince answered nothing at all, but causing his men to seke some good harbrough, he made signes as though he would depart, and sayling round about the Island, he espied at length a harbrough on the East side of the Island, where hee put in with all his Fleet: the mariners went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with as great speede as they could, doubting least they should be assaulted by the inhabitants, as it fell out in deed, for those that dwelt thereabouts, making signes vnto the other with fire and smoke, put themselues presently in armes and the other comming to them, they came all running downe to the sea side vpon our men, with bowes and arrowes, and other weapons, so that many were slaine and diuers sore wounded. And we made signes of peace vnto them, but it was to no purpose, for their rage increased more and more, as though they had fought for land and liuing. Wherefore we were forced to depart, and to sayle along in a great circuite about the Islande, being alwayes accompanyed vpon the hil tops & the sea coastes with an infinite number of armed men: and so doubling the

The 4. letter.

The fisherman dyed that should haue bene interpreter.

Certaine mariners taken in his steede, which came with him from Estotiland.

Isle Ilofe.

Zichmni his discouerie of the Island Icaria.

An Island man in Icaria.

The kings of Icaria called Icari after the name of the first king of that place, who as they report, was sonne to Dedalus king of Scots.

Icarian Sea.

The people of Icaria desirous of the Italian tongue.

Ten men of ten sundry nations.

Infinite multitudes of armed men in Icaria.

Zichmni departed from Icaria Westwards.

the Cape of the Island towards the North, we found many great sholdes, amongst the which for the space of ten dayes we were in continuall danger of loosing our whole fleet, but that it pleased God all that while to send vs faire weather. Wherefore proceeding on till we came to the East cape, we saw the inhabitants still on the hill tops and by the sea coast keepe with vs, and in making great outcryes and shooting at vs a farre off, they vttered their old spitefull affection towards vs. Wherefore wee determined to stay in some safe harborough, and see if wee might speake once againe with the Islander, but our determination was frustrate: for the people more like vnto beasts then men, stood continually in armes with intent to beat vs back, if we should come on land. Wherefore Zichmni seeing he could not preuaile, and thinking if he should haue perseuered and followed obstinately his purpose, their victuals would haue failed them, he departed with a fayre wind and sailed sixe daies to the Westwards, but the winde changing to the Southwest, and the sea waxing rough, wee sayling 4 dayes with the wind the powp, and at length discouering land, were afraid to approch nere vnto it, the sea being growen, and we not knowing what land it was: but God so prouided for vs, that the winde ceasing there came a great calme. Wherefore some of our company rowing to land with oares, returned & brought vs newes to our great comfort, that they had found a very good countrey and a better harborough: vpon which newes we towed our ships and smal barks to land, and being entred into the harborough, we saw a farre off a great mountain, that cast forth smoke, which gaue vs good hope that we should finde some inhabitants in the Island, neither would Zichmni rest, although it were a great way off, but sent 100 souldiers to search the countrey and bring report what people they were that inhabited it, & in the meane time they tooke in wood and water for the prouision of the fleet, and catcht great store of fish and sea foule and found such aboundance of birds egges that our men that were halfe famished, were filled therewithall. Whiles we were riding here, began the moneth of Iune, at which time the aire in the Island was so temperate and pleasant as is impossible to expresse: but when we could see no people at al, we suspected greatly that this pleasant place was desolate and dishabited. We gaue name to the heauen calling it Trin, and the point that stretched out into the sea, we called Capo de Trin. The 100 souldiers that were sent forth, 8 dayes after returned, and brought word that they had bene through the Island and at the mountaine, and that the smoke was a naturall thing proceding from a great fire that was in the bottome of the hill, and that there was a spring from which issued a certaine water like pitch which ran into the sea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people halfe wilde, hiding themselues in caues of the ground, of small stature, and very fearefull; for as soone as they saw them they fled into their holes, and that there was a great riuer and a very good and safe harborough. Zichmni being thus informed, and seeing that it had a holesome and pure aire, and a very fruitfull soyle and faire riuers, with sundry commodities, fell into such liking of the place, that he determined to inhabite it, and built there a citie. But his people being weary and faint with long and tedious trauell began to murmure, saying that they would returne into their countrey, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entred into the harborough, they should not be able to come out againe before the next Summer. Wherefore he retaining onely the barks with Oares and such as were willing to stay with him, sent all the rest with the shippes backe againe, and willed that I, (though vnwilling) should be their captaine. I therefore departing, because I could not otherwise chuse, sayled for the space of twenty dayes to the Eastwards without sight of any land; then turning my course towards the Southeast, in 5. dayes I discouered land, and found my selfe vpon the Isle of Neome, and knowing the countrey, I perceiued I was past Island: wherefore taking in some fresh victuals of the inhabitants being subiect to Zichmni, I sayled with a faire winde in three dayes to Frisland, where the people, who thought they had lost their prince, because of his long absence, in this our voyage receiued vs very ioyfully.

100 men sent to discrie the countrey.

The 100 souldiers returned which had bene through the Island, report what they saw and found.

M. Antonio Zeno, made chiefe captaine of those ships which went back to Frisland.

What followed after this letter I know not but by coniecture, which I gather out of a piece of another letter, which I will set downe here vnderneath: That Zichmni built a towne in the port of the Iland that he discouered, and that he searched the countrey very diligently and discouered it all, and also the riuers on both sides of Engroneland, for that I see it particularly described in the sea card, but the discourse or narration is lost. The beginning of the letter is thus.

The 5 letter.

Concerning those things that you desire to know of me, as of the men and their maners and customes, of the beasts, and of the countries adioyning, I haue made therof a particuler booke, which by Gods help I will bring with me: wherein I haue described the countrey, the monstrous fishes, the customes and lawes of Frisland, Island, Estland, the kingdome of Norway, Estotiland, Drogio, and in the end the life of M. Nicolo, the knight our brother, with the discouery which he made, and the state of Groneland. I haue also written the life and acts of Zichmni, a prince as worthy of immortall memory, as any that euer liued, for his great valiancie and singuler humanitie, wherein I haue described the discouery of Engroneland on both sides, and the citie that he builded. Therefore I will speake no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very shortly, and to satisfie you in sundry other things by word of mouth.

All these letters were written by M. Antonio to Messer Carlo his brother: and it grieueth me, that the booke and diuers other writings concerning these purposes, are miserably lost: for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, (as the maner of children is) I tore them, and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot cal to remembrance but to my exceeding great griefe. Notwithstanding, that the memory of so many good things should not bee lost: whatsoeuer I could get of this matter, I haue disposed and put in order in the former discourse, to the ende that this age might be partly satisfied, to the which we are more beholding for the great discoueries made in those partes, then to any other of the time past, being most studious of the newe relations and discoueries of strange counteries, made by the great mindes, and industrie of our ancestours.

For the more credite and confirmation of the former Historie of Messer Nicolas and Messer Antonio Zeni (which for some fewe respects may perhaps bee called in question) I haue heere annexed the iudgement of that famous Cosmographer Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yealding and submitting of his iudgement thereunto: who in his Theatrum Orbis, fol. 6. next before the map of Mar del Zur, boroweth proofe and authoritie out of this relation, to shew that the Northeast parte of America called Estotiland, and in the original alwayes affirmed to bee an Islande, was about the yeere 1390 discouered by the aforesayd Venetian Gentleman Messer Antonio Zeno, aboue 100 yeeres before euer Christopher Columbus set saile for those Westerne Regions; and that the Northren Seas were euen then sayled by our Europæan Pilots through the helpe of the loadstone: with diuers other particulars concerning the customes, religion and wealth of the Southern Americans, which are most euidently confirmed by all the late and moderne Spanish Histories of Nueua Espanna and Peru.

Estotiland first discouered.

The second discouerie thereof.

ANd here I shall not (as I suppose) commit any great inconuenience, or absurditie, in adding vnto this History of the new world, certaine particulars as touching the first discouery thereof, not commonly known. Which discouerie al the writers of our time ascribe (& that not vnworthily) vnto Christopher Columbus. For by him it was in a maner first discouered, made knowen, and profitably communicated vnto the Christian world, in the yeere of our Lord 1492. Howbeit I finde that the North part thereof called Estotiland, (which most of all extendeth toward our Europe and the Ilands of the same, namely, Groneland, Island, and Frisland,) was long ago found out by certaine fishers of the Isle of Frisland, driuen by tempest vpon the shore thereof: and was afterward about the yeere 1390 discouered a new, by one Antonio Zeno a gentleman of Venice; which sayled thither vnder the conduct of Zichmni king of the saide Isle of Frisland, a prince in those parts of great valour, and renowned for his martiall exploits and victories. Of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certaine collections or abridgements gathered by Francisco Marcolino out of the letters of M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni two gentlemen of Venice which liued in these partes. Out of which collections I doe adde concerning the description of Estotiland aforesaid these particulars following.

Drogio.

Estotiland (saith he) aboundeth with all things necessary for mankinde. In the mids thereof standeth an exceeding high mountaine, from which issue foure riuers that moisten all the countrie. The inhabitants are wittie and most expert in all Mechanicall arts. They haue a kinde of peculiar language and letters. Howbeit in this Kings Librarie are preserued certaine Latine bookes, which they vnderstand not, being perhaps left there not many yeeres before by some Europeans, which traffiqued thither. They haue all kinde of mettals; but especially golde, wherewith they mightily abound. They trafficke with the people of Groneland: from whence they fetch skinnes, pitch and brimstone. The inhabitants report that towardes the South, there are regions abounding with gold, and very populous: they haue many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ships and cities, whereof and of castles there are great store. The vse of the loadstone for Nauigation is vnknowen vnto them. They make relation also of a certaine region toward the South, called Drogio, which is inhabited by Canibals, vnto whom mans flesh is delicate meat: whereof being destitute they liue by fishing, which they vse very much. Beyond this are large regions, and as it were a newe world: but the people are barbarous and goe naked: howbeit against the colde they cloth themselues in beastes skinnes. These haue no kinde of metall: and they liue by hunting. Their weapons are certaine long staues with sharpe points, and bowes. They wage warres one against another. They haue gouernours, and obey certaine lawes. But from hence more towardes the South the climate is much more temperate: and there are cities, and temples of idoles, vnto whom they sacrifice liuing men, whose flesh they afterwards deuoure. These nations haue the vse of siluer and gold.

Thus much of this tract of landes out of the aforesaide collections or abridgements. Wherein this also is worthy the obseruation, that euen then our Europæan Pilots sayled those seas by the helpe of the loadstone. For concerning the vse thereof in Nauigation, I suppose there is not to be found a more ancient testimonie. And these things I haue annexed the rather vnto this table of Mar del Zur; considering that none of those Authours which haue written the Histories of the Newe world, haue in any part of their writings, mentioned one word thereof. Hitherto Ortelius.

THE
NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOUERIES,
OF THE
ENGLISH NATION,

TO NEWFOVNDLAND, TO THE ISLES OF RAMEA, AND THE ISLES OF ASSUMPTION OTHERWISE CALLED NATISCOTEC,
SITUATE AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIUER OF CANADA,
AND TO THE COASTES OF CAPE BRITON, AND ARAMBEC,
CORRUPTLY CALLED NORUMBEGA,
WITH THE PATENTS, LETTERS, AND ADUERTISEMENTS
THEREUNTO BELONGING.

The voyage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the Dominus vobiscum, set out the 20 day of May in the 19 yere of king Henry the eight, and in the yere of our Lord God 1527. for the discouerie of the North partes.

MAster Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8 and a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his Ambassadour to Charles the Emperour, (which both are to be scene almost in the beginning of the first volume of this my work) exhorted the aforesayd king with very waighty and substantial reasons, to set forth a discouery euen to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers. M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king Henry the 8 sent 2 faire ships wel manned & victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to seeke strange regions, & so they set forth out of the Thames the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord. 1527.

And whereas master Hal, and masrer Grafton say, that in those ships there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great enquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in Nauigation, might giue me any light to know who those cunning men should be, which were the directors in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by sir Martine Frobisher, and M. Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of Saint Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much aduance the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was, I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ships was called The Dominus vobiscum, which is a name likely to be giuen by a religious man of those dayes: and that sayling very farre

Northwestward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey lately called by her Maiestie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and the coastes of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those vnknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yere aforesayd. And thus much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should haue vsed more care in preseruing of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

The voyage of M. Hore and diuers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yeere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8.

ONe master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and giuen to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged diuers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings fauour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discouerie vpon the Northwest parts of America: wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and diuers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entered into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the West countrey of fiue hundred markes by the yeere liuing. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolke, which was lately liuing, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Rastall Serieant Rastals brother, M. Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the Trinitie, a ship of seuen score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was imbarked. In the other ship whose name was the Minion, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, Afterwardes Clerke of the Counsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth, father to the worshipfull. M. William Wade now Clerke of the priuie Counsell, M. Oliuer Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Ioy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappel, with diuers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid, to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about sixe score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we mustered in warlike maner at Grauesend, and after the receiuing of the Sacrament, they embarked themselues in the ende of Aprill. 1536.

M. Armigil Wade.

From the time of their setting out from Grauesend, they were very long at sea, to witte, aboue two moneths, and neuer touched any land vntill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Briton, shaping their course thence Northeastwardes, vntill they came to the Island of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their egges. They draue a great number of the foules into their boates vpon their sayles, and tooke vp many of their egges, the foules they flead and their skinnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no bad foode.

Cape Briton. The Island of Penguin standeth about the latitude of 50 degrees.

M. Dawbeneys report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

They beheld the Sauages of Newfoundland.

M. Oliuer Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following: to wit, That after their arriuall in Newfoundland, and hauing bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not hauing yet seene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the same Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Sauages of those parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze vpon the ship and our people, and taking vewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were vnder the hatches, and willed them to come vp if they would see the natural people of the countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came vp, and tooke viewe of the Sauages rowing toward them and their ship, and vpon the viewe they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them.

But they spying our ship-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Island that lay vp in the Bay or riuer there, and our men pursued them into the Island, and the Sauages fledde and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Sauages that were fled.

There in the same place they found a boote of leather garnished on the outward side of the calfe with certaine braue trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also found a certaine great warme mitten: And these caryed with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Sauages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefely were store of firre and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourely to her yong great plentie of diuers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieue themselues of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take vp a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily deuoured them.

Extreme famine.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortuned that one of the company driuen with hunger to seeke abroade for reliefe found out in the fieldes the sauour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to sterue, enioying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: If thou wouldest needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither deuoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with Sauages: And hereupon hee stood vp and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much these dealings offended the Almightie, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called vpon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to haue holpen them in that distresse, that it had bene better to haue perished in body, and to haue liued euerlastingly, then to haue relieued for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned euerlastingly both body and soule to the vnquenchable fire of hell. And thus hauing ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke vpon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieue the same. The famine increasing, and the inconuenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselues rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arriued a French ship in that port, well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them, they set sayle to come into England.

Our men eate one another for famine.

The Captaines Oration.

The English surprise a French ship, wherein they returned home.

In their iourney they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mighty Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselues being weary of flying ouer farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white foules with red bils and red legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be Storkes. They arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed vnto a certaine castle belonging to sir Iohn Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their sonne, vntill they found a secret marke which was a wart vpon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles

Haukes and other foules.

Foules supposed to be storkes.

onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now aliue that was in this discouerie.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subiects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooued with pitie, that he punished not his subiects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence vnto the French.

The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieue their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

An act against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into Iseland & Newfoundland, made in An. 2. Edwardi sexti.

FOrasmuch as within these few yeeres now last past, there haue bene leuied, perceiued & taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of such Marchants, and fishermen as haue vsed and practised the aduentures and iourneys into Iseland, Newfoundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing, and the getting of fish, in and vpon the Seas or otherwise, by way of Marchants in those parties, diuers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, and such other like things, to the great discouragement & hinderance of the same Marchants and fishermen, and to no little dammage of the whole common wealth, and thereof also great complaints haue bene made, & informations also yeerely to the kings Maiesties most honourable councell: for reformation whereof, and to the intent also that the sayd Marchants and fishermen may haue occasion the rather to practise & vse the same trade of marchandizing, & fishing freely without any such charges and exactions, as are before limited, whereby it is to be thought that more plentie of fish shall come into this Realme, and thereby to haue the same at more reasonable prices: Be it therefore enacted by the king our soueraigne Lord, and the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or minister, officers or ministers of the Admiraltie for the time being, shall in any wise hereafter exact, receiue, or take by himselfe, his seruant, deputie, seruants, or deputies of any such Marchant or fisherman, any summe or summes of money, doles or shares of fish, or any other reward, benefit or aduantage whatsoeuer it be, for any licence to passe this Realme to the sayd voyages or any of them, nor vpon any respect concerning the said voyages, nor any of them, vpon paine to forfeit for the first offence treble the summe, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or aduantage, that any such officer or minister shall hereafter haue or take of any such Marchants or fishermen. For the which forfeiture the party grieued, and euery other person or persons whatsoeuer he or they be, shall and may sue for the same by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to haue the one moitie, and the party complaining the other moitie: in which suite no essoigne, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed. And for the second offence the party so offending not only to lose and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but also to make fine and ransome at the kings will and pleasure.

By this acte it appeareth, that the trade out of England to Newfound land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yeere 1548. and it is much to be marueiled, that by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched.

A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. Anthonie Parkhurst Gentleman, 1578.

MAster Hakluyt, after most heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindnesse to me shewed, not for any merits that hitherto haue beene mine, but wholly proceeding.

proceeding, I must needs confesse, of your owne good nature, which is so ready prest to benefit your countrey and all such poore men as haue any sparke in them of good desires, that you do not onely become their friend, but also humble your selfe as seruant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cause your burning zeale to bee knowen to those that haue authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompense your trauelling mind and pen, wherewith you cease not day nor night to labour and trauell to bring your good and godly desires to some passe, though not possibly to that happy ende that you most thirst for: for such is the malice of wicked men the deuils instruments in this our age, that they cannot suffer any thing (or at least few) to proceed and prosper that tendeth to the setting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Christian faith, wherein hitherto princes haue not bene so diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the haruest great, I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number, and to mooue men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captiuitie of that spirituall Pharao, the deuill.

English.

Spaniards.

Portugals.

French.
Britons.

Now to answer some part of your letter touching the sundrie nauies that come to Newfoundland, or Terra noua, for fish: you shal vnderstand that some fish not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and some yeres come many more then other some, as I see the like among vs: who since my first trauell being but 4. yeeres, are increased from 30. sayle to 50. which commeth to passe chiefly by the imagination of the Westerne men, who thinke their neighbours haue had greater gaines then in very deed they haue, for that they see me to take such paines yeerely to go in proper person: they also suppose that I find some secret commoditie by reason that I doe search the harbors, creekes and hauens, and also the land much more then euer any Englishman hath done. Surely I am glad that it so increaseth, whereof soener it springeth. But to let this passe, you shall vnderstand that I am informed that there are aboue 100. saile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaie to kill Whale for Traine. These be better appoynted for shipping and furniture of munition, then any nation sauing the Englishmen, who commonly are lords of the harbors where they fish, and do vse all strangers helpe in fishing if need require, according to an old custome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, so that you take nothing from them more then a boat or twaine of salt, in respect of your protection of them against rouers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be neere fiue or sixe thousand tunne. But of Portugals there are not lightly aboue 50. saile, and they make all wet in like sorte, whose tunnage may amount to three thousand tuns, and not vpwarde. Of the French nation and Britons, are about one hundred and fiftie sailes, the most of their shipping is very small, not past fortie tunnes, among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better then the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be some 7000. tunne. Their shipping is from all parts of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from most parts of Spaine, the Portugals from Auiero and Viana, and from 2. or 3. ports more. The trade that our nation hath to Island maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.

The fertility of Newfoundland.

Seueral sorts of fish.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodnesse of the countrey, you shall vnderstand that I haue in sundry places sowen Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Pease and seedes of herbes, kernels, Plumstones, nuts, all which haue prospered as in England. The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in some places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Pearetree meet to graffe on. As for roses, they are as common as brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raspis, as common as grasse. The timber is most Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple trees: fewe of these two kinds meete to maste a ship of threescore and ten: But neere Cape Briton, and to the Southward, big and sufficient for any ship. There be also Okes & thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meetest wood for cold, and also willow, which will serue for many other purposes. As touching the kindes of Fish beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish, and another most excellent of taste called of vs a Cat, Oisters, and Muskles, in which I haue found pearles aboue 40. in one Muskle, and generally all haue some, great or small. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth 300. duckets: There are also other kinds of Shel-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobsters, and crabs: also a fish like a * Smelt which commeth on shore, and another that hath the like propertie, called a Squid: these be the fishes, which (when I please to bee merie with my old companions) I say, doe come on shore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports, and coniure them by such like words: These also bee the fishes which I may sweepe with broomes on a heape, and neuer wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatsoeuer they be appointed by any man, so they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes be small, but the nature of the fish great and strange. For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as doe our fresh water fish, the other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would deuoure him, and therefore for feare comming so neere the shore, is driuen drie by the surge of the sea on the pibble and sands. Of these being as good as a Smelt you may take vp with a shoue net as plentifully as you do Wheate in a shouell, sufficient in three or foure houres for a whole Citie. There be also other fishes which I tell those that are desirous of strange newes, that I take as fast as one would gather vp stones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie say they, wee beleeue so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portugals and Frenchmen. No surely, but thus I doe: with three hookes stretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele speare, with which I pricke those Flounders as fast as you would take vp fritters with a sharpe pointed sticke, and with that toole I may take vp in lesse then halfe a day Lobsters sufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This pastime ended, I shewe them that for my pleasure I take a great Mastiue I haue, and say no more then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Christendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of those great Cods by reason of sheluing ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him vp backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cause my friendes to wonder, and at the first hearing to iudge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merrie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

* Called by the Spaniards Anchouas, and by the Portugals Capelinas.

I tolde you once I doe remember how in my trauaile into Africa and America, I found trees that bare Oisters, which was strange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oisters and Muskles did sticke fast, as their propertie is, to stakes and timber.

Nowe to let these merrie tales passe, and to come to earnest matters againe, you shall vnderstand, that Newfoundland is in a temperate Climate, and not so colde as foolish Mariners doe say, who finde it colde sometimes when plentie of Isles of yce lie neere the shore: but vp in the land they shall finde it better then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the yce that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the situation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of little small riuers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of snow and raine: few springs that euer I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in some places or rather in most places great lakes with plentie of fish, the countrey most couered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good grasse, and plentie of Beares euery where, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be poudred but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like store. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wild Geese, and many other kind of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose: the Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie, doe bring small store of flesh with them, but victuall themselues alwayes with these birdes. Nowe againe, for Venison plentie, especially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Plesance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as Luzarnes and other mighty beastes like to Camels in greatnesse, and their feete clouen, I did see them farre off not able to discerne them perfectly, but their steps shewed that their feete were clouen, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I suppose them to bee a kind of Buffes which I read to bee in the countreyes adiacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee also to the Northwards, Hares and Foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our flesh before our faces within lesse then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie persons were turning of drie fish, and two dogs in sight, yet stoode they not in feare till wee gaue shot and set the dogs vpon them: the Beares also be as bold, which will not spare at midday to take your fish before your face, and I beleeue assuredly would not hurt any bodie vnlesse they be forced.

Nowe to shew you my fancie what places I suppose meetest to inhabite in those parts discouered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux, and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Bell Isle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are stones and things meete for it throughout all Newfound land) wee shall bee lordes of the whole fishing in small time, if it doe so please the Queenes Maiestie, and from thence send wood and cole with all necessaries to Labrador lately discouered: but I am of opinion, and doe most stedfastly beleeue that we shall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fishing then any yet we haue vsed, where wee shall haue not farre from thence plentie of salt made by fire vndoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reason I find salt kerned on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: these places may bee found for salte in three and fortie. I know more touching these two commodities last remembred then any man of our nation doeth: for that I haue some knowledge in such matters, and haue most desired the finding of them by painefull trauaile, and most diligent inquirie. Now to be short, for I haue bene ouer long by Master Butlers means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde woorthy of remembrance: wherefore this one thing more. I could wish the Island in the mouth of the riuer of Canada should bee inhabited, and the riuer searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof, as I will shew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proofe whether it be true or no that I haue read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugals to bee in that riuer, and about Cape Briton. I had almost forgot to speake of the plentie of wolues, and to shew you that there be foxes, blacke, white & gray: other beasts I know none saue those before remembered. I found also certain Mines of yron and copper in S. Iohns, and in the Island of Yron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had desire to plant thereabout, for proofe whereof I haue brought home some of the oare of both sortes. And thus I ende, assuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceiued by the vile Portugals descending of the Iewes and Iudas kinde, I had not failed to haue searched this riuer, and all the coast of Cape Briton, what might haue bene found to haue benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falsifying their faith and promise, disappointed me of the salte they should haue brought me in part of recompense of my good seruice in defending them two yeeres against French Rouers, that had spoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me lose not onely the searching of the countrey, but also forced mee to come home with great losse aboue 600. li. For recompence whereof I haue sent my man into Portugall to demand iustice at the Kings hand, if not, I must put vp my supplication to the Queenes Maiesty & her honourable councell, to grant me leaue to stay here so much of their goods as they haue damnified mee, or else that I may take of them in Newfound land, as much fish as shall be woorth 600. li. or as much as the salte might haue made. I pray you aduertise mee what way I were best to take, and what hope there will bee of a recompence if I follow the suite: many there are that doe comfort me, and doe bid me proceede, for that her Maiestie and the councell doe tender poore fisher men, who with me haue susteined three hundred pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. Iohn, or the riuer of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Briton, I shall giue my diligence for the true and perfect discouerie, and leaue some part of mine owne businesse to further the same: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of Nouember, 1578.

Yours to vse and command
ANTHONY PARCKHVRST.

The Letters Patents graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine science and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt to our trustie and welbeloued seruaunt Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Deuonshire knight, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heirs & assignes, and to euery or any of them, shall seeme good: and the same to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all commodities, iurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land: and the sayd sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of vs, our heires and successours, shall goe and trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayde sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, the statutes or actes of Parliament made against Fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine, or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe, or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And wee doe likewise by these presents, for vs, our heires and successours, giue full authoritie and power to the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that hee and they, and euery, or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the same voyages, to trauell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and euery or any of them, such and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him and them, and euery or any of them, with sufficient shipping, and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by vs, our heires and successors. And further, that he the said Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them shall haue, hold, occupy & enioy to him, his heires or assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soyle of all such lands, countries, & territories so to be discouered or possessed as aforesaid, and of all Cities, Castles, Townes and Villages, and places in the same, with the rites, royalties and iurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the sayd lands or countreys of the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had or vsed with ful power to dispose thereof, & of euery part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their will & pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours, paying vnto vs for all seruices, duties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys and territories, shall for euer bee holden by the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes of vs, our heires and successours by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part before reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt licence to the sayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, and to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them shall, and may from time to time, and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulse, repell, and resist, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoeuer, all, and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the speciall licence and liking of the sayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesayd, if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforesayd, with the subiects of any Christian prince, being in amitie with her Maiesty, where the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their associates or companies, shall within sixe yeeres next ensuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents, further power and authoritie to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoeuer, all and euery person and persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayd sir Humfrey, or his heires or assignes as aforesayd, shall bee found trafiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforesayde, (the subiects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, being driuen by force of tempest or shipwracke onely excepted) and those persons and euery of them with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and possesse, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and of euery or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie of such countreys, landes and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterprise: wee doe by these presents graunt, and declare, that all such countreys so hereafter to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires, and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall nowe in this iourney for discouerie, or in the second iourney for conquest hereafter, trauel to such lands, countries and territories as aforesaid, and to their and euery of their heires: that they and euery or any of them being either borne within our sayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with such licence as aforesayd, shall, and may haue, and enioy all the priuileges of free denizens and persons natiue of England, and within our allegiance: any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch, as vpon the finding out, discouering and inhabiting of such remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneys or voiages, to determine to liue together in Christian peace and ciuill quietnesse each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit, enioy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for vs, our heires and successours are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and graunt to the sayd sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter within the sayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter aduenture themselues in the sayd iourneys or voyages habitatiue or possessiue, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the sayd place or places, where the sayd sir Humfrey or his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within sixe yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or euery, or any of them deuised or established for the better gouernement of the said people as aforesayd: so alwayes that the sayd statutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conueniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes & pollicy of England: and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or successours, as their immediate Soueraignes vnder God. And further we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt full power and authority to our trustie and welbeloued counseller, sir William Cecill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England of vs, for the time being, and to the priuie counsell of vs, our heires and successours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, shall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him and themselues, or by their or any of their sufficient atturneys, deputies, officers, ministers, factors and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the said lord treasurer or foure of the priuie counsell of vs, our heires, or successours for the time being, as aforesayd, shall be from time to time by his or their wisedoms or discretions thought meete and conuenient for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them, and his and their, and euery or any of their said associates and companies, any act, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kings, princes and states, that if the said Sir Humfrey his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust and vnlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subiects of vs, our heires, or successours, or any of the Subiects of any King, prince, ruler, gouernour or state being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or successours: and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such prince, ruler, gouernour or state, or their subiects, wee, our heires or successors shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom these our Letters patents may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such iniuries done, so as both we and the saide Princes, or others so complayning, may holde vs and themselues fully contended: And that if the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to bee made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited: that then it shall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and successors, to put the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discouered as is aforesaide, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the saide Sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shal be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as being not our Subiects, nor by vs any way to bee aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention &c. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 11. day of Iune, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

De

De Nauigatione Illustris & Magnanimi Equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad deducendam in nouum Orbem coloniam susceptâ, Carmen ἐπιβατικὸν STEPHANI PARMENII BVDEII.

Ad eundem illustrem equitem autoris præfatio.

REddenda est, quàm fieri potest breuissime, in hoc vestibulo, ratio facti mei, & cur ita homo nouus & exterus, in tanta literatissimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata est, versandum in hoc argumento mihi putauerim : ita enim tu, fortissime Gilberte, fœtum hunc nostrum in lucem exire voluisti. In seruitute & barbarie Turcica, Christianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquã etiam ætatis partem educatus ; postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniæ nostræ, tum imprimis saluæ adhuc earum reliquiæ florescunt, in literis adoleuissem, more nostrorum hominum, ad inuisendas Christiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non solùm complura Musarum hospitia, sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum Ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes introspeximus, iam fermè triennio ea in re posito. Fuerat hæc nostra profectio ita à nobis comparata, vt non tantùm mores & vrbes gentium videndum, sed in familiaritatem, aut saltem notitiam illustriorum hominum introëundum nobis putaremus. Cæterum, vt hoc à nobis sine inuidia dici possit, (certè enim taceri absque malicia nullo modo potest) non locus, non natio, non respublica vlla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcunque in partem euentum consilij mei considerem. Accedit, quòd præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis ciuibus, quibus cumaliqua consuetudo mihi contigit, tanta passìm humanitate acceptus essem, vt iam (sit hoc salua pietate à me dictum) suauissimæ Anglorum amicitiæ fermè aboleuerint desiderium & Pannoniarum & Budæ meæ, quibus patriæ nomen debeo. Quas ab caussas cùm sæpenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostræ huius voluntatis & existimationis edendi ; accidit vtique secundùm sententiam, vt dum salutandis & cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclarissimo tuo de ducenda propedièm colonia in nouum orbem instituto. Quæ dum aguntur, agnoscere potui ego illud corpus & animum tuum sempiterna posteritatis commemoratione dignum, & agnoui profectò, eáque tali ac tanta obseruantia prosequi cœpi ; vt cum paulò post plura de tuis virtutibus, & rebus gestis passim audissem, tempus longè accommodatissimum existimarem esse, quo aliqua parte officij studijque nostri, ergà te & tuam gentem perfungerer. Hoc est primum ouum, vnde nostrum ἐπιβατικὸν originem ducit. Reliquum est, vt eas & redeas quàm prosperrimè, vir nobilissime, & Beneuolentia tua, autoritate, ac nomine, tueare studium nostrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis 1583.

AD THAMESIN.

AMnis, inoffensa qui tàm requiete beatus
  Antipodum quæris iam tibi in orbe locum :
Nunc tibi principium meritæ, pro tempore, laudis
  Fecimus, & raucæ carmina prima tubæ.
Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,
  Ornatu perages gaudia festa nouo.

  QVæ noua tàm subitò mutati gratia cœli ?
Vnde graues nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras ?
Diffugiunt nebulæ, puroque nitentior ortu
Illustrat terras, clementiaque æquora TITAN ?
Nimirum posuere NOTI, meliorque resurgit
EVRVS, & in ventos soluuntur vela secundos,
Vela quibus gentis decus immortale BRITANNIÆ
Tendit ad ignotum nostris maioribus orbem

Vix notis GILBERTVS aquis. Ecquando licebit
Ordiri heroas laudes, & facta nepotum
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cœpta silendum est
Illa, quibus nostri priscis ætatibus audent
Conferri, & certare dies: quibus obuia plano
Iamdudum FORTVNA solo, quibus omne per vndas
NEREIDVM genus exultat, faustoque tridenti
Ipse pater NEREVS placabile temperat æquor.
Et passim Oceano curui Delphines ab imo
In summos saliunt fluctus, quasi terga pararent
In quibus euectæ sulcent freta prospera puppes.
Et quasi diluuium, tempestatesque minatur
Follibus inflatis inimica in vela physeter.
Et fauet ÆGÆON, & qui NEPTVNIA PROTEVS
Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.
Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat
Sceptra CHALEDONIDVM: seclis modò fata futuris
Pandit, & ad seros canit euentura minores.
Vt pacis bellique bonis notissima vasto
Insula in OCEANO, magni decus ANGLIA mundi;
Postquam opibus diues, populo numerosa frequenti,
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;
Non incauta sui, ne quando immensa potestas
Pondere sit ruitura suo, noua mœnia natis
Quærat, & in longum extendat sua regna recessum:
Non aliter, quàm cùm ventis sublimibus aptæ
In nidis creuere grues, proficiscitur ingens
De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia NILVM.
Euge, sacrum pectus, tibi, per tot secula, soli
Seruata est regio nullis regnata MONARCHIS.
Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata
Margine, & audacem quarto dignata COLVMBVM;
Iam quinta lustranda plagâ tibi, iamque regenda
Imperio superest. EVROPAM ASIAMQVE relinque,
Et fortunatam nimium, nisi sole propinquo
Arderet, LIBYEN: illis sua facta viasque
Terminet ALCIDES: abs te illustranda quiescit
Parte alia tellus, quam non BABYLONIA sceptra,
Non MACEDVM inuictæ vires, non PERSICA virtus
Attigit, aut vnquam LATIÆ feriere secures.
Non illo soboles MAHOMETI mugijt orbe:
Non vafer HISPANVS, cœlo, superisque relictis,
Sacra PAPÆ humano crudelia sanguine fecit.
Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago;
Siue illi nostræ veniant ab origine gentis,
Seu tandem à prisca FAVNORVM stirpe supersint
Antiqua geniti terra, sine legibus vrbes
Syluasque & pingues habitant ciuilibus agros:
Et priscos referunt mores, vitamque sequuntur
ITALIÆ antiquæ, & primi rude temporis æuum:
Cum genitor nati fugiens SATVRNVS ob iram
In LATIO posuit sedem, rudibusque regendos
In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.

Aurea in hoc primùm populo cœpisse feruntur
Secula, sicque homines vitam duxisse beati;
Vt simul argenti percurrens tempora, & æris,
Degener in durum chalybem vilesceret ætas;
Rursus in antiquum, de quo descenderat, aurum
(Sic perhibent vates) æuo vertente rediret.
Fallor an est tempus, reuolutoque orbe videntur
Aurea pacificæ transmittere secula gentes?
Fallor enim, si quassatas tot cladibus vrbes
Respicio, & passim lacerantes regna tyrannos:
Si MAHOMETIGENIS ASIAM LIBYAMQVE cruento
MARTE premi, domitaque iugum ceruice subire:
Iamque per EVROPÆ fines immane tribunal
BARBARI adorari domini, DACISQVE, PELASGISQVE
ÆMATHIISQVE, omnique solo quod diuidit HEBRVS,
Et quondam bello inuictis, nunc MARTE sinistro
Angustos fines, paruamque tuentibus oram
PANNONIÆ populis, & prisca in gente LIBVRNIS.
Tum verò in superos pugnas sine fine cieri
Patribus AVSONIIS: ardere in bella, necesque
SARMATICAS gentes: & adhuc à cæde recenti
HISPANVM sancto GALLVMQVE madere cruore.
Non sunt hæc auri, non sunt documenta, sed atrox
Ingenio referunt ferrum, & si dicere ferro
Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile saxum.
 At verò ad niueos alia si parte BRITANNOS
Verto oculos animumque, quot, ô pulcherrima tellus
Testibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?
Namque quòd hoc summum colitur tibi numen honore
Quo superi, atque omnis geniorum casta iuuentus
Illius ad sacra iussa vices obit, arguit aurum.
Quòd tàm chara DEO tua sceptra gubernat AMAZON,
Quàm DEA, cum nondum cœlis ASTRÆA petitis
Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum.
Quòd colit haud vllis inclusas mœnibus vrbes
Aurea libertas, & nescia ferre tyrannum
Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.
Quòd regio nullis iniuria gentibus, arma
Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete,
Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.
Quòd gladij, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd hastæ
In rastros abiere, & bello assueta iuuentus
Pacem & amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.
Denique si fas est auro connectere laudes
Æris, & in pacis venerari tempore fortes;
Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris
Pectora? Sint testes procerum tot millia, testes
Mille duces, interque duces notissima mille
Illa cui assurgunt MVSÆ, quam conscia PALLAS
Lætior exaudit, GILBERTI gloria nostri.
Illius auxilium, & socialia prælia amici
Mirantur BELGÆ, & quamuis iniustus IBERVS
Commemorat iustas acies, domitasque per oras

Martia victrices formidat HIBERNIA turmas.
Illum oppugnatæ quassatis turribus arces,
Illum expugnatæ perruptis mœnibus vrbes,
Fluminaque & portus capti, hostilique notatum
Sanguine submersæ meminere sub æquore classes.
Hîc vbi per medios proiectus SEQVANA CELTAS
Labitur, & nomen mox amissurus, & vndas.
Omnia si desint, quantum est ingentibus ausis
Humani generis pro pace bonoque pacisci
Tàm varios casus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?
Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, & dulcissima sacri
Oscula coniugij, numerantemque ordine longo
AVCHERIAM digitis in mollibus, æquora mille
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos
AVCHERIOS exempla suos, fratremque patremque;
Qui dum pro patriâ laudem & virtute sequuntur,
Obsessi in muris soli portisque CALETI,
Præposuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus vrbem,
Et decus ALBIONVM, turpi superesse salute.
    Quòd si parua loquor, nec adhuc fortasse fatenda est
Aurea in hoc iterum nostro gens viuere mundo,
Quid vetat ignotis vt possit surgere terris?
Auguror, & faueat dictis DEVS, auguror annos,
In quibus haud illo secus olim principe in vrbes
Barbara plebs coëat, quàm cùm noua saxa vocaret
AMPHION THEBAS, TROIANA ad mœnia PHŒBVS.
Atque vbi sic vltrò iunctas sociauerit ædes,
Deinde dabit leges custoditurus easdem;
In quibus ignari ciues fraudumque, dolique,
A solida assuescant potius virtute beari;
Quàm genio & molli liquentia corpora vita
In Venerem ignauam, pinguemque immergere luxum:
Quàm nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores
Viuere ad arbitrium stolidæ mutabile plebis.
Non illic generi virtus, opibusue premetur
Libertas populi, non contrà in deside vulgo
Oppugnabit opes ciuis sub nomine pauper:
Quisque suo partem fœlix in iure capesset.
Tum sua magna parens ingenti fœnore tellus
Exiguo sudore dabit bona: cura iuuentam
Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet,
Quo minus è virtute petant sua commoda ciues.
O mihi fœlicem si fas conscendere puppim:
Et tecum patriâ (pietas ignosce) relictâ
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
Mecum vnà AONIAS, illic exordia gentis
Prima nouæ ad seros transmittere posse nepotes!
Sed me fata vetant, memoraturúmque canorâ
Inclyta facta tubâ, ad clades miserabilis ISTRI
Inuitum retrahunt. His his me fata reseruent:
Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita cœlo

Munera naturæ; dum spreto Helicone manebit
Illa Aganippæis sacrata Oxonia Musis.
Dum loquor in viridi festinant gramine Nymphæ,
Impediuntque comas lauro, & florentis oliuæ
Frondibus armantur, dominatricemque frequentes
Oceani immensi longè venerantur Elisam.
Illa autem ad gelidum celsis de turribus amnem
Prospicit, & iamiam Tamesino in patre tuetur
Paulatim obliquis Gilebertvm albescere velis.
Sic dea Peliaco spectasse è vertice Pallas
Fertur Iasonios comites, ad Phasidos vndas
Vix benè dum notis committere carbasa ventis.
Diva faue, nutuque tuo suscepta parari
Vela iuua; Si sola geris dignissima totum
Talibus auspicijs proferri sceptra per orbem.
Properteà quia sola tuos ita pace beasti
Tranquilla populos, vt iam te principe possint
Augere imperij fines. Quia sola videris
Quo niueæ Charites, quo corpore Delia virgo
Pingitur, & iusto si sit pro teste vetustas.
Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos
Semideos homines: tali est de sanguine magnus
Siue Hector genitus, siue Hectore maior Achilles:
Duntaxat sine fraude vlla, sine crimine possint
Vlla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,
Quæ sexum factis superas, quæ patribus audes,
Nympha, dijs dignas laudes æquare Latinis.
Mentior infœlix, nisi sic in corpore virtus
Lucet formoso, ceu quæ preciosior auro est
Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.
Mentior, & taceo, nisi sola audiris vbique
Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter & omnes
Securam requiem peragis tutissima casus:
Dum reliqui reges duro quasi carcere clausi
Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur
Terrificis monstris furtiua per ocia somno.
Mentior & taceo, solam nisi viuere ciues
Æternùm cupiunt: quando nec verbere toruo,
Nec cædis pœnæue thronum formidine firmas:
Sed tibi tot meritis maiestas parta, & inermis
Ad patulos residet custos clementia postes:
Vt quot penè rei iustum meruere tribunal,
Tot veniam grato narrent sermone clientes.
Nec tamen admittis, nisi quod iustumque piumque
Agnoscit probitas, & quæ potes omnia, solis
Legibus vsurpas cautas sanctissima vires.
Nec mala formidas: si quidem quasi fune ligatur
Consilio fortuna tibi: Nullum impia terret
In castris Bellona tuis: Quin pronus adorat
Gradivvs tua iussa pater, sequiturque vocantem
Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plausu.
Dumque fores alijs, vitamque & regna tuetur
Ianitor externus, cingunt tua limina ciues.

Dumque alijs sordet sapientia regibus, almo
PEGASIDVM tu fonte satur, tot APOLLINIS artes
Aurea vaticina fundis quasi flumina lingua.
Nil nostri inuenere dies, nil prisca vetustas
Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis
CHRISTIADVM gentes, quas te, diuina virago,
Iustius AONIÆ possint iactare sorores.
Audijt hæc mundus, cunctisque in finibus ardet
Imperio parêre tuo: & quæ fortè recusat
Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua sceptra
Incurua MAHOMETIGENÆ ceruice salutant:
Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera GALLI:
Dumque sibi metuit toties tibi victus IBERVS,
Nescia ROMANO GERMANIA Marte domari
Quærit amicitias BRITONVM: procul oscula mittit
Virgineis pedibus LATIVM, longéque remoti
PANNONES in tutos optant coalescere fines.
Quinetiam quæ submisso diademate nuper
Obtulit inuictis fascesque fidemque BRITANNIS. Noua Albion.
Nonne vides passis vt crinibus horrida dudum
Porrigit ingentem lugubris AMERICA dextram?
Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, soror ANGLIA, nostras
Respicis, & dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis?
An verò nescisse potes, quæ tempora quantis
Cladibus egerimus? postquam insatiabilis auri,
Nam certè non vllus amor virtutis IBEROS
In nostrum migrare solum, pietasue coëgit.
Ex illo, quæ sacra prius væsana litabam
Manibus infernis, sperans meliora, tuumque
Discere posse DEVM, iubeor mortalibus aras
Erigere, & mutas statuas truncosque precata
Nescio quod demens ROMANVM numen adoro.
Cur trahor in terras? si mens est lucida, puris
Cur DEVS in cœlis rectà non quæritur? aut si
A nobis cœlum petitur, cur sæpe videmus
Igne, fame, ferro subigi, quocunque [illegible]
Oenotriæ sedis maiestas læsa labascit?
Non sic relligio, non sic me iudice gaudet
Defendi sua regna DEVS, quòd si optimus ille est;
Quòd si cuncta potest, & nullis indiget armis.
Mitto queri cædes, exhaustaque mœnia bello:
Mitto queri in viles r[illegible] libera corpora seruos
Abiecta, immanique iugum Busiride dignum.
Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus:
Si tibi tam plenis habitantur mœnibus vrbes,
Vt nisi in excelsum crescant, cœloque minentur
Ædes aëriæ; quanq[illegible] iam latissima, desit
Terra tamen populo: Si tot tua flumina nigrant
Turrigeras arces, imitatæ mole carinæ,
Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.
Si tibi iam sub sole iacens penetratus vtroque est
Mundus, vtroque iacens peragrata est terra sub axe.
Hugo Willobeius eques auratus. Ni frustrà gelidam vectus WILOBEIVS ad arcton

Illa in gente iacet, cui dum Sol circinat vmbras,
Dimidio totus vix forsitan occidit anno.
Ni frustrà quæsiuit iter, duraque bipenni
Illo FROBISERVS reditum sibi in æquore fecit, Martinus Frobisherus eques auratus.
Horridum vbi semper pelagus, glacieque perenni
Frigora natiuos simulant immitia montes.
Ni frustrà per CIMMERIOS, syluisque propinqua
Flumina RIPHÆIS eoa profectus ad vsque est
Mœnia IENCISONVS, PERSASQVE & proxima PERSIS Antonius Ienkinsonus.
BACTRA, & BACTRORVM confines regibus INDOS.
Ni frustrà, quod mortali tot secla negarant,
Hâc tuus immensum nuper DRACVS ambijt orbem, Franciscus Dracus eques auratus.
Quà patri OCEANO clausas circumdare terras
Concessit natura viam, mediaque meare
Tellure, & duplici secludere littore mundos.
Iam si fortuna, iam si virtute sequare
Digna tua; sunt monstra mihi, sunt vasta gigantum
Corpora, quæ magno cecidisse sub HERCVLE non sit
Dedecus, OGIGIVS non quæ aspernetur IACCVS.
Quæ si indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata
Auersare meos multo vt tibi sanguine fines
Inuidiosa petas: est nobis terra propinqua,
Et tantum bimari capiens discrimen in ISTHMO.
Hanc tibi iamdudum primi inuenere BRITANNI,
Tum cum magnanimus nostra in regione CABOTVS Sebastianus Cabotus.
Proximus à magno ostendit sua vela COLVMBO.
Hæc neque vicina nimiùm frigescit ab arcto,
Sole nec immodico in steriles torretur arenas:
Frigus & æstatem iusto moderamine seruat,
Siue leues auras, grati spiracula cœli,
Seu diæ telluris opes, & munera curas.
Pone age te digno tua sceptra in honore, meoque
Iunge salutarem propius cum littore dextram.
Sit mihi fas aliquam per te sperare quietem,
Vicinoque bono lætum illucescere Solem.
Quòd si cousilijs superûm, fatisque negatum est
Durare immensum magna infortunia tempus:
Quòd si de immerita iustum est ceruice reuelli
Ignarum imperij dominum, populique regendi;
Quòd si nulla vnquam potuit superesse potestas,
Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis
Obsequium. A miti quæsita potentia CYRO
Amissa est sæuæ soboli. Parcendo subegit
Tot reges MACEDVM virtus, tot postera sensim
Abscidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.
Et quod ROMVLEIS creuit sub patribus olim
Imperium, diri semper minuêre NERONES.

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discouer and to plant Christian inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying vnder very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haies gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

MAny voyages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discouery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment vpon the same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually possesse therein, & by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which vnto this day we know chiefly by the trauell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest vnto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres haue had opportunity nor meanes so great to discouer and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres) as we haue had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet haue they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled gouernment of many prouinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The coasts frō Florida Northward first discouered by the English natiō.

The first discouery of these coasts (neuer heard of before) was well begun by Iohn Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida vnto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discouery vpon the coast, and out-parts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Maiesties territories and reuenue had bene mightily inlarged and aduanced by this day. And which is more; the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might haue brought foorth a most plentifull haruest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoeuer is builded vpon other foundation shall neuer obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what haue bene the humours of men stirred vp to great attempts of discouering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the euents do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discouery & possession by Christians both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdome hath permitted to be reuealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans vnto Christianity.

A fit consideration.

In the meane while, it behooueth euery man of great calling, in whose is any instinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same [illegible] of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can [illegible] confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence [illegible] (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils vpon the land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motiues be deriued from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner ouer their bodies and soules; aduancement of his honest and well disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed: all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely neuer) the time is compleat of receiuing also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by euent of precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserued the same to be reduced vnto Christian ciuility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discouered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for Spayne, Iohn and Sebastian Cabot made discouery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

Probable coniectures y^t^ these lands North of Florida, are reserued for the English nation to possesse.

And whensoeuer afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all their Southerne discoueries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North, they proued most vnhappy, and were at length discouraged vtterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeauouring to bring those Northerly regions also vnder the Spanish iurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits vnto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The Spanyards prosperous in the Southerne discoueries, yet vnhappy in these Northerne.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title vnto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discouery of the same continent so far Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but reuiew that before discouered by the English nation, vsurping vpon our right, and imposing names vpon countreys, riuers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts; which iniury we offered not vnto the Spanyards, but left off to discouer when we approched the Spanish limits: euen so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent vpon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifolde attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

The French are but vsurpers vpon our right.

The Frēch also infortunate in those North parts of America.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right vnto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of first discouery, vnto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous king Henry the seuenth: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly incourage vs vpon so iust ground, as is our right, and vpon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys apperteining vnto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arriued vnto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if euer their calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the reuolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moued from the East, towards, & at last vnto the West, where it is like to end, vnlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: euen so, as the same hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

A good incouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North of America.

The due time approcheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens vnto Christianity.

The word of God moueth circularly.

These considerations may helpe to suppresse all dreads rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunately incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, & in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) vnto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well aduised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the cariage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes; as many haue made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarse iustifiable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his iust proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how iust soeuer, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous vnto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

The planting of Gods word must be handled with reuerence.

Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting vpon remote lands.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable vnto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (vnto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage vndertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduersly.

The first and great preparation of Sir Hūfrey Gilbert.

When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert vndertooke the Westerne discouery of America, and had procured from her Maiesty a very large commission to inhabit & possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neuerthelesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a iarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready vpon the coast to go aboord: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leauing the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he aduentured to sea: where hauing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

A constant resolution of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Hauing buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid, he continued his former designment, purpose to reuiue this enterprise, good occasion seruing. Vpon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine assignments out of his cōmission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whō if God gaue good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without preiudice vnto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did inuest him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfry Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

A second preparation of sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolue himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his aduice & in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability ioyned vnto him, resoluing to aduenture their substance & liues in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them cõtinued the charge two yeeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay neere vnto Plimmouth: then resolued to put vnto the sea with shipping and prouision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neuerthelesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discouery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

Consultation about our course.

The first, that is, beginning South, without all controuersie was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to haue commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, discouering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Commodities in discouering from South Northward.

Also the yere being farre spent, and arriued to the moneth of Iune, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to couet the South, which we had space enough then to haue attained; and there might with lesse detriment haue wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in fauour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull prouisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seuen hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being vsually at that time of the yere, and vntill the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieued abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Not staying long vpon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, vntill we arriued at places more temperate to our content.

Cause why we began our discouery frõ the North.

Incommodities in beginning North.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying vnto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approch of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments vnto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell vs to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Wherefore suppressing all obiections to the contrary, we resolued to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediatly we agreed vpon the maner of our course and orders to be obserued in our voyage; which were deliuered in writing vnto the captaines and masters of euery ship a copy in maner following.

Euery ship had deliuered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed vp in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included seuerall watch-words. That open, seruing vpon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed was promised on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serue vntill we arriued and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vouz. The sayd watch-words being requisite to know our consorts whensoeuer by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe; or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were vpon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord vs by night without mistrust, hauing our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Masters to be obserued by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

First the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights vntill he be answered againe by euery ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make more saile againe: then he to shew three lights one aboue another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another to hoise both toppe sailes twise, if the weather will serue, and to strike them twise againe; but if the weather serue not, then to hoise the maine top saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently euery shippe to beare vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces euery euening, and euery ship to answere it with one shot: and euery man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, euery master to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall asterne him sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, euery ship to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to giue knowledge that they haue seene her token.

10 Item, whensoeuer the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrowds, then euery man to come aboord her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discouery, whereby they are separated: then euery ship to repaire vnto their last good port, there to meet againe.

Our course agreed vpon.

THe course first to be taken for the discouery is to beare directly to Cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour our selues either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours vnto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore euery ship separated from the fleete to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when you shall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our course vnto the Newfound land.

BEginning our course from Silley, the neerest is by Westsouthwest (if the winde serue) vntill such time as we haue brought our selues in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subiect much to Southerly windes in Iune and Iuly. Then to take trauerse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes; if God shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indeuour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

Notes.

IF by contrary windes we be driuen backe vpon the coast of England, then to repaire vnto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driuen backe by contrary winds that we can not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare hauen or Baltimore hauen.

If we shall not happen to meete at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neerest harbour vnto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; euery ship leauing their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in such a case, were of the Generals priuate deuice written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and deliuered vnto euery shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened vntill occasion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue for instruction of after commers: that euery of vs comming into any harbour or riuer might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there vp higher into the riuer, or departed, and which way.

Beginning of the voyage.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually giuen to be obserued, euery man withdrew himselfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes vnder saile, hauing a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tuesday the eleuenth day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, hauing in our fleet (at our departure from Causet bay) these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I haue also inserted, as followeth:

1 The Delight alias The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.

2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Dauis of Bristoll master.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end

Our fleet consisted of fiue sailes, in which we had about 260 men. Prouisions fit for such discoueries.

we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people.

Iune 11. In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleuenth day of Iune being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

Iune 13. Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the euening according (to the order Obserue. before specified) they signified vnto vs out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forsooke vs, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arriued greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I could neuer vnderstand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieued with the losse of the most puissant ship in our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooued her flagge from the mizon vnto the foretop.

Iune 15. From Saturday the 15 of Iune vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driuen Southward vnto 41 degrees scarse.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after Iune, which in March, Apriell & May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our trauerse was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

Iuly 20. Great fogges vpon the Ocean sea Northward. Also we were incombred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were disseuered, losing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrill vpon the 20. day of Iuly, whom we met againe at seuerall places vpon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

Iuly 27. Saturday the 27 of Iuly, we might descry not farre from vs, as it were mountaines of yce driuen vpon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be coniectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

The banke in length vnknowen, stretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10. leagues, in depth of water vpon it 30. fadome. Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, which are high grounds rising within the sea and vnder water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water vpon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitly. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues ouer, hauing sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had passed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, haue a notable A great fishing vpon yᵉ banke. trade of fishing vpon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and haue ended by Iuly. That fish is large, alwayes wet, hauing no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is vpon the banke, Abundance of foules. by the incredible multitude of sea foule houering ouer the same, to pray vpon the offalles & garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting vpon the sea.

Vpon Tuesday the 11 of Iune, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the Iuly 30. First sight of land. 30 of Iuly (seuen weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not iudge, so great hase and fogge did hang vpon the coast, as neither we might discerne the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

Forsaking this bay and vncomfortable coast (nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

Iland and a foule named Penguin.

We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men vse to take without difficulty vpon that Iland, and to barrell them vp with salt. But for lingering of time we had made vs there the like prouision.

An Iland called Baccalaos, of the fish taken there.

Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South thereof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, betweene which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: whereof it seemed their store was so amended, that for ioy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast vp into the aire and ouerboord, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by vs surprised vpon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods iustice did follow the same company, euen to destruction, and to the ouerthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharpely tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went vnder protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Misdemeanor of them in the Swallow.

Therefore vpon further enquiry it was knowen, how this cōpany met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his fraight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leaue giuen, not without charge to deale fauourably, they came aboord the fisherman, whō they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischiefe) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboord their own ship, it was ouerwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men there drowned: the rest were preserued euen by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saued and deliuered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reueale the fact, and iustifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

English ships are the strongest and Admirals of other fleetes, fishing vpon the South parts of Newfound land.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, vntill we came against the harbor called S. Iohn, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to giue them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, hauing Commission from her Maiestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not aboue 2 buts length) the Admirall fell vpon a rocke on the larboord side by great ouersight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much aboue water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboord our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to vnderstand the Generals intent and cause of our arriuall there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the aduancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repayring of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as conueniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other habors adioyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie [illegible]edge, which vpon their better aduise they should demand, [illegible] ned hereafter for greater price. So crauing expedition of [illegible]e further South without long detention in those partes, he [illegible]uen of their best indeuour to satisfie speedily his so reason- [illegible] th their Masters departed, they caused forthwith to be dis- [illegible] of their fleete in token of our welcome.

[illegible]

[illegible]t euery ship of our fleete should deliuer vnto the marchants [illegible]ote of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English [illegible]asie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were [illegible]panie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leauie our prouision: whereunto the Portugals (aboue other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (aboue our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily vnto vs. Moreouer as the maner is in their fishing, euery weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeede in orderly course, and haue weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: euen so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually inuited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was vnexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds haue only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good entertainment in Newfound land.
No Sauages in the South part of Newfound land.

August 4.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed vnto vs their accustomed walks vnto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in euery place.

August 5.
Possession taken.

Munday following, the Generall had his tent set vp, who being accompanied with his own followers, sommoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted vnto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. Iohn, and 200 leagues euery way, inuested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him (after the custome of England) a rod & a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for euer: And signified vnto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised vnder her Maiestie to possesse and enioy it. And to ordaine lawes for the gouernement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conueniently might be) vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subiected and gouerned. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed & deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maiesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted preiudiciall the partie or parties offending should be adiudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should vtter words sounding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loose his eares, and haue his ship and goods confiscate.

Three Lawes.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and gouernement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, and infixed vpon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Maiestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for euer: the Generall granted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. Iohn, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and seruice vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for euer, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselues or their assignes.

Actuall possession maintained in Newfound land.

Now remained only to take in prouision granted, according as euery shippe was taxed, which did fish vpon the coast adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men vnto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering togither our supply and prouisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation vnto the Generall what eyther themselues could knowe by their owne trauaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some obserued the eleuation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans seuerall relation, I haue drawen a briefe description of the Newfound land, with the commodities by sea or lande alreadie made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neuerthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

Men appointed to make search.

A briefe relation of the New found lande, and the commodities thereof.

THat which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfe and entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuts) vnto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

New found land is al Islands or brokē lands.

Goodly roads and harbours.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the same eleuation: euen so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the same doe lie vnder the climats of Briton, Aniou, Poictou in

New found land is habitable.

France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: vnlesse vpon the outcoast lying open vnto the Ocean and sharpe windes, it must in deede be subiect to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subiect to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere vnto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, euen vnder the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seeldome vncouered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. Euen so all hils hauing their discents, the valleis also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnal course from East to West, passeth ouer (for the most part) dry land and sandy countries, before he arriueth at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrary he passeth from Europe and Afrike vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neuerthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable vnder the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especiall within land) that it should be vnhabitable, as some doe suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we haue seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of Iune, Iuly, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining vpon the south parts neere vnto Cape Rece, vntill after Hollandtide, haue not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which haue arriued there after Nouember and December, haue found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no maruaile, considering the ground vpon the coast, is rough and vneuen, and the snow is driuen into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with vs. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land vpon the playner countries, which also are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, aboue that with vs here: it can not be so great as in Sweedland, much lesse in Moscouia or Russia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meats and drinkes: all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

Cold by accidentall meanes.

Commodities.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood haue abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are sauages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this countrie, seruing either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made diuers: so ẏ it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmons and other fish to vs vnknowen: Also Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Traine oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters hauing pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Fish of sea and fresh water.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adioyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, furres, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will aford, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees, but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to vs vnknowen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing forth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattel. Roses passing sweet, like vnto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and holesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proued by English marchants which haue caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countreymen haue sowen in the time of May, haue come vp faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming vp by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are said to be muskles not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diuersitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

Vpon the land diuers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentifull larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doues, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and vnable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, Canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolues, foxes, which to the Northward a litle further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought vnto him a Sable aliue, which he sent vnto his brother sir Iohn Gilbert knight of Deuonshire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderstood. We could not obserue the hundreth part of creatures in those vnhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures seruing for the vse of man, though man hath not vsed a fifth part of the same, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to liue indirectly, and very miserably to liue & die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister vnto mens endeuours, and for art to worke vpon.

Newfound land doth minister commodities abundantly for art & industrie.

For besides these alreadie recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not auerre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

For amongst other charges giuen to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General, vsing protestation, that if siluer were the thing which might satisfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, aduising him to seeke no further: the perill where-

Siluer Ore brought vnto the Generall.

of he vndertooke vpon his life (as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maiestie, that I may vse his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to liue, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to haue some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I haue seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my priuate humor, I would proceede no further. The promise vnto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we haue alreadie done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I haue sent it aboord, whereof I would haue no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea proofe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answere I iudged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

Reasons why no further search was made for the siluer mine.

WHile the better sort of vs were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort & disposition were plotting of mischiefe. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching oportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discouered, they were preuented. Others drew togither in company, and carried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselues, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licenced to returne home. Insomuch as after we had reuiewed our people, resolued to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallowe with such prouision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

Misdemeanor in our companie.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fishermen there met at sea.

God brought togither these men into the ship ordained to perish, who before had committed such outrage.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same Frigate being most conuenient to discouer vpon the coast, and to search into euery harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fights, and ouercharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to giue a shew, then with iudgement to foresee vnto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their ouerthrow.

Why sir Humf. Gilbert went in the Frigate.

Now hauing made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboord our prouision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and such like: Also we had other necessary prouisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discouery. In briefe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

Liberalitie of the Portugals.

We departed from this harbour of S. Iohns vpon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact obseruation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

August 20 S. Iohns in 47 deg. 40 min.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Iohns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the sea riseth vp a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowen: It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Cape Race in 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Vnder this cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed vpon no other prouision.

Fish large and plentifull.

From hence we shaped our course vnto the Island of Sablon, if conueniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Iohns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (aboue thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Island lying so neere vnto the maine, which we intended to plant vpon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conueniently be relieued of victuall, and serued of store for breed.

Cattell in the Isle of Sablon.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the North-west, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance euery where.

Good soile.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Nauigation we spent 8 dayes, hauing many times the wind indifferent good: yet could we neuer attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindred by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs escaped: where neuerthelesse we lost our Admiral with al the men and prouision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make coniecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I haue set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouse.

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

August 22.	West,	14. leagues.
	West and by South.	25.
	Westnorthwest,	25.
	Westnorthwest.	9.
	Southsouthwest,	10.
	Southwest,	12.
	Southsouthwest,	10.
August 29.	Westnorthwest.	12. Here we lost our Admiral.

Summe of these leagues, 117.

The reckoning of Iohn Paul Masters mate from Cape Race.

August 22.	West,	14. leagues.
23	Northwest and by West,	9.
24	Southwest and by South,	5.
25	West and by South,	40.
26	West and by North,	7.
27	Southwest,	3.
28	Southwest,	9.
	Southwest,	7.
	Westsouthwest,	7.
29	Northwest and by West,	20. Here we lost our Admirall.

Summe of all these leagues, 121.

Our course we held in clearing vs of these flats was Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marueilous scant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

August 27.

VPon Tewsday the 27 of August, toward the euening, our Generall caused them in his frigat to sound, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neuerthelesse wee followed the Admirall, depriued of power to preuent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

Predictions before the wracke.

The euening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haught boyes: and in the end of their iolitie, left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels.

Towards the euening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpose, with a harping yron, hauing first striken diuers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking vpon the yron, but could recouer onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Losse of our Admirall.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before vs. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in euery three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were vpon them vnawares, vntill master Cox looking out, discerned (in his iudgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withall, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost vpon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recouer it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast about Eastsoutheast, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, because that way caried vs to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seuen fadome, then fiue fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recouered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye vnto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to giue the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped ouerboord to saue themselues, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or vpon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselues to men in those extremities: for we desired to saue the men by euery possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat vp and downe as neere vnto the wracke as was possible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

This was a heauy and grieuous euent, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraighted with great prouision, gathered together with much trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules.

Stephanus Parmenius a learned Hungarian.

Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discouerie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and Discouerer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of vs in vndoubted hope.

Daniel a refiner of mettals.

No lesse heauy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, ouerseene onely in liberty giuen late before to men, that ought to haue bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolued, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recouering the ship, and that men began to giue ouer, and to saue themselues, the Captaine was aduised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not giue example with the first to leaue the shippe, but vsed all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leaue off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue perished through his default, shewing an ill president vnto his men, by leauing the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted vpon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and vnauoidable: how long, I leaue it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his seruants at such times.

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of foureteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselues to Gods mercy, amiddest the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming ouercharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwen ouerboord vpon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to liue, offred himselfe with the first, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuertheles Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, aduising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to saue all, as well as a few.

A wonderfull scape and deliuerance.

A great distresse.

A desperate resolution.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing sixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arriued at last with the men (aliue, but weake) vpon the New found land, sauing that the foresayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of vs Brasile, of his trauell into those Countreys, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to haue no better sustenance then their owne vrine, for sixe dayes together.

Two men famished.

Thus whom God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth giue limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preserue, neither Sea nor famine can confound. For those that arriued vpon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coast.

After this heauie chance, wee continued in beating the sea vp and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere vp, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming vpon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendement, setling an assurance of worse weather to growe vpon vs euery day. The Leeside of vs lay full of flats and dangers ineuitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknowen. But aboue all, prouision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Causes inforcing vs to returne home againe.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished.

And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons hauing also moued the Generall to haue compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolued vpon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he yelded them many reasons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, *Be content, we haue seene enough, and take no care of expence past: I will set you foorth royally the next Spring, if God send vs safe home. Therefore I pray you let vs no longer striue here, where we fight against the elements.*

Omitting circumstance, how vnwillingly the Captaine & Master of the Hinde condescēded to this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reasons, prouing an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

August 31. So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along *A monster of the sea.* betweene vs and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by mouing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithstanding, we presented our selues in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde vs a farewell (comming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the deuill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swalowed vp.

September 2. Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed vnto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This Munday the Generall came aboord the Hind to haue the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe storme, which we ouerpassed for that time, Praysed be God.

Our last conference with our Generall. The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning vntill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieued, the same doubtles being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be ŷ Ore which

Daniel the Saxon had brought vnto him in the New found land. Whatsoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, euen at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship, because vpon a faire day, when wee were becalmed vpon the coast of the New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could neuer conueniently send againe aboord the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Circumstances to be well obserued in our Generall, importing the Ore to be of a siluer Mine.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuersly, and by sundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this rich Mine. For whereas the Generall had neuer before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed vpon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Iohns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and trauell vpon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he assigned the Captaine & Master of the Golden Hind, vnto the South discouery, and reserued vnto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arriuall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leaue that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maiesty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing vs therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he sayd) with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for vs all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great feruencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and setled in beliefe of inestimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept vnto himselfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I haue deliuered.

Leauing the issue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaile, to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was ouercharged vpon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

Wilfulnes in the Generall.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I haue passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be so ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then aduised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

A token of a good mind

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had prouision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboord his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, & set him aboord his Pinnesse, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of vs, yet wee then keeping much to the North, vntill we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales vpon the land) vpon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diuersitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not presently setled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diuersitie of windes. Howsoeuer it commeth to passe, men which all their life-time had occupied the Sea, neuer saw more outragious Seas. We had also vpon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill signe of more tempest: the same is vsuall in stormes.

A resolute and Christianlike saying in a distresse.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recouered: and giuing foorth signes of ioy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind (so oft as we did approch within hearing) We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier, resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert drowned.

The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vp of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vpon the coast of England: Omitting no small saile at sea, vnto which we gaue not the tokens betweene vs, agreed vpon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

Arriuall in England of the Golden Hinde.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sonday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discerne land, to put in right with the Hauen.

A fit motion of the Captaine vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sayling well, might happily haue bene before vs. Also to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall of our hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witnesses of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of euery person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeuour. Sir Iohn Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine; and not altogether dispairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to haue his barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

Neuerthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboord his ship, he found his men bent to depart, euery man to his home: and then the winde seruing to proceede higher vpon the coast: they demanded money to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, (if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take benefite of the wind, then seruing to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge vnto the Captaine, and great ease vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

An ill recompence.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure vnto Sir Iohn Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so vnprofitable a voyage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was vnrecompensed: their Captaine neuerthelesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoeuer haue confidence in him alone. Yet haue we more neere feeling and perseuerance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one same peril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Euen so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes liuing, it pleased God to support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infested): the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or preuented by death.

Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterprise and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the seruice of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the which, as his zeale deserueth high commendation: euen so, he may iustly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

Constancie in sir Humfrey Gilbert.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: neuertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance vpon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salued some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

His temeritie and presumption.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he *thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was* not fit, presuming the cause *pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired* ende. Into which, *hauing thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though* hee sawe *no encouragement* to proceed, lest his *credite foyled in his first attempt,* in a second should vtterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a *right* aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worst, refused not to entertaine euery person and meanes whatsoeuer, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our trauelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made vnsauorie, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Afflictions needfull in the children of God.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwayes aspired.

Ornatissimo viro, Magistro Richardo Hakluyto Oxonij in Collegio ædis Christi,
Artium & Philosophiæ Magistro, amico, & fratri suo.

S. Non statueram ad te scribere, cùm in mentem veniret promissum literarum tuarum. Putabas te superiore iam Iunio nos subsecuturum. Itaque de meo statu ex doctore Humfredo certiorem te fieri iusseram. Verùm sic tibi non esset satisfactum. Itaque scribam ad te ijsdem ferè verbis, quia noua meditari & συνονυμίζειν mihi hoc tempore non vacat. Vndecimo Iunij ex Anglia reuera tandem & seriò soluimus, portu & terra apud Plemuthum simul relictis. Classis quinque nauibus constabat: maxima, quam * frater Amiralij accommodauerat, ignotum quo cósilio, statim tertio die à nobis se subduxit. Reliqui perpetuò coniunctim nauigauimus ad 23. Iulij, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aspectu alij aliam viam tenuimus: nobis

Dominus Ralegh.

Insula Penguin.

In the south side of Newe found land, there is store of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clarke found.

The great heate of the sunne in summer.

seorsim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Augusti, ad gradum circiter 50. cùm vltrà 41, paucis ante diebus descendissemus spe Australium ventorum, qui tamen nobis suo tempore nunquam spirauêre. Insula est ea, quam vestri Penguin vocant, ab auium eiusdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aues vidimus, nec insulam accessimus, ventis aliò vocantibus. Cæterùm conuenimus omnes in eundem locum paulò ante portum in quem communi consilio omnibus veniendum erat, idqúe intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate & nostro gaudio. Locus situs est in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. & 48. gradum, Diuum Ioannem vocant. Ipse Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum & angustiam nauis paulò afflictiorem comitatum habuit, & iam duos dysentericis doloribus amisit: de cæteris bona spes est. Ex nostris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoso iuueni me coniunxeram) duo etiam casu quodam submersi sunt. Cæteri salui & longè firmiores. Ego nunquam sanior. In hunc locum tertio Augusti appulimus: quinto autem ipse Admiralius has regiones in suam & regni Angliæ possessionem potestatemque vendicauit, latis quibusdam legibus de religione & obsequio Reginæ Angliæ. Reficimur hoc tempore paulò hilariùs & lautiùs. Certè enim & qualibus ventis vsi simus, & quàm fessi esse potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20 circiter naues Lusitanicas & Hispanicas nacti in hoc loco sumus: eæ nobis impares non patientur nos esurire. Angli etsi satis firmi, & à nobis tuti, authoritate regij diplomatis omni obsequio & humanitate prosequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, & populi. Cæterùm quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video? Piscium inexhausta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra vniuersa * montana & syluestris: arbores vt plurimùm pinus: eæ partim consenuêre, partim nunc adolescunt: magna pars vetustate collapsa, & aspectum terræ, & iter euntium ita impedit, vt nusquam progredi liceat. Herbæ omnes proceræ; sed rarò à nostris diuersæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina, & spicas in similitudinem secales: & facilè cultura & satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in syluis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, & conficiuntur: sed albi sunt, vt mihi ex pellibus coniicere licuit, & minores quàm nostri. Populus an vllus sit in hac regione incertum est: Nec vllum vidi qui testari posset. Et quis quæso posset, cùm ad longum progredi non liceat? Nec minùs ignotum est an aliquid metalli sub sit montibus. Causa eadem est, etsi aspectus eorũ mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionẽ spaciũ pateret: nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnũ incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septẽnium totũ pisces non comparuisse, ex acerbata maris vnda ex terebynthina, quæ cõflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est, vt nisi pisces, qui arefiunt ad solem, assiduè inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm frigidum sit, magnæ moles glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum est à comitibus mense Maio sexdecim totos dies interdum se inter tantam glaciem hæsisse, vt 60. orgyas altæ essent insulæ: quarum latera soli apposita cum liquescerent, liberatione quadam vniuersam molem ita inuersam, vt quòd ante pronum erat, supinum euaderet, magno præsentium discrimine, vt consentaneum est. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est: ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ: Et in ipso mari circa Bancum (sic vocant locum vbi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, & pisces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies absque pluuia. Expeditis nostris necessitatibus in hoc loco, in Austrum (Deo iuuante) progrediemur, tantò indies maiori spe, quò plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hæc de nostris. Cupio de vobis scire: sed metuo ne incassum. Imprimis autem quomodo Vntonus meus absentiam meam ferat, præter modum intelligere velim: Habebit nostrum obsequium & officium paratum, quandiu vixerimus. Reuera autem spero, hanc nostram peregrinationem ipsius instituto vsui futuram. Nunc restat, vt me tuum putes, &

quidem ita tuum, vt neminem magis. Iuuet dei filius labores nostros eatenus, vt tu quoque participare possis. Vale amicissime, suauissime, ornatissime Hakluyte, & nos ama. In Newfundlandia apud portum Sancti Iohannis 6. Augusti 1583.

Stephanvs Parmenivs
Budeius, tuus.

The same in English.

To the worshipfull, Master Richard Hakluit at Oxford in Christchurch Master of Arts, and Philosophie, his friend and brother.

I Had not purposed to write vnto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in Iune last to haue followed vs your selfe, and therefore I had left order that you should be aduertised of my state, by Master Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I haue no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of Iune we set saile at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leauing the hauen and land behind vs at Plimmouth: our Fleete consisted of fiue shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent vs, withdrew her selfe from vs the third day, wee know not vpon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23. of Iuly: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the the great mists, some of vs sailed one way, and some another: to vs alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41. degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding neuer blew to vs at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the winds seruing for our course directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Hauen, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two houres by the great goodnesse of God, and to our great ioy. The place is situate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and 48. degrees called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the Flixe: of the rest we conceiue good hope. Of our company (for I ioyned my selfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie, and strong, and for mine owne part I was neuer more healthy. Wee arriued at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admirall tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the kingdome of England: hauing made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and dantier, then it was before: for in good sooth, the experience of so long time hath taught vs what contrary winds wee haue found, and what great trauell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take such order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes, besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match vs, suffer vs not to bee hunger starued: the English although they were of themselues strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they showed vs all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse: Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that trauell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne vp with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to trauell, that they can goe no whither: all the grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the vse of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing vp like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I coniectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse then ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither haue I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither: In like sort it is vnknowne, whither any mettals lye vnder the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to haue some Mynes in them: we mooued the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so wee might haue space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish neuer came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the riuers vpon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dryed by the sunne, be euery day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserued from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the middest of the Sea haue taught vs: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides whereof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inuerted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward rose vpward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we haue serued, and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope euery day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discouer. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Vmpton doth take my absence: my obedience, and duetie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I liue: but in deede I hope, that this iourney of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Iohns Port, the 6. of August. 1583.

STEVEN PARMENIVS of
Buda, yours.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the Delight, going for the discouery of Norembega, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his ouersight.

DEparting out of Saint Iohns Harborough in the Newfound land the 20. of August vnto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course vnto the Ile of Sablon or the Isle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly haue seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Isle of Sablon, we fell to controuersie of our course. The Generall

20. Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.

nerall came vp in his Frigot and demaunded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best: because the wind was at South and night at hand and vnknowen sands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest. I told him againe that the Isle of Sablon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be vpon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was vntrue, and charged me in her Maiesties name, and as I would shewe myselfe in her Countrey to follow him that night. I fearing his threatenings, because he presented her Maiesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seuen of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would haue had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to saue a man, for there was not water vpon the sand for either of them much lesse for the Admirall, that drew fourteene foote. Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoyse out the boat to recouer the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboord they did not hoyse *it in againe that night. And whē the ship was cast away the boate* was a sterne being in *burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare* and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recouered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the master, but could neuer see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleased God, and looked euery moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a coarse of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate liued in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe vs withall but one oare, which we kept vp the boate withall vpon the Sea, and so went euen as the Sea would driue vs) there was in our company one master Hedly that put foorth this question to me the Master. I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyueth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of vs may come to the land if our boate were not querladen. Let vs make sixteene lots, and those foure that haue the foure shortest lots we will cast ouerboord preseruing the Master among vs all. I replied vnto him, saying, no, we will liue and die together. Master Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gaue God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the land within two or three dayes, and sayde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, (when they were seuentie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, saue onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then wee desired all to die: for in all these fiue dayes and fiue nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weake and wished all to die sauing onely my selfe which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should neuer come to land, but that I promised them that the seuenth day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me ouer boord: which did happen true the seuenth day, for at eleuen of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seuen dayes and seuen nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time shifted vpon any other point, wee had neuer come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arriuall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled downe vpon our knees and gaue God praise that he

15. Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.

Herein Clarke vntruely chargeth sir Humfrey Gilbert.

The ship cast away on Thursday being the 29 of August 1583.

Sixteene gate into the shipboate.

Master Hedlyes vngodly proposition.

They came on land the 7 day after their shipwracke.

had

The fruitfulnesse of the south part of Newfound land.

had dealt so mercifully with vs. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes vnto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selues with water and berries very well. There were of al sorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as euer I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre euery way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as euer I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I deuided the company three and three to goe euery way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselues, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboord we found great store of peason as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there three dayes and three nights and liued very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly riuer like the riuer of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had well rested our selues wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to haue gone to the Grande Bay to haue come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore fiue dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly riuer that ranne farre vp into the Countrey and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened vpon a ship of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ship brought vs into *Biskay* to an Harborough called The Passage. The Master of the shippe was our great friend, or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboord, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land, and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put vs on land and bad vs shift for our selues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.

Foureteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ship of S. Iohn de Luz.

A true Report of the late discoueries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.

Wherein is also briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the aduenturers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortnesse of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe aduenturer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound Land.

The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

Master Edward Hays.

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this last iourney for the Westerne discoueries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

By him I vnderstand that Sir Humfrey departed the coast of England the eleuenth of Iune last past, with fiue sayle of Shippes, from Caushen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the best forsooke his company, the thirteenth day of the same moneth, and returned into England.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arriue at Saint Iohns Hauen in Newfound land, the 3. of August. Anno 1583.

The other foure (through the assistance of Almighty God) did arriue at Saint Iohns Hauen, in Newfoundland, the 3. of August last. Vpon whose arriuall all the Masters and chiefe Mariners of the English Fleet, which were in the said Hauen before, endeuoring to fraight themselues with fish, repaired vnto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commission: which being done, he promised to intreat them and *their* goods well and honourably as did become her Maiesties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the best sort that they could, and shewed him and his all such courtesies as the place could affoord or yeelde.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with most of his Captaines and souldiers. They found the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that season of the yeere, replenished with Beasts and great store of Foule of diuers kinds: And Fish of sundry sortes, both in the salt water, and in the fresh, in so great plentie as might suffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very easily taken. What sundry other commodities for this Realme right necessarie, the same doeth yeelde, you shall vnderstand in this treatise hereafter, in place more conuenient.

Among these there was found the tract of a beast of 7. ynches and a halfe ouer.

On Munday being the fift of August, the Generall caused his tent to be set vpon the side of an hill, in the viewe of all the *Fleete* of English men and strangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie sayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Masters, Gentlemen and other souldiers, he caused all the Masters, and principall Officers of the ships, aswell Englishmen as Spanyards, Portugales, and of other nations, to repayre vnto his tent: And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause his Commission vnder the great seale of England to bee openly and solemnely read vnto them, whereby were granted vnto him, his heires, and assignes, by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priuiledges. The effect whereof being signified vnto the strangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke possession of the sayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and receiuing the same with an Hasell wand, deliuered vnto him, after the maner of the law and custome of England.

Sir Humfrey tooke possession of the Newfound land in right of the Crowne of England.

Then he signified vnto the company both strangers and others, that from thencefoorth, they were to liue in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be gouerned by such lawes as by good aduise should be set downe, which in all points (so neere as might be) should be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the same in execution, presently he ordained and established three Lawes.

First, that Religion publiquely exercised, should be such, and none other, then is vsed in the Church of England.

Three lawes established there by Sir Humfrey.

The second, that if any person should bee lawfully conuicted of any practise against her Maiestie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adiudged as traitors according to the lawes of England.

The third, if any should speake dishonourably of her Maiestie, the partie so offending, to loose his eares, his ship and goods, to be confiscate to the vse of the Generall.

All men did very willingly submit themselues to these Lawes. Then he caused the Queenes Maiesties Armes to be ingraued, set vp, and erected with great solemnitie. After this, diuers Englishmen made sute vnto Sir Humfrey to haue of him by inheritance, their accustomed stages, standings & drying places, in sundry places of that land for their fish, as a thing that they doe make great accompt of, which he granted vnto them in fee farme. And by this meanes he hath possession maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, set, giue and dispose of many things, as absolute Gouernor there, by vertue of her Maiesties letters patents.

Sundry persons became Tenants to Sir Humfrey, and doe mainteine possession for him in diuers places there.

And after their ships were repaired, whereof one he was driuen to leaue behind, both for want of men sufficient to furnish her, as also to carrie home such sicke persons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20 of August, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden Hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edward Hays: and the little Frigat where the Generall himselfe did goe, seeming to him most fit to discouer and approch the shore.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound land, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coast West, toward the

Bay of Placentia, the Generall sent certaine men a shore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they sayled along, seemed pleasant. Whereof his men at their returne gaue great commendation, liking so well of the place, as they would willingly haue stayed and wintred there. But hauing the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their course towards the firme of America, which by reason of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere especially, they could neuer see, till Cox Master of the Golden Hinde did discerne land, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all vpon a breach in a great and outragious storme, hauing vnder 3. fathome water. But God deliuered the Frigat and the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the presence of them all was lost, to their vnspeakeable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other necessary prouisions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reason also that Winter was come vpon them, and foule weather increased with fogs and mists that so couered the land, as without danger of perishing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and M. Hays were compelled much against their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempestuous weather separated the one from the other, the ninth of September last, since which time M. Hays with his Barke is safely arriued, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes.

Plutarch.

Vpon this report (together with my former intent, to write some briefe discourse in the commendation of this so noble and worthy an enterprise) I did call to my remembrance, the Historie of Themystocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified vnto his Countreymen the Citizens of Athens, that he had inuented a deuise for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of such importance and secrecie, that it ought not to be reuealed, before priuate conference had with some particular prudent person of their choyse.

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singular wisedome and vertue, made choyse of him to haue conference with Themystocles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the sayd deuise: which was, that they might set on fire the Nauie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as he had layde the plot: Aristides made relation to the Citizens, that the stratageme deuised by Themystocles was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaund what the same was) did by common consent reiect and condemne it, preferring honest and vpright dealing before profite.

By occasion of this Historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deepe consideration of this late vndertaken Voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages, as gainefull to the Christians. And vpon mature deliberation I found the action to be honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were now aliue: which being by me herein sufficiently prooued, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endeuour themselues to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprise, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and vndertaken.

|| Englishmen.
Master Iohn Hawkins.
Sir Francis Drake.
M. William Winter.
M. Iohn Chester.
M. Martin Frobisher.
Anthony Parkhurst.
William Battes.
Iohn Lewel.
Dauid Ingram.
Strangers.
French.
Iohn Ribault.
Iaques Cartier.
Andrew Theuet.
Monsieur Gourgues.
Monsieur Laudonniere.
Italians.
Christopher Columbus.
Iohn Verazanus.

Now whereas I doe vnderstand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, associates and friends doe meane with a conuenient supply (with as much speede as may be) to maintaine, pursue and follow this intended voyage already in part perfourmed, and (by the assistance of almightie God) to plant themselues and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doubtlesse to bee found all things that be necessarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The clymate milde and temperate, neyther too hote nor too colde, so that vnder the cope of heauen there is not any where to be found a more conuenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both || of our owne nation and strangers, (who haue bene trauailers) can testifie: and that those Countries are at this day inhabited with Sauages (who haue no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long liuing in ignorance and idolatry, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as haue trauailed in those partes) that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themselues to the relieuing of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules?

Whose Countrey doeth (as it were with armes aduanced) aboue the climates both of Spaine and France, stretch out it selfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onely set forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also found to be true by the discouerie of our nation, and other strangers, who haue oftentimes trauailed vpon the same coasts.

Christopher Columbus of famous memorie, the first instrument to manifest the great glory and mercy of Almightie God in planting the Christian faith, in those so long vnknowen regions, hauing in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renoumed Prince, the Queenes Maiesties grandfather King Henry the seuenth, with his intended voyage for the Westerne discoueries, was not onely derided and mocked generally euen here in England, but afterward became a laughing stocke to the Spaniards themselues, who at this day (of all other people) are most bounden to laude and prayse God, who first stirred vp the man to that enterprise.

God doeth not alwayes begin his greatest workes by the greatest persons.

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some scorned the pildnesse of his garments, some tooke occasion to iest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he that lowts so lowe, which did take vpon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious stones? If hee were any such man (sayd they) he would cary another maner of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some iudged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the consideration of the inward man.

His custome was to bowe himselfe very lowe in making of courtesie.

In the ende, what successe his Voyage had, who list to reade the Decades, the Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizarro in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco, may know more particularly. All which their discoueries, trauailes and conquests are extant to be had in the English tongue. This deuise was then accounted a fantasticall imagination, and a drowsie dreame.

Hernando Cortes. Francisco Pizarro.

But the sequele thereof hath since awaked out of dreames thousands of soules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath since made sufficient proofe, neither to be fantasticke nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightily it hath enlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly inriched the subiects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is well knowen, that sithence the time of Columbus his first discouerie, through the planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath bene transported and brought home into Europe greater store of Golde, Siluer, Pearle, and Precious stones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore heartily wish, that seeing it hath pleased almightie God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake some of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we haue so long slumbered:

That wee may now not suffer that to quaile for want of maintenance, which by these valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is so nobly begun & enterprised. For which purpose, I haue taken vpon me to write this simple short Treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as haue bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this iourney, (by reason perhaps that they haue not deliberately and aduisedly entred into the iudgement of the matter) that yet now vpon better consideration they will become fauourable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected thereunto, will continue their good disposition: And withall, I most humbly pray all such as are no nigards of their purses in buying of costly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in setting forth of games, pastimes, feastings and banquets, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publique profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

A reasonable request.

And to this ende haue I taken pen in my hand, as in conscience thereunto mooued, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it would haue pleased some one of them to haue vndertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeuour my selfe, and doe stand in good hope (though my skill and knowledge bee simple, yet through the assistence of almightie God) to prooue that the Voyage lately enterprised for trade, traffique, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maiesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the aduenturers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie.

The argument of the booke.

And lastly, (which is most of all) A thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of Almightie God. And for that the lawfulnesse to plant in those Countreyes in some mens iudgements seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the proofe of the lawfulnesse of trade, traffique, and planting.

The second Chapter sheweth, that it is lawfull and necessarie to trade and traffique with the Sauages: And to plant in their Countries: And diuideth planting into two sorts.

ANd first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully trauell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Sauages may not iustly impugne and forbidde in respect of the mutuall societie and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the world, and from the renewing of the same after Noes flood, all men haue agreed, that no violence should be offered to Ambassadours: That the Sea with his Hauens should be common: That such as should fortune to be taken in warre, should be seruants or slaues: And that strangers should not bee driuen away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were so then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to vse trade and traffique with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?

A thing so commonly and generally practised, both in these our dayes, and in times past, beyond the memorie of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And forasmuch as the vse of trade and traffique (be it neuer so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith: I will therefore somewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer so carefull and diligent) which I meane to diuide into two sortes.

The principall causes why this voyage is vndertaken.

The first, when Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The second, when Christians being vniustly repulsed, doe seeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the establishment of Christian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and iustly exercised: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyses and Iosua, and other rulers before the birth of Christ, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings sithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wish, that before the second be put in practise, a proofe may be made of the first, sauing that for their safetie as well against the Sauages, as all other forreigne enemies, they should first well and strongly fortifie themselues: which being done, then by all fayre speeches, and euery other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence.

As letting them to vnderstand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without molesting or grieuing them any way: which must not be done by wordes onely but also by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell iniury, be a iust cause of warre: yet must there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwise, the Christians should doe their best endeuour to take away such feare as may growe vnto them by reason of their strange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or such like, by quiet and peaceable conuersation, and letting them liue in securitie, and keeping a measure of blamelesse defence, with as little discommoditie to the Sauages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defensiue and not offensiue.

And questionlesse there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we should bring to passe all effects to our desired purposes: Considering that all creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and easier wonne for all assayes, by courtesie and mildnesse, then by crueltie or roughnesse: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reason, it is first to be put in vre.

For albeit as yet the Christians are not so throughly furnished with the perfectnesse of their language, eyther to expresse their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the present opportunitie, such policie may be vsed by friendly signes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Sauages may easily perceiue (were their sences neuer so grosse) an assured friendship to be offered them, and that they are encountered with such a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquilitie and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must bee presented vnto them gratis, some kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glasses, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chrystall, Amber, Iet, or Glasse &c. For such be the things, though to vs of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall societie with vs.

Moreouer, it shall be requisite eyther by speeche, if it be possible, either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie vnto them, that once league of friendship with all louing conuersation being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to assist and defend them in their iust quarrels, from all inuasions, spoyles and oppressions offered them by any Tyrants, Aduersaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is so much the more to be esteemed, by how much the person vpon whom it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countryman of ours, namely Dauid Ingram, (who trauelled in those countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Sauages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people, whose foode is mans flesh, and haue teeth like dogges, and doe pursue them with rauenous mindes to eate their flesh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case iustly and lawfully ayde the Sauages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we shall not only mightily stirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Christians, proffering vnto them both commodities, succour, and kindnesse: But also by their franke consents shall easily enioy such competent quantity of Land, as euery way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation and contentation, considering the great abundance that they haue of Land, and how small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most heartily pray may take effect and place.

The seconde kinde of planting.

But if after these good and fayre meanes vsed, the Sauages neuerthelesse will not bee herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will goe about to practise violence eyther in repelling the Christians from their Ports & safelandings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enioy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themselues thither.

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselues, to pursue reuenge with force, and to doe whatsoeuer is necessarie for the atteining of their safetie: For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence:

And for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of Forts for auoyding the extremitie of iniurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnesse to continue, there is no barre (as I iudge) but that in stoute assemblies the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in auoyding murtherous tyrannie) to vse the Law of Armes, as in like case among all Nations at this day is vsed: and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, lest happily after the departure of the Christians, such Sauages as haue bene conuerted, should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Ioshua) and continue their wicked custome of most vnnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit transgresse the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie, forasmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundry Kings and Princes, Gouernours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde: as also since the Natiuitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and kings haue performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For proofe whereof, I will alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Testament, how that after Noes flood was ceased, restauration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee saued in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplyed to infinite numbers of Nations, which in diuers sortes diuided themselues to sundry quarters of the earth. And forasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude a peculiar people to himselfe, to whom afterwardes being vnder the gouernment of Moyses in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adioyning thereunto. Neuerthelesse, before they came to possession thereof, hauing bene afflicted with many grieuous punishments and plagues for their sinnes, they fell in despayre to enioy the same.

But being encouraged and comforted by their rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themselues with all patience, to suffer whatsoeuer it should please God to send: and at last attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people, and mighty Kings.

Iosua 4. Notwithstanding, Iosua their Leader replenished with the Spirite of God, being assured of the iustnesse of his quarell, gathered the chiefe strength of the children of Israel together, to the number of 40000. with whom he safely passed the huge riuer Iordan, and hauing before Iosua 6. sent priuie spies for the discouerie of the famous citie Ierico, to vnderstand the certaintie of the Citizens estate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it round about with his whole power the space of seuen dayes.

In which respite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Ierico should be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell should be destroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, because shee before had hid secretly the messengers of Iosua, that were sent thither as spies. As for all their golde, siluer, precious stones, or vessels of brasse, they were reserued and consecrated to the Lords treasurie.

Iosua 8. In like maner he burned the citie Hay, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged vp their King. But for so much as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) sent Ambassadours vnto Iosua 9. Iosua to intreate for grace, fauour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their liues should bee saued, and that they should be admitted to the company of the children of Israel. Yet vnderstanding afterwards they wrought this by a pollicie, he vsed them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other necessaries for his people. Thus beganne this valiant

Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and neuer left till hee had subdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, Peresites, Heuites, and Iebusites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, & diuers other strange nations, besides whose lands & dominions he wholy diuided among Gods people.

Iudg. 11. 13.

After that Iosua was deceased, Iuda was constituted Lord ouer the armie, who receiuing like charge from God, pursued the proceedings of the holy captaine Iosua, and vtterly vanquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduersaries to the children of Israel, with all such Rulers or Kings as withstoode him, and namely Adonibezek the most cruell tyrant: whose thumbes and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as hee had done the like before vnto seuentie Kings, whom being his prisoners, he forced to gather vp their victuals vnderneath his table. In this God shewed his iustice to reuenge tyrannie. We reade likewise, that Gedeon a most puissant and noble warriour so behaued himselfe in following the worthy acts of Iosua and Iuda, that in short time he not only deliuered the children of Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite.

Iudg. 1.

A good note for al Conquerers to be mercifull.

Iudg. 6. 7.

I could recite diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indeuour my selfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge some fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin withall, we doe reade: That after our Sauiour Iesus Christ had suffered his passion, the Apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all strange languages, did immediatly disperse themselues to sundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Gospel. Yet not in so generall a maner, but that there remayned some farre remote Countries vnvisited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the vttermost India, as yet had receiued no light of the word. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus a very learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to search out vnknowen lands, did first discouer the same, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his returne being published, and for certaine vnderstood, there was another graue Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Christian, who did resolue himselfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a short time assisted but with a fewe, in a small Vessel arriued there, hauing in his company two yong youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom (being his schollers) he had throughly instructed both in liberall Sciences, and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius somewhile staying there, had (as hee thought) sufficient vnderstanding of the Indians whole estate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conquest of the same.

Ruffinus lib. 1. cap. 9.

But by misfortune he was preuented, for being in the middest of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce droue him backe againe, to an vnknowen Port of the sayd land: where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the sudden was slaine with all his company, except the two young schollers aforesayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her yong sonne to gouerne, and gaue free scope and libertie to the two Christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their natiue soyles, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured them was very sorowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestly intreated them to tarie and assist her in the gouernment of her people, till such time as her yong sonne grewe to ripe yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

Meropius slaine.

Edesius and Frumentius preserued by the Indians.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisedome, ruled both the Queene and her subjects at his discretion, whereby he tooke occasion to put in practise priuily, that the foundation of Christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whom he thought

Frumentius in great fauour with y^e Queene of the Indies.

his perswasion might best preuaile, and that soonest would giue eare vnto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edesius tooke leaue of the Queene to returne to his natiue countrey. And so soone as he was arriued there, he reuealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all these euents: who both commending his deedes and wholy allowing thereof, by the aduise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a conuenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his so godly a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, vnto the possession of all the Indians countrey. The author of this storie Ruffinus receiued the trueth hereof from the very mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

An other great works of God begunne by a man of meane birth.

Ruffinus the Author of this storie.

Moreouer Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall in precise termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Constantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeuoured by all meanes to subiect all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour throughly ayded with a puissant armie of valiant souldiers whom he had before perswaded to Christian religion, in proper person himselfe came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Island of Britaines, bending from him full West, which he wholy conquered, made tributarie, and setled therein Christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisedome seemed best. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coast of the world, and there vtterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, hee reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwards he determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the vttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at last became victour ouer them all, euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter Iohn, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Christians.

Euseb. in his Ecclesiasticall historie, testifieth how that Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations. Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constant. cap. 4. et cap. 9. Euseb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

In the East likewise, what Nation soeuer at that time he could haue notice of, he easily wonne and brought in subiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though vnknowen vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquished.

This worthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also diuers other Emperours afterward to their vttermost endeuour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large set foorth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mention how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour imployed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Gospel, vtterly subuerting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such vsurping tyrants as with Paganisme withstood the planting of Christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours, the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all stout godlinesse most carefully imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging theyr territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Theodoret. in eccle. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

Moreouer, it is reported by the sayd author, that Theodosius iunior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great studie and zeale pursued and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants and countries, and vtterly destroyed all their idolatry, conuerting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who so listeth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy liues of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea euen in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the last Chapter of this booke. Herein haue I vsed more copy of examples then otherwise I would haue done, sauing

ing that I haue bene in place, where this maner of planting the Christian faith hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I ioyne many moe, but whosoeuer is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the authors last aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I trust) prooued that we may iustly trade and traffique with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth shew the lawfull title which the Queenes most excellent Maiestie hath vnto those Countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

ANd it is very euident that the planting there shal in time right amply enlarge her Maiesties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arriued and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leauing certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gaue to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

1170.
Owen Guyneth was then Prince of Northwales.
Nullum tempus occurrit Regi.

This Island was discouered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his last iourney.

There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth the said foules haue white heads. There is also in those countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreouer, there are diuers other Welsh wordes at this day in vse, as Dauid Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his subiects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes vsed these speeches following.

MY kinsmen, friends, and seruants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I haue bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient subiects, and so I hope you will remaine vnto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your fathers, or else our diuines haue instructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and gouerne vs, if by chance he himselfe returned not, &c.

Mutezuma his Oration to his subiects in presence of Hernando Cortes, which Oration was made about the yeere 1520.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being throughly considered, because they haue relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those countreys, doe all sufficiently argue the vndoubted title of her Maiestie: forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselues, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further proofe of her highnesse title sithence the arriuall of this noble Briton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the seuenth, Letters patents were by his Maiestie granted to Iohn Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, his three sonnes, to discouer remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which discouery was afterwardes executed to the vse of the Crowne of England, in the sayde Kings time, by Sebastian and Sancius his sonnes, who were borne here in England: in true testimony whereof there is a faire hauen in Newfoundland, knowen, and called vntill this day by the name of Sancius hauen, which proueth that they first discouered vpon that coast from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

M. Olliuer Dalbony.
M. Edward Reow.
M. R. H.
M. I. A.

And this may stand for another title to her Maiesty: but any of the foresayd titles is as much or more then any other Christian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obtained by the discouery of Christopher Columbus, and the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnesse of her Maiesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys, is likely to proue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOw to shew how the same is likely to prooue very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greatest iewell of this realme, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshall matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall nauy of her Maiesty, which by reason of this voyage shall haue both increase and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in sundry places of this realme ships haue beene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English nauy of fishermen, will not suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they haue no succour and knowen safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish so long as pleased themselues, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof Dauid Ingram (who trauelled in those countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Con the matter.

Moreouer, it is well knowen that all Sauages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of ciuility, will take maruelous delight in any garment, be it neuer so simple; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten cassocke, a cap, or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe haue heard this report made sundry times by diuers of our countreymen, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelue yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to ciuility both in manners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margent, I do leaue to the iudgement of such as are discreet.

Clothiers.
Woolmen.
Carders.
Spinners.
Weauers.
Fullers.
Sheermen.
Diers.
Drapers.
Cappers.
Hatters, &c.
and many decayed townes repayred.

And questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both haue beene, and now are vtterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessiuely then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the inlargement of our nauy, and maintenance of our nauigation.

To what end need I endeuour my selfe by arguments to proue that by this voyage our nauie and nauigation shalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest & late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who since the first discouery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themselues and their subiects: but haue also by iust account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance?

Besides this, it will prooue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & vnprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelue or fourteene yeeres of age, or vnder, may bee kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreouer, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, drying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselues in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the whale for Trane, and making caskes to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying, salting and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or Science.

The idle persons of this realme shall by occasion of this iourney bee well imployed & set on worke.

Hempe doeth growe neere S. Laurence riuer naturally.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subiects of this Realme, which doe now liue here idlely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authors to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconueniencies, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

Read the beginning of the booke intituled, Diuers voyages touching the discouery of America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vse and trade amongst vs.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreis is likely to proue to the particular profit of all aduenturers.

I Must now according to my promise shew foorth some probable reasons that the aduenturers in this iourney are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore conuenient that I doe diuide the aduenturers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themselues, and the Merchants by themselues. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so diuided, but that eche society may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselues, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are verie easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adioyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the eleuation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily coniecture: the rather because I doe certainly vnderstand, that some of those which haue the managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reueale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat & settle themselues in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as haue bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds, and fowles both for pleasure and necessary vse of man are to be found.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares,

Beasts for pleasure.

Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as haue delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and riuer, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eighteene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was vpon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of diuers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage aboue two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide: and with this agreeth Dauid Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe: there are likewise beasts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be diuers of good credit in this realme that haue tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once setled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

Hides solde for forty shillings a piece.

Great grapes.

Wine of the Palme trees.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as haue a desire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will first say vnto them, as I haue done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abouesayde, is doubtlesse to bee found the most wholesome and best temperature of ayre, fertilitie of soyle, and euery other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we doe trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscouie and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence with lesse danger then now we haue them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand vpon likelihoods and presumptions, I say that such persons as haue discouered and trauelled those partes, doe testifie that they haue found in those countryes all these things following, namely:

Of beasts for furres.
Marterns.
Beauers.
Foxes, blacke and white.
Leopards.

Of wormes.
Silke wormes great & large.

Of Birds.
Hawkes.
Bitters.
Curlewes.
Herons.
Partridges.
Cranes.
Mallards.
Wilde geese.
Stocke doues.
Margaus.
Blacke birds.
Parrots.
Pengwins.

Of Fishes.
Codde.
Salmon.
Seales.
Herrings.

Of Trees.
Palme trees yeelding sweet wines.
Cedars.
Firres.
Sasafras.
Oake.
Elme.
Popler.

And sundry other strange Trees to vs vnknowen.

Of fruites.
Grapes very large.
Muskemellons.
Limons.
Dates great.
Orrenges.
Figges.
Prunes.
Raisins great and small.
Pepper.
Almonds.
Citrons.

Of Mettals.
Golde.
Siluer.
Copper.
Lead.
Tinne.

Of Stones.
Turkeis.
Rubies.
Pearls great & faire.
Marble, of diuers kindes.
Iasper.

Christall.

Sundry other commodities of all sorts.

Rosen.
Pitch.
Tarre.
Turpentine.
Frankincense.
Honny.
Waxe.
Rubarbe.
Oyle Oliue.
Traine oyle.
Muske codde.
Salt.
Tallow.
Hides.
Hempe.
Flaxe.
Cochenello & dies of diuers sorts.
Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Featherbeds.

And seeing that for small costs, the trueth of these things may be vnderstood (whereof this intended supply will giue vs more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to aduenture some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the societie of the aduenturers in this voyage, there is prouision made, that no aduenturer shall be bound to any further charge then his first aduenture: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe his children, his apprentises and seruants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priuiledge that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the said articles it is likewise prouided, that none other then such as haue aduentured in the first voyage, or shal become aduẽturers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say vnto all such according to the olde prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre countries, shal by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge, I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe riuers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twise in the yere at the least. But let vs omit all presumptions how vehement soeuer, and dwel vpon the certainty of such commodities as were discouered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, & his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serue the whole realme of euery of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which haue bene there, it would seeme incredible.

Commodities found in August last.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discouered there) I doe holde them for some respects, more meete for a time to be concealed then vttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Sauages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, siluer, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the aboue specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister iust occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein these commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necessary things, and fish of farre greater sise and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serue our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine riuer doth thereunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ship out of the Island of Iersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belongiug to the said ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooued very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serue for a taste, vntill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie, to send vs better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this iourney, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the iudgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not necessary in this treatise, publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

The sixt Chapter sheweth that the traffique and planting in those countries, shall be vnto the Sauages themselues very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOw to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not vndertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selues and our countrey (as generally other trades and iournies be) it shall fall out in proofe, that the Sauages shall hereby haue iust cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was vndertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the deuill to Christ, from hell to heauen. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde vs (were they many moe) that they should but receiue this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

1 Corinth. 9.

But hereunto it may bee obiected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aswel before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answere, we may say with S. Paul, If wee haue sowen vnto you heauenly things, doe you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heauenly tidings which those labourers our countreymen (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present vnto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreouer, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they shall receiue from vs, be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal iudgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receiue, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put their land to some vse: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to ciuilitie and knowledge, and made then to vnderstand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary vse of mans life, then the whole now doeth; What iust cause of complaint may they haue? And in my priuate opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

This bargen cannot be vniust, where both parties are gainers.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receiue by the Christians: for, ouer and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from vnseemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well gouerned common wealth, and withall, shalbe taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most vpon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their liues shalbe preserued. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shall be preserued from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and euer heretofore vsed amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doe feare lest I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

The seuenth Chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOw therefore for proofe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons, who wil neither be actors in any good action themselues, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Esops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath prouided such meanes for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand vs in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to hold his merciful hand ouer this realme, in preseruing the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in such penurie & want, as they could be contented to hazard their liues, and to serue one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like iourneyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreouer, things in the like iournyes of greatest price and cost as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corselets are not needefull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a iourney may present: for a small quantitie of all these, to furnish the Fort only, will suffice vntill such time as diuers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand vs in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we haue also, which in such like cases is a matter of marueilous cost, and will be in this iourney procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely as well our people, as all other necessaries needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in Newfound-land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, sauing some litle fraight with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiers wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise haue giuen out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priuiledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straight way thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serueth to bring vs thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Ianuarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they haue in a few or none of other iourneyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, hauing but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twentie or foure and twentie dayes at the most. And in the same our iourney, by reason it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreyes, we may safely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subiect to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heretofore sometimes vpon slender occasion in other parts haue stayed our ships and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countreymen haue bene vtterly vndone, diuers put to ransome, yea, and some lost their liues: a thing so fresh in memorie as it needeth no proofe, and is well worthy of consideration.

Besides, in this voyage we doe not crosse the burnt line, whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yeelde sundry extreame dangers: but haue a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to serue our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delayes by the way for taking in of fresh water and fewell, (a thing vsually done in long iournies) because, as I sayd aboue, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home haue found so wholsome and sweete, that they haue made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countreymen, the manifold benefits, commodities and pleasures heretofore vnknowen, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reueiled vnto vs, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like dormice haue slumbred in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting friuolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selues, questionlesse we should not only hereby set forth the glory of our heauenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good successe in the countrey of the Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subiect in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepstow in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges passed ouer into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which History our owne chronicles do witnesse: And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spanyards, who haue bene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse and enioy so large a tract of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. English miles at the least, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession, besides many goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other, which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said land is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

2. Decad. lib. 5. fol. 77. of the West Indies, in English. Canoa is a kind of boat.

Or why should our noble nation be dismaid, more then was Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a priuate gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an ouerthrow vnto that mighty king Chemaccus, hauing an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

3. Decad. lib. 2 fol. 97. About the yere of our Lord 1511.

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a priuate gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious & triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen and sixe pieces of Ordinance onely, he ouerthrew 40000. Indians. The same Cortes with his sayd number of Spanyards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it aboue the number of 50000. Indians at the least, and in short time after obteined not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

Conquest of the West Indies, fol. 43. and 45. English.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but priuate gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discouerie and conquest of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieued in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Atabalipa prisoner, amidst the number of 60000. Indians his subiects, which were euer before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleased God to grant vnto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not hauing in his company aboue the number of 210. Spaniards, wherof there were not past threescore horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered vnto Pyzarro for his ransome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and siluer, and such golde and siluer vessels as they then vsed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which ransome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after when as this mighty prince had sent to his vassals & subiects to bring in gold and siluer for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Pacacama and Cusco, as also to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found

A merueilous victorie.

found a large and faire house, all slated and couered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie arose amongst the Spanyards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the said prince had politikely offered this great ransome vnder pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spanyards should be taken, slaine and ouerthrowen; wherevpon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and siluer already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inuentorie of the same, as wel for the Emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwise, there was found to be already brought in into the sayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of siluer, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches neuer before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift part of siluer 26485. pound waight, and to euery horseman eight thousand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of siluer. Euery souldier had 4550. pezos of gold and 280. pound waight of siluer. Euery Captaine had some 30000, some 20000. pezos of gold and siluer, proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, ouer and besides the massie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Letter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: neuer were there before that day souldiers so rich in so small a time, and with so little danger. And in this iourney for want of yron, they did shooe their horses, some with gold, and some with siluer. This is to bee seene in the generall historie of the West Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conquest of Peru is more at large set forth.

To this may I adde the great discoueries and conquests which the princes of Portugall haue made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also at Callicut and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, euer as they discouered: which being rightly weyed and considered, doth minister iust cause of encouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subiects of this noble realme of England, to discouer, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from vs, but neere adioyning & offring themselues vnto vs (as is aforesayd) which haue neuer yet heretofore bene in the actuall possession of any other Christian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a little animate and encourage vs to looke out and aduenture abroad, vnderstanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number haue within these few yeeres discouered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I haue thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys, & Islands, so neere as I could vpon the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Island of Geisera & towne of Arzila, not past an 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane & chiefe citie of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigan, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomosta a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that first discouered for their vse Cape Verd, with the Islands adioyning, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonauista and Sant Iago discouering also the riuer Senega, otherwise called Niger, and Cape Roxo & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did discouer the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mina: then discouered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Islands of Principe, da Noboa, S. Matthewe, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the said Island of S. Thomas the hauen towne or port of Pauosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1491. one Bartholomew Dias was sent forth, who was the first man that discouered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Esperanze, & passing the currents that run vpon the said coast, on the Southeast part of Africa, betweene the said maine land &

the Island of S. Laurence, otherwise called of the ancients, Madagascar, he discouered to ÿ harbor named the Riuer of ÿ Infant. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497, and before the ful accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510. through the trauailes and discoueries of Vasques de Gama, Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, Iohn de Empoli, Peter Sintis, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonzo de Albuquerque, they did discouer, people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the East side of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the south Pole, and direct West from the Island of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also vpon the said East side of Africa, they did afterward discouer, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza, and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so vp to the streight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all vpon the East coast of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape of Guarda Fu, and passed the great gulfe of Arabia and the Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrionall latitude, they made their course againe directly towards the South, and began to discouer, people, and plant vpon the West side of the hither India at Goa, Mangalor, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Island of Zeilam.

Ceffala accounted to be the place where the noble and wise king Salomon did fetch his gold.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting vpon this coast, their forces grew so great that they were able to compel all the Moores, the subiectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute vnto them, euer as they passed the gulfe of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the sayd land, euer as they passed to and from the hauens of Cochin, Calecut and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of dicipline practised in those partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Persians, and professed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and vse of the Caliuer shot, and to enterlace and ioyne footemen with his horsemen, sithence which time the Persians haue growen to that strength and force, that they haue giuen many mightie and great ouerthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

g And from the Island of Zeilam aforesayd, they also discouered more East in passing the ulfe of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous riuer of Ganges, where hee hath his all into the maine Ocean, vnder the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and vnto e great and large Islands of Sumatra, Iaua maior, Iaua minor, Mindanao, Palohane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other the Islands of Molucques and Spiceries, and so East alongst the coasts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton, and Quinsay, and to the Island of Zipango and Iapan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. These are their noble and worthie discoueries. Here also is not to bee forgotten, that in the yeere of our Lord. 1501, that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Vespucius did discouer, people, and plant to their vse the holdes and forts which they haue in Brasill, of whom (he but being a priuate gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the West Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

These are the farthest parts of the world from England. At these Islands hath sir Francis Drake bene, where the fame of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie was renowmed.

I doe greatly doubt least I seeme ouer tedious in the recitall of the particular discoueries and Conquests of the East and West Indies, wherein I was the more bold to vrge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such as are not acquainted with the histories, how the king of Portugall, whose Countrey for popularity and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of England, and the king of Spaine likewise, whose natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by means of their discoueries within lesse then 90. yeeres past, haue as it appeareth both mightily and marueilously enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie, by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose aid we shall not need to doubt, seeing the cause and quarell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian faith.

To conclude, since by Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to the encreasing the true flock of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renowmed memorie, and leaue vnto our posteritie a diuine memoriall of so godly an enterprise: Let vs I say for the considerations alledged, enter into judgement with our selues, whether this action may belong to vs or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty assistance of the omnipotent God, shall take our desired effect (whereof there is no iust cause of doubt.) Then shal her Maiesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles iustly confirmed, all odious idlenesse from this our Realme vtterly banished, diuers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy persons relieued, and estates of such as now liue in want shall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannical neighbours, the diabolicall custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Sauiour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for hee that cannot erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations. Which good worke I trust is reserued for our nation to accomplish in these parts: Wherefore my deere countreymen, be not dismayed: for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the loue that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally vndertaken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West: and Vasques de Gama, Peter Aluares, & Alonso de Albuquerque in the East: Let vs therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the sequell to Almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against vs: Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatsoeuer is in this treatise too much or too little, otherwise vnperfect, I take leaue and so end.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, incouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoueries, &c.

I vnderstand aswel by a letter I long since receiued from the Maior of Bristoll, as by conference with Sir George Pekham, that you haue endeuoured, & giuen much light for the discouery of the Westerne partes yet vnknwoen: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue your trauell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in priuate, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,
Francis Walsingham.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, concerning their aduenture in the Westerne discouerie.

AFter my heartie commendations, I haue for certaine causes deferred the answere of your letter of Nouember last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westerne discouerie I cannot but much commend. And for that sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you haue heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil prooue profitable to the Aduenturers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steuenton, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretary to her Maiestie, concerning a Westerne voyage intended for the discouery of the coast of America, lying to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

Right honourable, vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto me and deliuered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steuenton, bearing date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in priuate, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as conuenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed vnto me priuately, to be read in publike, and after some good light giuen by M. Hakluyt vnto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolued, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, & apparently knowen by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and vpward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westerne discouery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we haue heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to haue M. Steuenton your honours messenger, and one well knowen to vs, as captains. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe vs of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honors best and most conuenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristoll. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and summary discourse vpon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America: written by Captaine Carlile in April, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscouian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound fiue shillings.

WHen the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered vnto him, he presently bringeth the same to the Touchstone, where by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he forthwith is able to judge what the value is of that, which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make some briefe repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen vnto vs, whereby we may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is presently recommended vnto your knowledge and resolution.

Moscouie. And first to lay downe that of Moscouia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discouery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, togither with the leud dealing of some of their seruants, who thought themselues safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company aboue fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euery body vnderstood.

Dutchmen.

Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that vncertainty of the Emperours disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadours betweene that Prince and her Maiesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

Denmarke.

And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on vs, hath likewise an aduantage vpon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoeuer he listeth to take the opportunitie.

Easterlings.

The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen to be such towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many iniuries ouerlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to depriue them wholy of their occupying that way; and to the same purpose haue of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and ancient priuiledges in all their great townes.

Turkie.

The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to haue so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with vs vpon sudden occasions, and the presents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds.

Leuant.

As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may easily be considered by euery one of iudgement, that the same stand in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and trauell, are set at such excessiue ransoms before they can bee freed of their slauerie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or fiue hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enuiously the Venetians doe already oppose themselues against our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late customs which they haue imposed as well vpon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also vpon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

Barbarie.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoeuer it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Spaine.
Portugall.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee haue very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as also of the prouision they haue from the same, wherewith are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoeuer the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons depriue vs not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee shall take a quarell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoeuer hee bee that is but meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieued in his heart to consider, that his children and seruants whom hee desireth to haue well brought vp, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and made to acquaint themselues

Remember the great arrest of the Hollanders. An. 1598.

with that which the Parents and Masters doe vtterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many pointes of good moment belonging vnto it, as may almost be wished for.

Commodities of this voyage in shortnesse.

1 As first it is to be vnderstood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discouerie thereof.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is vpon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their seruants or children, shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable vnto their Parents and Masters.

Commodities of the countrey more then those of Moscouia.

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainely able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscouia and other.

But when this of America shall haue bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be imployed well, twise the yeere at the least. And if for the present time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting, but by that matter only to serue halfe a dozen of your best sort of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

The ouerall merchandise.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of those parts which stand to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an especiall good fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld vs now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Masts, Losshe hides, rich Furres, and other such like without being in any sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselues alreadie very faire and in great abundance. Oliues being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will giue them such trifling things as they desired of vs, and shewing them once the means how to prouide the same, the labour thereof being so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to haue the same in good quantitie for vs. Besides, what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may serue for the fishing of those

A lake of salt in Verarzanus his voyage.

partes, may well enough appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

Thus much for the beginning, because they may bee had with an easie kinde of trauell: but when it may haue pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may haue planted amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet vnderstand of, and that in so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe: It is to bee assuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forsake their barbarous and sauage liuing, and growe to such order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may be well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diuersitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with vs, so these parts being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, or giue lesse occasion of disquiet. But when it is considered that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which haue the gouernment, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most louing and most assured friends?

There are further to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good prospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall out a very liberall vtterance of our English Clothes into a maine Country, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall haue wonderfull great vse of our sayde English Clothes, after they shall come once to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, ouer many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee prouided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serue in some reasonable and conuenient sort, to transport our Merchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly perfourmed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, vntill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who hauing long since expected some profits herein, vpon the great promises that haue bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe therevpon conceiue that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furnish their money towards the charge of the first discouerie.

But nowe to answere some others who begin with an other obiection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted, will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Objection.

Whereunto I answere, that in all attemptes vnknowen, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand, the first charges are commonly aduentured in more desperate kinde, then those that followe vpon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselues bee willing and desirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

Answere.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembred by those who be Marchants, euen in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres haue fallen into those termes of some likelyhood, as is aforesayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by them who directly came from thence, that such a Countrey and people they haue themselues seene, as is by vs spoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of those, who nowe neither haue heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such friuolous scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied,

The ewer of metal brought by M. Frobisher, caused two seuerall supplies, the two yeeres next following; whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ships.

satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their freedoms of trade I would not haue pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather by such as haue great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, & that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Prouerbe that is vsed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale, and to those especially in priuate, who take on them the hazard of their life and trauell, or substance in the first attempts: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are wellable to spare that which is required of each one towardes the vndertaking of this aduenture, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reason doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite number of other, who presently liue in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discouerie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion vpon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be vrged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discouery of the Moscouian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sinke, for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I haue beene throughly resolued to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to vnderstand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who haue any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before vs, in as much as thereby wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the sauage people to Christianitie and ciuilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their liuings after their parents decease, are driuen to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into sundry disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselues led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into such vile deedes: and insteade thereof, prooue greatly seruiceable in those affaires, where they might be so imployed.

Master Carliles owne experience.

This I speake of mine owne experience, hauing seene diuers come ouer to he warres of the lowe Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had bene very euill and idle liuers, and by some little continuance with vs, haue growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in euery point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason enough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath bene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subiect wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may vnderstande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters, very directly.

In the yeere 1534. Iames Carthier, of S. Malo made his first discouerie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backeside of Newfoundland In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumed might haue bene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this yeere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouision into the Grand bay againe, where he keping the Northerly shoare, ran vp the great River that comes downe from Canada and other places, vntill at last with his small pinnesses, (hauing left his great shipping by the way) he arriued at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which trauaile he had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient, for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discouerie, to winter it out in those partes, which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in these partes, and the sauage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of prouision, euen as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuse to serue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towardes the ende when the neede was most, as with our selues the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants serued all the yeere, and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discouerie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people endeuoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue beene well vnderstoode, they resolued with themselues to take some of the sufficiẽtest men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them so long, as that hauing once atchieued the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least trauaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themselues, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best infourmed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further seruice, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discouerie.

Thus the poore King of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caryed away into France, where hee liued foure yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there, as Theuet the French Kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as neuer since they would admit any conuersation or familiaritie with them, vntill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Marchants, who meant to haue kept the trade secret vnto themselues, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Iersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, sauing a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they haue multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of fourescore tunnes: which report is giuen by very substantiall and honest men of

The Frenchmens trade renued in Canada, in the yeere 1581.

Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of some of them.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Gernesey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got foureteene or fifteene hundreth for euery one hundreth: But how soeuer it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of some notable profite, in asmuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

The South part best for inhabiting and traffique.

Nowe if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath beene declared vnto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no otherwise with you for your seuerall small summes, then I doe with myselfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and trauaile of my person, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and vnspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchants, to conferre with M. Carlile, vpon his intended discouerie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America.

The names of the Committies.

Master Alderman Hart.
Master Alderman Spencer.
Master Hoddesden.
Master William Burrough.
Master Slany.
Master Towerson.
Master Staper.
Master Iohn Castelin.
Master Leake.

First the Committies are well perswaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with sauage people of a milde and tractable disposition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the onely most fit and most commodious for vs to intermeddle withall.

The conuenientest maner of attempting this enterprise is thought to bee thus: That there should be one hundreth men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular estate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or presently looked for.

The furnishing foorth of 100. men for one yeere will cost 4000.li.

The charge to transport these hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furnish them of munition and other needefull things, will not be lesse then foure thousand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Bristoll one thousand poundes, the residue being three thousande poundes, remaineth to bee furnished by this Citie of London, or any others who will aduenture their money in this first preparation.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a Priuilege should be procured by Master Carlile from her Maiesty, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following may be effectually prouided for.

First, that they who shall disbursse their money for the first preparation, shall be named Aduenturers, and shall haue the one halfe of all such landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and siluer, and other metals whatsoeuer, as shall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this discouery: yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of all such gold and siluer, as shall happen to be had out of any mines that so shall be found.

That those parties which doe employ themselues personally in the present discouerie, shall be named Enterprisers, and shall haue the other halfe of all the Lands, Territories, Townes, Mines of Gold and Siluer, and other mettals, yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of the Gold and Siluer as the Aduenturers do: The same to bee distributed by the Generall, with the consent of the greatest part of twelue discreete persons to bee chosen out of the whole number of the Enterprisers.

Also, that all trade of Marchandise which shall bee vsed to and from those partes, which by this discouerie shall bee found out, shall appertaine onely to the Aduenturers which first shall disburse their money for this discouery, with prohibition to all other her Maiesties subiects, and other Marchants to deale in the sayd parts, without the consent of the first Aduenturers, vpon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall aduenture in trade of *marchandise*: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure.

That no person shall hereafter aduenture in this discouerie as Aduenturers for the profits mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disburssse their money *in* this first preparation: and they shall not aduenture hereafter any greater summe, then ratably according to their proportion of this their first aduenture.

Also, the profite which by this discouerie shall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwise gotten: as also such profite which by this discouerie shall bee obtained by mines, or otherwise gotten, that eche one shall haue his part rate and rate like, according to the proportion of their first aduenture, and not otherwise.

The Aduenturers in this first preparation shall, at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to require the same. And yet withall shall for euer holde to them the freedome of the trade which shall growe in any of these partes: notwithstanding their sayd refusall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obteined, be graunted, that all her Maiesties subiects may transport themselues thither that shall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his assignes may shippe thither from time to time, so many and such persons, men, women, and children, as they shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any lawe to the contrary notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, against all others, which shall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obteined.

That it shall not be lawful for any of her Maiesties subiects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall shall haue setled his chiefest being or residence.

A relation of the first voyage and discouerie of the Isle Ramea, made by for Monsieur de La Court Pre Rauillon, and Grand Pre, with the ship called the Bonauenture, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beasts called the Morses with great teeth, which we haue perfourmed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591.

1591.

FOr the performance of our said voyage, we departed from S. Malo with the fleete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ships called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then lost them: a violent wind arising at Northwest, which separated vs.

The fleete of Canada.

After which we had faire wether, and came to the coast of Cape Rase, & had no further knowledge thereof, because the winde was at the Southwest but a scarce gale: and we came to the sounding Southwest of the Isles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 20. fathoms water, and we sayled Northwest one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

Cape Rase.

The Islet of S. Peter.

The next day being the 6. of May 1591. we were come to Cape de Rey, & saw a ship Southwest off vs, and stayed there that night.

Cape de Rey.

The next day being the seuenth of the sayd moneth, we came to the Isles of Aponas,

The Isles of Aponas.

The Isle of Brion.

The Isle of Ramea.

The Isle of Duoron.

where we put foorth our boat, because we had not past 8. leagues to our hauen, which we kenned very clearly, although the coasts lay very low: and because the night approched, and the wind grew very high, we sought not to seeke our port, because it is very hard to find it when the wind is lofty, because of the shoalds that are about it. And we thought to keepe our course vntill the next morning between the Isle of Biton & the Isle of Aponas. But there arose so great a tempest at the Southwest, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among these Isles. And we trauersed vp and downe eleuen dayes, making our prayers vnto God to ende the tempest and to send vs faire weather, that we might obteine our hauen: which of his goodnesse he gaue vs. The last of May we ranged the Isle Ramea on the Northnorthwest side, vnto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southsoutheast: and seeing no land on the West side, wee ranged the sayd land to the East one quarter to the North at the least 15. leagues, and being from the shore some eight leagues, we found 15 fathoms water, and passed betweene the Isle of Duoron and the Isle of Ramea, where goeth a chanell of 3. leagues bredth; in the midst whereof you shall haue 7. 8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Isle Ramea, and the Isle Duoron lie Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. And take heede you come not neere the low point of the Isle Ramea by a great league, for I haue sounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Isle is marked. And the harbour of the Isle Ramea lyeth Northeast and Southwest, one quarter to the East and West. And if you would enter the sayd harbour, keepe you a league off the shoare: for often times there is great danger.

The marke of the harbour of the Isle Ramea.

An Isle like a Floure de lice.

A banke of sand.

Cape du Chapt.

The maine a shold coast.

Lisle Blanche. The place where they killed 1500. Morses.

The Isle Hupp.

And that you may know the sayd hauen, to the Eastnortheast of the sayde Isle there are high lands appearing to them that are without on all sides like a number of Islands, but in very deede they are all firme land: and if you come on the South and Southwest side, you shall see a hill diuided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the hauen. And for another better marke of the sayd harbour, you shall see an Isle like vnto a Floure de lice, distant from the sayd hauen 6. leagues at the least: and this Isle and the sayd hauen lie Northeast and Southwest, a quarter to the North and South. And on the sayd Isle there is good pebble stone to drie fish vpon: But to the West thereof there is a very faire countrey: and there is a banke of sand, which runneth the length of a cable, hauing not past one fathom water vpon it. From the sayd Isle along the firme land the coast lyeth East and West, and you shall see as it were a great forrest running eastward: and the Easterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the sayd lands you shall see as it were a small Island, but it ioyneth to the firme land on the Southwest part: and there is good shingle to drie fish on. And you must coast the shore with boates and not with ships, by reason of the shallowes of the sayd coast. For I haue seene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from shore, and I iudged by reason of the highnesse of the land, that there had bene aboue thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing so: and I haue sounded comming neere the shore, in more or lesse depth. The coast stretcheth three leagues to the West from Lisle Blanch or the white Isle, vnto the entrance of a riuer, where we slewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Morses or Sea oxen, accounting small and great, where at full sea you may come on shoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coast trendeth foure leagues to the West ¼ to the Northwest vnto the Isle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: vpon it there is neither wood nor grasse: there are Morses vpon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coast trendeth to the Northwest and Northnorthwest: which is all that I haue seene, to wit, the two sides and one ende of the Isle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Masters, when I was on the Northwest side with my shippe, I would haue aduentured to haue sayled South-southeast, to haue discouered the Easterne shoare of the sayd Isle.

Sands and sholds.

A small Island containing a league of ground.

In your returne to the East, as you come from the hauen of Cape du Chapt vnto the sayde hauen, are sandes and sholds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a small Island conteining about a league of ground: where there is an hauen toward the Southeast: and as you enter into the sayd hauen on the starreboord side, a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the said hauen but with the flood, because of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the sayd hauen. The tydes are there at Southeast and Northwest; but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the hauen at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth fiue foote and an halfe. The markes to enter into the sayd hauen are to leaue the Isle Blanche or White Island at your comming in on the starreboord; and the poynt of the hauen towarde the West hath a thick Island, which you shall see on the other side, and it hath a little round Buttresse, which lyeth on the East side of the Island. There are also two other buttresses more easie to bee seene then hidden: these are not to the East but to the West, and they haue markes on them. Here you shall not haue aboue two fathom and an halfe at a full sea vpon this barre. And the sounding is stone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you shall finde white sand which lyeth next the Southeast of the Cape, then you are vpon the barre: and b eenot afrayd to passe vp the chanell. And for markes towarde the West athwart the barre, when you haue brought an Island euen, which lyeth to the westward without, with the thicke part of the high land which lyeth most to the West, you shall bee past the barre: and the chanell runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the sayd hauen, see that you carefully seeke the middest of the sayd Thicke land, which lyeth in the bottome of the sayd hauen: for you must anchor betweene two bankes of sand, where the passage is but narrow. And you must anker surely: for there goeth a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as swiftly and more then in . There is good ground and ankorage here: and you shall ride in three fathom water. And within the sayde hauen there is nothing to hurt you, for you are wee from all winds. And if by chance you should be driuen Westward of the sayd hauen, you may seeke an entrance, which is right ouer against the small Island named before, which is called The Isle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other hauen at a full sea: And you must passe vpon the West side, and you shall finde on the Barre at a full sea fourteene foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very swiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeast and Northwest.

A hard hauen.

Markes to come into the hauen.

The Barre.

The best anchorage.

Another entrance.

The Isle of Cormorants.

Right ouer against you on the other side, you may passe with boates at a full sea. And all these entrances make all but one hauen, which is good within. I say this, because I haue passed into the maine Sea by the one and the other passage. And the said Isle is not past two leagues ouer in the middest. It is but two bankes of sande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo, which let the Sea from passing through the middest of all the Isle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Islands altogether cut and separated with streames and riuers.

To anker in the sayd harbour, you must not ride farther then fiue or sixe cables length from the sayd hauen.

A letter sent to the right Honourable Sir William Cecill Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. From M. Thomas Iames of Bristoll, concerning the discouerie of the Isle of Ramea, dated the 14 of September. 1591.

RIght Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordship done, I thought good humbly to aduertise your honour of the discouery of an Island made by two smal shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies past being prised neare Silley, by a ship of which I am part owner, called the Pleasure, sent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Maiesties seruice. Which prise is sent backe to this Port by those of the sayd shippes, with vpwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Island lyeth in 47. degrees, some fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and some part of the Island is flat Sands and shoulde: and the fish commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May & Iune, by numbers of thousands, which fish is very big: and hath two great teeth: and the skinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of fiue of the saide fishes they make a hogshead of Traine, which Traine is very sweet, which if it will make sope, the king of Spaine may burne some of his Oliue trees. Humbly praying your Lordship to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightie. From Bristoll this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours most humbly at commandement.
THOMAS IAMES.

A briefe note of the Morsse and the vse thereof.

IN the first voyage of Iaques Carthier, wherein he discouered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534. as you may reade in pag. 250 of this present volume, he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words. About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouthes like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the sea. Wee sawe one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Iaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen and to haue teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in Latine Boues Marini, or Vaccæ Marinæ, & in the Russiã tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I haue seene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dressed I haue yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Buls hides in England. The Leather dressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Sauages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores vse in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I haue seene diuers in her Maiesties stately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I haue seene a dry flat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: & haue bene sold in England to the combe & knife makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Iuory is sold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow then the Iuorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize, which was half a yard long or very litle lesse: and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministering medicine to his patients, and had found it as soueraigne against poyson as any Vnicornes horne.

The voyage of the ship called the Marigold of M. Hill of Redrife vnto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half, 1593 Written by Richard Fisher Master Hilles man of Redriffe.

THe ship called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furnished with 20 men, wherof 10 were mariners, the Masters name being Richard Strong of Apsham, the Masters mate Peter Langworth of Apsham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morsses or sea Oxen (whereof diuers haue teeth aboue a cubit long & skinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other necessary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of Iune 1593 in consort of another ship of M. Drakes of Apsham, which vpon some occasion was not ready so soone as shee should haue bene by two moneths. The place for which these two ships were bound was an Island within the streightes of Saint Peter on the backe side of Newfoundland to the Southwest in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees, called by the Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, but by the Sauages and naturals of the Continent next adioyning Menquit. On which Isle are so great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and Iune, that there haue bene fifteene hundreth killed there by one small barke, in the yeere 1591. The two English shipps aforesayde, lost companie before they came to Newfoundland: and neuer came after together in all their voyage.

The voyage of M. Drake of Apsham to Ramea.

The Isle of Ramea, or Menquit.

The ship of M. George Drake fell first with New-foundland, and afterward very directly came to the Isle Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where shee found a shippe of Saint Malo three parts fraighted with these fishes: the men whereof enquiring whence our shippe was and who was the Master thereof, being answered that shee was belonging to Master George Drake of Apsham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league with England, fled so hastily that present night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men seazed vpon and brought away as good prises home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-Oxen, but nothing such numbers as they might haue had, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected. The shippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfoundland the eleuenth of Iulie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and sayling toward the straight of Saint Peter (which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being vnacquainted with the place, beate vp and downe a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length ouer shot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

The English men land vpon Cape Briton.

Here diuerse of our men went on land vpon the very Cape, where, at their arriuall they found the spittes of Oke of the Sauages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe diuers beastes and foules, as blacke Foxes, *Deere*, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But hauing found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where wee sawe many Seales. And here hauing neede of fresh water we went againe on shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Sauages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Sauage with blacke long hayre hanging about his shoulders who called vnto vs, weauing his handes downewardes towardes his bellie, vsing these wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one of our mens musket vnawares shot off: whervpon hee fell downe, and rising vp suddenly againe hee cryed thrise with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right vp ouer the bushes with great agilitie and swiftnesse came towardes vs with white staues in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a greyhounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired vnto our boate without any hurt at all receiued. Howbeit one of them brake an hogshead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Vpon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dosen muskets shotte vpon them, which they auoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselues to the woodes. One of the Sauages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their priuities, which were couered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to giue their fellowes warning of vs.

They goe on shore in another place.

The people of the countrey came downe to our men.

Blacke dogs.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of vs Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diuerse other kindes to vs vnknowne, because wee stayed not long with diligence to obserue them: and there is great shewe of rosen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raspeses, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good smell, and diuers good for the skuruie, and grasse very ranke and of great length. Wee sawe fiue or sixe boates sayling to the Southwestwardes of Cape Briton, which wee iudged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way. Wee sawe also, while wee were on shore, the manner of their hanging vp of their fish and flesh with withes to dry in the ayre: they also lay them vpon raftes and hurdles and make a smoake vnder them, or a softe fire, and so drie them as the Sauages vse to doe in Virginia.

A secret trade to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee sounded and had sixtie fathomes black ozie ground. And sayling thence Westwarde nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde sande, and small whitish stones. Wee continued our course so farre *to* the Southwest, that wee brought ourselues into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, hauing sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton. We found the current betweene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to set out toward the Eastsoutheast. In our course to the West of Cape Briton we saw exceeding great store of seales, and abundance of Porposes, whereof we killed eleuen. We sawe Whales also of all sortes as-

Soundings to the South and Southwestward of Cape Briton.

They sayle 50 or 60 leagues to the South-West of Cape Briton.

Great store of Seales, Porposes, Whales and Cods.

wel small as great: and here our men tooke many berded Coddes with one teate vnderneath, which are like to the Northeast Cods, and better then those of Newfoundland.

They continue on the coast from Cape Briton Westwards full eleuen weekes.

From our arriuall at the hauen of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforesayde the eleuenth of Iuly) we continued beating vp and downe on the coast of Arambec to the West and Southwest of Cape Briton vntill the twentie eight of September, fully by the space of eleuen weekes: and then by the perswasion of our Master and certaine others wee shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Açores, and came first to Coruo and Flores, where beating vp and downe, and missing of expected pray, we sayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we sought to boorde a Portugall shippe, which we found too well appointed for vs to bring along with vs, and so being forced to leaue them behinde and hauing wasted all our victuals, wee were constrained against our willes to hasten home vnto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Christmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very strange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our shippe by the space of many dayes as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chase from our ship, vntill one of our men fell ouerboord and was drowned, after which time shee immediatly forsooke vs, and neuer afterward appeared vnto vs.

An huge Whale pursued their ship by the space of many dayes, till one of their men fell ouerboord.

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to *Isle of* Ramea in the aforesayd yere 1593.

IN the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher seruant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their loosing of their consort the shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham: which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two moneths as she ought to haue bene, she was not onely the hinderance of her consort the Marigolde, & lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Morses or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and Iune: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Isle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken vp by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint Iohn de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee say. Which lingering improuidence of our men hath bene the ouerthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the vndertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Authour himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme I am constrained to leaue it out. The want whereof, for the better vnderstanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplyed by the voyage of Master Charles Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly preuented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischiefe, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Neuerthelesse albeit hitherto the successe hath not answered our expectation through our owne default, as is abouesaid, yet I was very willing to set downe in briefe and homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Siluester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that haue conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and haue brought vs true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes; while wee this long time haue stood still and haue bene idle lookers on, making courtisie who should giue the first aduenture, or once being giuen, who should continue or prosecute the same.

The

The voyage of the Grace of Bristoll of M. Rice Iones, a Barke of thirty-fiue Tunnes, vp into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of Newefoundland, as farre as the Ile of Assumption or Natiscôtec, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by Siluester Wyet, Shipmaster of Bristoll.

WEe departed with the aforesaid Barke manned with twelue men for the place aforesaid from Bristoll the 4 of Aprill 1594. and fell with Cape d'Espere on the coast of Newefoundland the nineteenth of May in the height of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being distant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very same day.

The 20 day we were thwart of Cape Raz.

Cape Raz.

Then we set our course Northwest for Cape S. Marie, which is distant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eastside of the great bay of Placentia almost at the entrie thereof.

Cape S. Marie.

From thence we shaped our course for the Islands of S. Pedro passing by the broken Islands of the Martyers: and when we were thwart of the said Isles of the Martyers our course to the Isles of S. Pedro was West and by North. In these Isles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ships of Sibiburo fishing for Cod: where we stayed 2 dayes, and tooke in balest for our ship. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ship vpon the lee, and in 2 houres space we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our prouision of our ship. Then we departed from the Isle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulffe of S. Laurence betwene Cape Briton and the said Isle, and set our course West North West, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be distant from the Isles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we set our course Northnorthwest being distant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeast and by East some 18 or 19 leagues.

The Islands of the Martyers.
The Isles of S. Peter.
Cape de Rey.
Cape de Angullie.
The bay of Saint George.

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biskaine ships, which had bene cast away three yeeres before: where we had some seuen or eight hundred Whale finnes, and some yron bolts and chaines of their mayne shrouds & fore shroudes: al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caske remained still. Some part of the commodities were spoiled by tumbling downe of the clifts of the hils, which couered part of the caske, and the greater part of those Whale finnes, which we vnderstood to be there by foure Spaniards which escaped, & were brought to S. Iohn de Luz. Here we found the houses of the Sauages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and set round like a Doue-house, and couered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found also some part of their victuals, which were Deeres flesh roasted vpon wooden spits at the fire, & a dish made of a ryne of a tree, sowed together with the sinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were also foules called Cormorants, which they had pluckt and made ready to haue dressed, and there we found a wooden spoone of their making. And we discerned the tracks of the feete of some fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

When we had dispatched our businesse in this bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northern point of the said Bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are woont vsually to shoot themselues on shore on the Isle of Assumption, or Natiscotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great riuer that runneth vp to Canada, we shaped our course ouer to that long Isle of Natiscotec, and wee found the distance of the way to the Estermost ende thereof to be about fourty foure leagues: and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here wee arriued about the middest of Iune at the East end, and rode in eighteene fadome water in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaued a lyne ouerboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fish: we went also seuen of vs on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of diuers beastes in the sand when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Norther side of the Island, which we per-

They land on the Isle of Natiscotec.

ceiued to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to haue found there, and missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Island of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of Natiscotec some twelue leagues. From the Isle of Penguin wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Iles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of Placentia, and arriued in the Easterside thereof some ten leagues vp within the Bay among the fishermen of Saint Iohn de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well vsed and they wished heartily for peace betweene them and vs. There the men of Saint Iohn and Sibiburo men bestowed two pinnesses on vs to make vp our voyage with fish. Then wee departed ouer to the other side of the Bay, where we arriued in an harbour which is called Pesmarck, and there made our stage and fished so long, that in the ende the Sauages came, and in the night, when our men were at rest, cut both our pinnesse and our shippes boate away to our great hinderance of our voyage, yet it was our good fortune to finde out our pinnesses and get them againe. Then for feare of a shrewder turne of the Sauages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and hauing passed Cape Raz, we passed Northwarde foureteene leagues and arriued in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie sayles of Englishmen, wee made vp our fishing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of August to our good content: and departing thence we arriued first in Combe and staied there a seuen night, and afterward in Hungrod in the riuer of Bristoll by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and diuers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea.

THe Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, whereof was M. Steuen Bennet, bound vnto the riuer of Canada, set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the saide Charles Leigh himselfe, and Steuen Van Herwick brother to the sayd Abraham, going themselues in the said ships as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graues-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after some hindrances, arriuing at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the said moneth put to sea againe. And with prosperous windes the 18 of May we were vpon the Banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we lost the Chancewel. The 20 we had sight of land and entred within the bay of Assumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ship: and afterward in the same bay wee met with our consort. Whereupon we presently put to sea againe: and the next day we arriued at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was giuen vs at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) vntill the last of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuse to seeke Shallops but could find none. The first of Iune we set saile from Rogneuse, and the second we put roome to a bay vnder the Northside of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme storme. The 4 we set saile, and this day we saw a great Island of yce. The 5 at night we lost the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne setting we had sight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reason of contrary windes we cast anker vnder the Northeast ende of the Isle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reasonable ground. In that place we caught great store of Cods, which were larger and better fish then any in Newfoundland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the shore we fell to fishing where the Cods did bite at least 20 fathomes aboue ground, and almost as fast as we could hale them into the ship. The 14 we came to the two Islands of Birds, some 23 leagues frō Menego: where there were such abundance of Birds, as is almost incredible to report. And vpon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Morsses or sea Oxen, which were a sleepe vpon the rockes: but when

The Isle of Menego.

The 2 Islands of Birdes.

Store of Morsses.

we approched here vnto them with our boate they cast themselues into the sea and pursued vs with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arriued at Brians Island, which lyeth 5 leagues West from the Island of Birds. About this Island ther is as great aboundance of cods as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught also a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was so great that the hooke could not hold her into the ship: but when she was aboue water she bent the hooke & escaped. In this Island we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, & great store of wood, but of smal groweth. Springes of fresh water we found none in all the Island, but some standing pooles of raine water. The same day at night we weyed anker againe. The 17 we had stormy weather. The 18 we came to the Isle of Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our consort. And approching neere vnto the harborough of Halabolina we cast anker in 3 fadomes water and sent our great boate into the harborough, with the masters mate and some dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ships. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and two of Sibiburo adioyning to Saint Iohn de Luz being the French Kings subiects, whom they supposed to haue bene of Spaine, and so affirmed vnto vs. Whereupon wee went presently into harborough, finding but eleuen foote and an halfe of water vpon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had cast anker we sent presently to speake with the masters of all the ships: but those only of Saint Malo came aboord, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demaunded of whence the other two shippes were. They sayde as they thought of Saint Iohn de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we presently sent our boate for the Masters of both the sayd shippes, to request them to come aboord, and to bring with them their Charters parties and other euidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which message one of the sayde Masters came aboord, with the Pilote and Masters mate of the other shippe: whom when we had examined, they sayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings subiectes. We requested them for our better securitie in the harborough peaceably to deliuer vp their powder and munition: promising them that if we found them to be the French Kings subiectes it shoulde be kept in safetie for them without diminishing. But they woulde not consent thereunto: whereunto we replyed, that vnlesse they would consent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not consenting, we sent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboorde their ship: but straightly commanded our men not to touch any thing else in the ship vpon their further perill: which they promised to performe. When they came aboorde the said ships which were mored together, they were resisted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie: which done, they fell presently to pillaging of the Baskes, contrary to their promise: whereupon we sent another to forbidde them; but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my selfe, and tooke away from our men whatsoeuer they had pillaged, and gaue it againe to the owners: onely I sent aboord our owne ship their powder and munition to be kept in safetie vntil we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gaue the Baskes possession of their shippe againe and tolde them they should not loose the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings subiects. Then I caryed away all our men, and also tooke with me two or three of the chiefest of them, and when I came aboord went to examining of them, and by circumstances found one of the ships to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the master of the said ship, that I was throughly satisfied that he was of Ftance and so dismissed him in peace. Of the other ship we had great presumption that she was of Spaine, but had no certaine proofe thereof, wherefore wee dismissed them likewise in peace. After I had thus dismissed them, our ships company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them resolued to cary one of those ships away. But they were preuented of their euill purpose by ayde which the saide ships receiued from their countreymen in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of Iune, very earely there were gathered together out of all the ships in both harboroughs, at the least 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted vpon the shore three pieces of Ordinance against vs, and had prepared them selues in al readinesse to fight with vs, which so

In Bryans Island excellent ground for corne and medow.

The Isle of Ramea.

Another harborough in Ramea.

A skirmish betweene the French men and vs.

A new treason of the Britons.

The bar of the hauen of Ramea.

They depart from Ramea.

Isle Blanch or the White Isle.

soone as we had discried them gaue the onset vpon vs with at least an hundred small shot out of the woods. There were also in a readines to assault vs about three hundred Sauages. But after we had skirmished a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whose ship rowed hard by vs: In which parley they required some of our men to come on shore vnto them: whereupon wee requested M. Ralph Hill and the Boatswaines mate to go on shore to them: whom when they had they detained as prisoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baskes in possession; which we surrendred vnto them in safetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there came aboord vnto vs one Captaine Charles, who was captaine of the great ship of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baskes which at first we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almost bene betraied. For the said Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themselues aboord of our ship and held vs in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others should haue entred our ship vnawares from one of the ships of S. Malo, which professed to be our friend, & vnto whom we shewed all courtesie. But we perceiuing their treacherous intent, threatned to set fire on the said ship, which was then thwart our hawse, from which they would haue entred. By which resolution of ours God did discourage thē from effecting their mischieuous purposes. Now the said captaine Charles when he saw himselfe preuented of his wicked intents, took his boat presently to go on shore, and promised that all things should be ended in peace betweene vs, and that he would send vs our two men againe. But when he was on shore he presently sent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, & withall commanded vs out of the harborough, but he sent not our men as he promised, we being now the weaker side did not only deliuer his boat but also determined to be gon and then requested them to help vs with our anker which was on shore; but they would not. Then we desired them to cut the bent of the cable vpon the anker on shore (for we durst not send our boat lest they should haue kept from vs both our boat and men) which they promised to do for vs, as also to send our men; but when they were on shore, they would do neither. We therefore seeing their falshood in euery thing, durst no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawse; which we did, & so departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leauing two of our men with our cable & anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawser behind vs. And as we were going away, they made great shewes of friendship, and dranke vnto vs from the shore; but more for feare then loue, and requested vs to come on shore for our men, whom then they deliuered. The same morning in passing ouer the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboord, our ship came on ground vpon the sands; where we lay some 8 houres: during which time, at low water we trimmed our ship without boord, and by the great prouidence of God found our leake which then we stopped. About sixe of the clocke at night we got our ship on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then because of the wind we could not passe. But it pleased God to send vs faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ship cleane ouer the bar. The 21 day after we got ouer the barre the wind arose at east & eastsoutheast, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ship and men perished in the sands. The same day, because the wind kept vs within the bay, we went to the Isle Blanch, where the ships of the other harborow had their stages: but it was at least two leagues from their ships: where we hoped by friendship to procure a shallope & assurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the shore with our ship, & weaued them with a white flag, they in sted of cōming vnto vs, sent their message by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on shore of purpose against vs; so that they would neither speake with vs, nor permit vs to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would haue put to sea that night: but there was much wind at East, which kept vs within the bay, & inforced vs to come to an anker vnder Isle Blanch. The next morning being the 22. we put to sea, and about 12 of the clocke the same day, the wind being at Northeast and foule weather, the master sayd he could not ply vp to

Grande Coste, because of the leeshore, & the wind against vs, and therefore asked what we should do. I asked then how farre we had to the riuer of cape Briton: he sayd a little way. Then sayd I, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Sauages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water & balist, which we wanted. To which the master sayd, that if I would he would cary vs thither. I thinking it to be the best course, sayd I was content, so farre forth as that from thence we tooke the first faire wind for Grande Coste. Hereupon the master willed him at the helme to keepe his course southeast and southeast and by south. Presently after I asked him how many leagues we had to the sayd riuer, and from the sayd riuer to Grande Coste. He then sayd that we had 40. leagues to the riuer, and from the riuer to Grande Coste 120 leagues. Hereupon I said I would not consent to go so far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directest course for Grande Coste; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ship presented me & the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coste; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme homewards. The 14 of Iune we sent our boat on shore in a great bay vpon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arriued on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some caske on shore in a sandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we cast anker in another bay vpon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told vs that their ship was cast away vpon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and vpon a rocke within a mile of the shore, vpon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her vp into a sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but presently after there came aboord many shallops with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men euen to their very shirts, and vsing them in sauage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians haue aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his diuine prouidence and vnspeakeable mercy had not onely preserued all the men, but brought vs thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men stayed in his ship, and came aboord of vs: whom we vsed well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gaue him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop with mast, sailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompence whereof he gaue vs two hogsheads of sider, one barrel of peaze, and 25 score of fish.

times in the morning we departed from that road toward a
great Bi
f of 300 tun, whose men dealt most doggedly with the
har
night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where
the morning we put into the harborow; and approch-
ered, and so suspected the ship to be gone: where-
dozen men, who when they came, found great
fled: neither could they perceiue whether the
This day about twelue of the clocke we
all the Sauages ran away into the woods,
me day in the afternoone we brought
we tooke three hogsheads and an
he euening three of the Sauages,
we gaue coats and kniues, and
st of Iuly, the rest of the Saua-
e was Itarey, and their queene,

The riuer of Cape Briton.

Their arriuall in the Isle of Cape Briton.

The Chancewel cast away 18 leagues within Cape Briton.

Woods on the Isle of Cape Briton.

The Sauages of Cape Briton come aboord of our ship.

to whom also we gaue coats and kniues, and other trifles. These Sauages called the harborow Cibo.

Cibo an harborow in the Isle of Cape Briton.

In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that euer we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net aboue 140. The fourth of Iuly in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port vnder an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port.

New Port.

At this place in pursuing certaine shallops of a ship of Rochel, one of them came aboord, who told vs, that the Biskainer whom we sought, was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon wee sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral & others our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recouery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Iohannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell.

Port Ingles.

To which they answered, that if we would come in vnto them in peace, they would assist vs what they might. This answere we had the sixt day: and the seuenth in the fornoone we arriued in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships: which done, I went aboord the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise: who sent for Iohannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe: whereupon I went aboord his ship to haue them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were briefe with them and willed them either to restore vs the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also haue satisfaction for our victuals and merchandise which by their meanes were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere vnto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboord, and desired to speake with mee: then I went aboord vnto him, and desired to haue [illegible] things with peace and quietnesse, proffering to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our vmpires, and what they should aduise I would stand vnto. Heereupon he went aboord the other ship to make peace; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace vnto them, they would so set me aboord my ship againe: which they denied to doe, but most vniustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboord: but so soone as she came to the Admirals ships side, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with vs. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde of them all: and hauing by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them: but when they saw they had lost their aduantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twise to goe aboord, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our liues: so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft vs: and yet notw[illegible]g they bent a piece of great ordinance at vs: for we were to passe by them v[illegible]cued our shallop vnder our Masters great boat; and by that mean[illegible]nor-ing being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the [illegible] made them to repent their euill dealing, and to rest[illegible] suncke their ships if we could. But the winde [illegible] caried vs to sea: so that the same morning w[illegible]rence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped [illegible]gence, did fish at that place. The thir[illegible] the foureteenth day being foggy an[illegible] sent our shallop before the ship [illegible] mens negligence which were in [illegible] but there was much [illegible] although we could not see [illegible] sixteene fathoms water we cas[illegible] and in the euening it pleas[illegible]

They departed from Cape Briton.

S. Peters Islands.

houre clere weather, by which we found our selues to be imbayed, and also had sight of our shallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from vs. The same night we went further into the same bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on shore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the same euening we had sight of S. Laurence, and sent off our boat in the night with our Master and sixteene men to surprise the Spanyard, which lay in Litle S. Laurence: who presently vpon the entrance of our men surrendred vp their ship and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Master of our ship with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came foorth to meet our shippe, but being foggy, he cast anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out to our ship, which through the current and foggy weather was put fiue or sixe leagues to leeward: & while they were at anker in the boat they were surprised again by certaine Basks of S. Iohn de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. These Basks with their forces (hauing receiued intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who sleeping on shore, escaped vnto them ouerland) on the sudden surprised the sayd boat with our Master and others: and then presently made vnto the ship; but our men aboord defended them off. In the end they threatned that vnlesse they would yeeld, they would kill M. Crafton and our other men before their eyes. So at last vpon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to saue their liues, they yeelded vp the ship againe, vpon condition, that they should not iniury any of our men, but should let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their couenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, disarming them, stripping their clothes from their backs, and vsing them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they presently towed the shippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne shippes did ride, and within lesse then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our shippe arriued in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our shallop came aboord vnto vs, with most part of our sixteene men, who tolde vs the whole story before recited, as also that captaine Laurence had caried away our Master, and Stephen van Herwicke prisoners, and turned the rest of our men on shore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almost any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboord, except the two prisoners: and the same day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards shallops, with fiue hogsheads of traine oile in ech of them, & in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two shallops fled on shore. The same day also we tooke the Master of one of the ships which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained prisoners to ransome M. Crafton & Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence sent them aboord, and we also released all our prisoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatswaine of the Spanish ship, whom we kept with vs: and the same day we set saile frõ thence. The 24 we had aduice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the same night, being within fiue or six leagues of the harborow, I sent off our two shallops with thirty men to discouer the harborow, and to surprise the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ship, and in the mouth thereof we espied three shallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ship of Rochel, which they had surprised with foure men in her: who told them that there were but two ships in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell isle. And as we were discoursing with the Rochellers, we had sight of the ships: whereupon we sent our boat aboord the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to request him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This message being sent, we made all the haste we could vnto the ship of Bell isle, which first began with vs with three great shot, one whereof hit our maintopsaile, but both the other missed vs. And we also sent one vnto them: then being approched nere vnto them ten or twelue of vs went in a shallop to enter them, and we caried also a warpe with vs to make fast vnto their ship, whereby our ship might the better come vp to ayd vs. And when we boorded them in our boat, they betooke themselues to their close fights, playing chiefly vpon vs with shot &

A Spanish ship taken.

M. Crafton.

The harborow of Cape S. Marie.

pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerously, escaping neere dangers both by shot & pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was shot out of my hand into the sea: which shot also burst one side of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long beene aboord, but through the helpe of God we caused them to yeeld vnto our mercy. There were of them in the ship aboue forty men, most whereof we sent aboord of our shippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dresse the wounded men, one of which was wounded vnto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable strong ship, almost two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had also fourcteene or fifteene men more, which were then absent from the ship; otherwise we should haue had the hoter fight. The same day we got our sailes to the yard, and our top masts on end, and rigged the shippe what we could. The 26 day we got some oile aboord, and there we taried vntill the second of August, fitting our selues for the sea, and getting fish aboord as weather serued vs. During our abode there we diuided our men, and appointed to ech ship their company, my selfe and my friends being resolued to take our passage in the prize; wherein when we were shipped, and the company, there arose great enmity against vs by the other shippe, which afterward was quieted. The second day of August, hauing taking in water and wood, we put to sea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpose to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to sea we found our sailes so olde, our ropes so rotten, and our prouision of bread and drinke so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England: whereupon we drew out our reasons the fourth day of August, and sent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cause of our resolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and saying, that we in the prize went about to cousin and deceiue them. To conclude, they sent vs word that they would keepe vs company for England. But I had giuen William Crafton commission before to go for the Islands of the Açores, and there to spend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of August, hauing a faire winde, we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the Hopewell keeping vs company vntill midday, whenas hauing lost vs in a fogge, she shot off two pieces of ordinance, and we answered her with three: afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Islands. The 27 of August, drawing neere the coast of England, we sounded and found ground at seuenty fadoms. Some of the mariners thinking we were in Bristow channell, and other in Silly channell: so that through variety of iudgements, and euill marinership we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, sometimes running to the Northeast, sometimes to the Southeast, then againe to the East, and Eastnortheast. Thus did we spend faire winds, and lose our time vntill the last of August. And then it pleased God that we fell with the Island of Lundy within the channell of Bristoll; from whence we shaped our course: and after diuers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off of Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gaue certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleased God to bring the ship in safety to London, where she was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

A Briton ship of 200 tunnes, taken.

Certaine obseruations touching the countreys and places where we trauelled.

THe Newfoundland we found very subiect to fogs and mists. The ground of it is very rocky: and vpon it there is great store of firre trees, and in some places red; and about the shore it hath great abundance of cod-fish. We were on land in it in foure seuerall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Rase: 3 At the harborow of Lano, which lieth foure leagues to the West beyond Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Island of Menego for the soile is much like Newfoundland, but the fish about it, as also thorowout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better then that of the Newfoundland. This Island is scant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midst of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thrise on shore: once at the East side, and twise at the West.

The three Islands of birds are sandy red, but with the multitude of birds vpon them they looke white. The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie in a paued street. The greatest of the Islands is about a mile in compasse. The second is little lesse. The third is a very little one, like a small rocke. At the second of these three lay on the shore in the Sunshine about thirty or forty sea-oxen or morses: which when our boat came nere them, presently made into the sea, and swam after the boat.

Brions Island wee found to be very good, and sandy ground. It hath in it store of firre trees. It is somewhat more then a league long, and about three leagues in compasse. Here we were on land once, and went from the one side of it to the other.

The Island of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Island, hauing also abundance of firre trees. It seemeth to be in length about twelue or thirteene leagues at least. We were there in harborow, but not on shore, which we much desired, and hoped to haue bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Basks and Britons, mentioned before, preuented vs.

The Isle Blanche likewise seemeth in quality of the ground and bignesse of it to be much like Brions Island aforesayd, but somewhat lesse. We were not on shore vpon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower then the hils: as we did also at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on shore vpon it in fiue places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was cast away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Island betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the English port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulnesse of Brions Island, Isle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild corne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberies, white roses, and store of wilde peason. Also about the sayd Islands the sea yeeldeth great abundance of fish of diuers sorts. And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other necessary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

CERTAINE VOYAGES

CONTAINING THE DISCOUERIE OF THE GULFE OF SAINCT LAURENCE TO THE WEST OF NEWFOUNDLAND, AND FROM THENCE VP THE RIUER OF CANADA, TO HOCHELAGA, SAGUENAY, AND OTHER PLACES: WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPERATURE OF THE CLIMATE, THE DISPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE, THE NATURE, COMMODITIES, AND RICHES OF THE SOILE, AND OTHER MATTERS OF SPECIALL MOMENT.

The first relation of Iaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the new land called New France, newly discouered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. Iaques Carthier departed from the Port of S. Malo, with two ships, and came to Newfoundland, and how he entred into the Port of Buona Vista.

AFter that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, & Viceadmirall of France had caused the Captaines, Masters, and Mariners of the shippes to be sworne to behaue themselues truely and faithfully in the seruice of the most Christian King of France, vnder the charge of the sayd Carthier, vpon the twentieth day of Aprill 1534, we departed from the Port of S. Malo, with two ships of threescore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in each one: and with such prosperous weather we sailed onwards, that vpon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Vista, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude*. But because of the great store of the ice that was alongst the sayd land, we were constrayned to enter into an hauen called S. Katherins Hauen, distant from the other Port about fiue leagues toward Southsoutheast: there did we stay tenne dayes looking for faire weather; and in the meane while we mended and dressed our boats.

How we came to the Island of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

The Isle of Birds.

VPon the 21 of May the winde being in the West, we hoised saile, and sailed toward North and by East from the cape of Buona Vista vntil we came to the Island of Birds, which was enuironed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt: notwithstanding the sayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in some birds, whereof there is such plenty, that vnlesse a man did see them, he would thinke it an incredible thing: for albeit the Island (which containeth about a league in circuit) be so full of them, that they seeme to haue bene brought thither, and sowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many houering about it as within; some of the which are as big as iayes, blacke and white, with beaks like vnto crowes: they lie alwayes vpon the sea; they cannot flie very high, because their wings are so little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yet do they flie as swiftly as any birds of the aire leuell to the water; they are also exceeding fat; we named them Aporath. In lesse then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with stones: so that besides them which we did eat fresh, euery ship did powder and salt fiue or sixe barrels full of them.

Of two sorts of birds, the one called Godetz, the other Margaulx; and how we came to Carpunt.

BEsides these, there is another kinde of birds which houer in the aire, and ouer the sea, lesser then the others; and these doe all gather themselues together in the Island, and put themselues vnder the wings of other birds that are greater: these we named Godetz. There are also of another sort, but bigger, and white, which bite euen as dogs: those we named Margaulx. And albeit the sayd Island be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithstanding beares come swimming thither to eat of the sayd birds: and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence leapt into the sea; and vpon Whitsunmunday (following our voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, swimming

A great white beare.

toward land as swiftly as we could saile. So soone as we saw her, we pursued her with our boats, and by maine strength tooke her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calfe of two yeres olde. The Wednesday following, being the 27 of the moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Castles; but because the weather was ill, and the great store of ice we found, we were constrained to enter into an harborow about the sayd entrance called Carpunt, where, because we would not come out of it, we stayed til the ninth of Iune, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of God to saile further then the sayd Carpunt, which is in latitude 51 degrees.

Les Chasteaux.

Carpunt.

The description of Newfoundland, from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad.

THe land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head toward Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. All this part of land is parted into Islands one so nere the other, that there are but small riuers betweene them; thorow the which you may passe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good harborows, among which are those of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of these Islands that is the highest of them all, being the top of it you may plainly see the two low Islands that are nere to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it fiue and twenty leagues; and there are two entrances thereat, one on the East, the other on the South side of the Island. But you must take heed of the side & point of the East, because that euery where there is nothing els but shelues, and the water is very shallow: you must goe about the Island toward the West the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe toward the South to the sayd Carpunt. Also you are to take heed of three shelues that are in the chanell vnder the water: and toward the Island on the East side in the chanell, the water is of three or foure fadome deepe, and cleere ground. The other trendeth toward East northeast, and on the West you may go on shore.

Of the Island which now is called S. Katherins Island.

GOing from the point Degrad, and entring into the sayd bay toward the West & by North: there is some doubt of two Islands that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the sayd point three leagues, and the other seuen, either more or lesse then the first, being a low and plaine land, and it seemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it Saint Katherines Island; in which, toward the Northeast there is very dry soile; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground, so that you must go a little about. The sayd Island & the Port of Castles trend toward North northeast, and South southwest, and they are about 15. leagues asunder. From the said port of Castles to the port of Gutte, which is in the northerne part of the said Bay, that trendeth toward East northeast, and West southwest, there are 12. leagues and an halfe: and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to say, the third part athwart the saide Bay the depth being sounded it is about 38. fadomes: and from the said port of Balances to the white Sands toward West southwest there is 15. leagues, but you must take heed of a shelfe that lyeth about 3. leagues outward frõ the said white Sands on the Southwest side aboue water like a boat.

Blanc Sablon or white Sands.

Of the place called Blanc Sablon, or the white Sand: of the Iland of Brest, and of the Iland of Birds, of the sorts and quantitie of birds that there are found: and of the Port called the Islettes.

WHite Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor southeast. But toward South southwest from the saide road there are two Ilands, one of the which is called Brest Iland, and the other the Iland of Birds, in which there is great store of Godetz, and crowes with red beakes and red feete: they make their nestes in holes vnder the ground euen as Conies. A point of land being passed about a league from white Sand, there is a Port and passage found called the Islettes, a better place then white Sand: and there is great fishing. From the said Port of the Islettes vnto another called Brest, the circuit is about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51. degrees and 55. minutes, and in longitude*.

Brest a place to the North in Newfound land.

From the Islettes to that place there are many other Ilands: and the saide Port of Brest is also amongst those Ilands. Moreouer the Ilands do compasse more then 3. leagues from the said Brest, being low, and ouer them are the other lands aboue mentioned seene.

How we with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, and sayling onward toward the West we passed amidst the Islettes, which were so many in number, that it was not possible to tell them: and how we named them the Islettes.

VPon the 10. of Iune wee with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, to furnish our selues with water and wood, and to make vs ready to passe the saide Bay. Vpon S. Barnabas day Seruice being heard, we with our boats went beyond the said Port toward the west, to see what harboroughes were there: wee passed through the midst of the Islettes, which were so many in number that it was not possible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10. leagues beyond the said Port. We to rest our selues stayed in one of them a night, and there we found great store of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their neasts, we named them all The Islettes.

Of the Port called S. Antonies Port, S. Seruans Port, Iames Cartiers Port: of the riuer called S. Iames: of the customes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of White Sand.

The next day we passed the said Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good hauen, which we named S. Antonies Hauen, and one or two leagues beyond wee found a little riuer toward the Southwest coast, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we set vp a Crosse, and named it S. Seruans Port: and on the Southwest side of the said Port and riuer, about one league there is a small Iland as round as an Ouen, enuironed about with many other litle Ilands that giue notice to the said Ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater riuer, in which we tooke good store of salmon, that we named S. Iames his Riuer. Being in the said riuer, we saw a ship of Rochel that the night before had passed the Port of Brest, where they thought to haue gone a fishing: but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approched neere vnto it, and did direct it to another Port one league more toward the West then the said riuer of S. Iames, which I take to be one of the best in all the world, and therefore wee named it Iames Carthiers Sound. If the soile were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great commoditie: but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather stones and wilde cragges, and a place fit for wilde beastes, for in all the North Iland I did not see a Cart-load of good earth: yet went I on shore in many places, and in the Iland of White Sand, there is nothing else but mosse and small thornes scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I beleeue that this was the land that God allotted to Caine. There are men of an indifferent good stature and bignesse, but wilde and vnruly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other such thing in stead of a naile, and with them they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beastes skinnes as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments then the men do, with their wastes girded: they paint themselues with certaine Roan colours: their boates are made of the barke of birch trees, with the which they fish and take great store of Seales, and as farre as we could vnderstand since our comming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the maine land out of hotter countreys, to catch the saide Seales and other necessaries for their liuing.

The riuer of S. Iames.

Boats made of the barke of Birch trees.

Of certaine Capes, that is to say, The double Cape, The pointed Cape, Cape Royal, and The Cape of Milke: of the mountaines of Granges: of the Ilands of Doue houses: and of the great fishing of Cods.

VPon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ships againe with our boats on purpose to saile forwards because the weather was faire, and vpon Sunday we caused Seruice to be saide: then on Munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from *Brest*, and sailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had seene, that seemed vnto vs to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidst the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one aboue the other, and therefore wee named it The double Cape. In the entrance of the Bay wee sounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about vs. From Brest to The double Cape there is about 20. leagues, and about fiue or sixe leagues beyond we sounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The said land lieth Northeast and Southwest. The next day being the 16 of the moneth we sailed along the said coast toward the Southwest, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very steepe and wilde hilles, among the which were seene certaine smal cabbans, which we in the countrey call Granges, and therefore we named them The hilles of the Granges. The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke mists and fogges of the weather, we could not haue sight of any land, but in the euening we spied an entrance into the land, by a riuer among the said Hilles of Granges, and a Cape lying toward the Southwest about 3 leagues from vs. The said Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and also toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the North side of which there is a plaine Iland. And because we would haue notice of the said entrance, to see i there were any good hauens, we strooke saile for that night. The next day being the 17 the moneth we had stormie weather from Northeast, wherefore we tooke our way toward t Southwest vntill Thursday morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athw Bay full of round Ilands like doue houses, and therefore wee named them The doue h And from the Bay of S. Iulian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by West wee called Cape Roial, there are 7. leagues, and toward the West southwest side of th Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and aboue round. On the North which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named The Cape o Betweene these two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, aboue which there are also others that shew that there be some riuers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee s and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greatest fishing of Cods that possible n for staying for our company, in lesse then an houre we tooke aboue an hundreth of th

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene Cape Royal, and The Cape of milke.

THe next day being the 18 of the moneth, the winde with such rage turned against v that we were constrained to go backe toward Cape Royal, thinking there to finde some ha borough, and with our boates went to discouer betweene the Cape Royal, and the Cape Milke, and found that aboue the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, with which are certaine Ilands. The said gulfe on the Southside is shut vp. The foresaid lo grounds are on one of the sides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The saide low grounds doe stretch themselues more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill soile: and in the middest of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The saide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude*. That night we found no harborough, and therefore wee lanched out into the Sea, leauing the Cape toward the West.

Of the Iland called S. Iohn.

FRom the said day vntill the 24 of the moneth being S. Iohns day we had both stormie weather and winde against vs, with such darkenesse and mistes, that vntill S. Iohns day, we could haue no sight of any land, and then had we sight of a Cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth Southwest about 35 leagues, but that day was so foggie and mistie, that we could not come neere land, and because it was S. Iohns day, we named it Cape S. Iohn.

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of Margaulx, and of the kinds of beas and birds that there are found. Of the Iland of Brion, and Cape Dolphin.

THe next day being the 25. of the moneth, the weather was also stormie, darke, and windy, but yet we sailed a part of the day toward West North west, and in the euening wee put our selues athwart vntill the second quarter; when as we departed, then did we by our compasse know that we were Northwest & by West about seuen leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S. Iohn, and as wee were about to hoise saile, the winde turned into the Northwest, wherefore wee went Southeast, about 15. leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as steepe and vpright as any wall, so that it was not possible to climbe them: and betweene them there is a little rocke. These Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of grasse, which there do make their nestes: and in the greatest of them, there was a great and infinite number of those that wee call Margaulx, that are white, and bigger then any geese, which were seuered in one part. In the other were onely Godetz, but toward the shoare there were of those Godetz, and great Appon[illegible] like to those of that Iland that we aboue haue mentioned: we went downe to the lowest part of the least Iland, where we killed aboue a thousand of those Godetz, and Apponatz. We put into our boates so many of them as we pleased, for in lesse then one houre we might haue filled thirtie such boats of them: we named them The Ilands of Margaulx. About fiue leagues frō the said Ilands on the West, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and so much in breadth: here did we stay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is enuironed round about ith sand, and hath a very good road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Those Ilands ue the best soile that euer we saw, for that one of their fields is more worth then all the land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and n bloomed, as thick, as ranke, and as faire as any can be seene in Britaine, so that they d to haue bene plowed and sowed. There was also a great store of gooseberies, straw- damaske roses, parseley, with other very sweete and pleasant hearbes. About the d are very great beastes as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouths o Elephants teeth, & liue also in the Sea. We saw one of them sleeping vpon the of the water: wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but so soone as he s, he cast himselfe into the Sea. We also saw beares & wolues: we named it Brions About it toward Southeast, and Northwest, there are great lakes As farre as I could and comprehend, I thinke that there be some passage betweene New found land, and land If so it were, it would be a great shortning, aswel of the time as of the way, ny perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward Westuthwest is the firme land, which seemeth to be as an Iland compassed about with litle Ilands sands. There is a goodly Cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning good grounds. On the 27. of Iune we compassed the said lands about that lie West Southst: and a farre off they seeme to be little hilles of sand, for they are but low landes: wee uld neither goe to them, nor land on them, because the winde was against vs. That day we went 15. leagues.

Three Ilands.

Of the Iland called Alezai, and of the cape of S. Peter.

THe next day we went along the said land about 10. leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low countrey. There is also betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole vnto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is fashioned as it were halfe a circle, all compassed about with sand like a ditch, ouer which as farre as ones eye can stretch, there is nothing but marrish grounds and standing pooles. And before you come to the first Cape very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About fiue leagues from the second Cape toward the Southwest, there is another Iland very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The first Cape we named S. Peters Cape, because vpon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called Cape Orleans: of the Riuer of Boates: of Wilde mens Cape: and of the qualitie and temperature of the countrey.

FRom Brions Iland to this place there is good anckorage of sand, and hauing sounded toward Southwest euen to the shoare about fiue leagues, wee found twentie and fiue fadome water, and within one league twelue fadome, and very neere the shoare sixe fadome, rather more then lesse, and also good anckorage. But because wee would bee the better acquainted with this stonie and rockie ground, wee strooke our sailes lowe and athwart. The next day being the last of the moneth saue one, the winde blewe South and by East. Wee sailed Westward vntill Tuesday morning at Sunne rising, being the last of the moneth, without any sight or knowledge of any lande except in the euening toward Sunne set, that wee discouered a lande which seemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond vs West southwest, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at Sunne rising wee sailed Westward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceiued that the land we had seene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South southeast, and North northwest, to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. Al the said land is low and plaine, and the fairest that may possibly be seene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, because it is all full of shelues and sands. We with our boats went on shore in many places, and among the rest wee entred into a goodly riuer, but very shallow, which we named The riuer of boats, because that there wee saw boates full of wild men that were crossing the riuer. We had no other notice of the said wild men: for the wind came from the sea, and so beat vs against the shore, that wee were constrained to retire our selues wit our boates toward our ships. Till the next day morning at Sunne rising, being the first Iuly, we sailed Northeast, in which time there rose great mistes and stormes, and there & wee strucke our sailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became c the & there we had sight of Cape Orleance, and of another about seuen leagues from vs, was North and by East, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the Northside of this ks of about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous shelfe, and banke of stones. While es of were at this Cape, we sawe a man running after our boates that were going along the they who made signes vnto vs that we should returne toward the said Cape againe. We with such signes, began to turne toward him, but he seeing vs come, began to flee: so so and we were come on shoare, we set a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a litle staf them then came to our ships againe. That day we trended the said land about 9. or 10. le hoping to finde some good harborough, but it was not possible: for as I haue said alrea tand is a very low land, and enuironed round about with great shelues. Neuerthelesse we were that day on shore in foure places to see the goodly and sweete smelling trees that were ther ld we found them to be Cedars, ewetrees, Pines, white elmes, ashes, willowes, with ma se other sorts of trees to vs vnknowen, but without any fruit. The grounds where no wo y is, are very faire, and all full of peason, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackeberies, and wilde corne, euen like vnto Rie, which seemed to haue bene sowen and plowed. This countrey is of better temperature then any other that can be seene, and very hote. There are many thrushes, stockdoues, and other birds: to be short, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

An exceeding goodly land.

300. Three hundred gentle Sauages.

Of the Bay called S. Lunario, and other notable Bayes and Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodnesse of those grounds.

THe next day being the second of Iuly we discouered and had sight of land on the Northerne side toward vs, that did ioyne vnto the land abouesaid, al compassed about, and we knew that it had about * in depth, and as much athwart, we named it S. Lunarios Bay, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the shore so shallow, that for the space of a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the Northeast side from the said Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there is another Cape of land, in the middest whereof there is a Bay fashioned trianglewise, very deepe, & as farre off, as we could ken from it the same lieth Northeast. The said Bay is compassed about with sands and shelues about 10. leagues from land, and there is but two fadome water: from the said Cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. We being a crosse the said Capes, discouered another land and Cape, and as farre as we could ken, it lay North and by East. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, so that wee were constrained to beare a smal saile vntil the next morning, being the thirde of Iuly when the winde came from the West: and we sailed Northward to haue a sight of the land that we had left on the Northeast side, aboue the low lands, among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in some places about 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reason of the great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we conceiued hope that wee should finde a passage, like vnto the passage of The Castles. The said gulfe lieth East Northeast, and West southwest. The ground that lieth on the Southside of the said gulfe, is as good and easie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that euer wee haue seene, as plaine and smooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of sundry sorts: among the rest there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as possibly can be seene, able to make mastes for ships of three hundred Tunne: neither did we see any place that was not full of the saide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The middest of the said Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

The passage de Chasteaux.

Trees able to [illegible] ships of tunnes.

Of the Cape D'Esperance, or the Cape of Hope, and of S. Martins Creeke, and how 7. boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themselues, but being terrified with our Culuerins which we shot at them, and our lances, they fled with great hast.

The Cape of the said South land was called The Cape of Hope, through the hope that we had to finde some passage. The fourth of Iuly we went along the coast of the said [illegible] on the Northerly side to finde some harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no succour against the wind: we thought good [illegible] it S. Martines Creeke. There we stayed from the fourth of Iuly vntil the twelfth: [illegible] we were there, on Munday being the sixth of the moneth, Seruice being done, wee [illegible] one of our boates went to discouer a Cape and point of land that on the Westerne side [illegible] about seuen or eight leagues from vs, to see which way it did bend, and being within a league of it, wee sawe two companies of boates of wilde men going from one [illegible] to the other: their boates were in number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the which [illegible] to the said point, and a great number of the men went on shore making a great noise, beckening vnto vs that wee should come on land, shewing vs certaine skinnes vpon pieces of wood, but because we had but one onely boat, wee would not goe to them, but went to the other side lying in the Sea: they seeing vs flee, prepared two of their boats to follow vs, with which came also fiue more of them that were comming from the Sea side, all which approched neere vnto our boate, dancing, and making many signes of ioy and mirth, as it were desiring our friendship, saying in their tongue Napeu tondamen assurtah, with many other words that we vnderstood not. But because (as we haue said) we had but one boat, wee would not stand to their courtesie, but made signes vnto them that they should turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward vs: and suddenly with their boates compassed vs about: and because they would not away from vs by any signes that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them, which did so terrifie them, that they put themselues to flight toward the sayde point, making a great noise: and hauing staid a while, they began anew, euen as at the first to come to vs againe, and being come neere our boat wee strucke at them with two lances, which thing was so great a terrour vnto them, that with great hast they beganne to flee, and would no more follow vs.

How the said wilde men comming to our ships, and our men going toward them, both parties went on land, and how the said wilde men with great ioy began to trafique with our men.

THe next day part of the saide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and entrance of the Creeke, where we with our ships were at road. We being aduertised of their comming, went to the point where they were with our boates: but so soone as they saw vs, they began to flee, making signes that they came to trafique with vs, shewing vs, such skinnes as they cloth themselues withall, which are of small value. We likewise made signes vnto them, that we wished them no euill: and in signe thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and carry them kniues with other Iron wares, and a red hat to giue vnto their Captaine. Which when they saw, they also came on land, and brought some of their skinnes, and so began to deale with vs, seeming to be very glad to haue our iron wares and other things, stil dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to cast Sea water on their heads. They gaue vs whatsoeuer they had, not keeping any thing, so that they were constrained to goe backe againe naked, and made vs signes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more skinnes with them.

How that we hauing sent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladnesse. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth foorth, and of the Bay called Baie du Chaleur, or The Bay of heat.

VPon Thursday being the eight of the moneth, because the winde was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boates in a readinesse to goe to discouer the said Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we sailed vntil noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the said Bay, and how that ouer the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but seeing that ther was no passage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coast: sayling, we saw certaine wilde men that stood vpon the shore of a lake, that is amon low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: wee went thither, & found that ther a chanel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the ba the chanell, the wilde men with one of their boates came vnto vs, and brought vp pie Seales ready sodden, putting them vpon pieces of wood: then retiring themselue would make signes vnto vs, that they did giue them vs. Wee sent two men vnto the hatchets, kniues, beads, & other such like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by in clusters they came to the shore where wee were, with their boates, bringing wit skinnes and other such things as they had, to haue of our wares. They were more ther men, women and children: some of the women which came not ouer, wee might see vp to the knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the riuer w we were, came very friendly to vs, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then w they lift them vp toward heauen, shewing many signes of gladnesse: and in such wise w wee assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoeuer th had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gaue vs all whatsoeuer they ha and that was but of small value. We perceiued that this people might very easily be conuerted to our Religion. They goe from place to place. They liue onely with fishing. They haue an ordinarie time to fish for their prouision. The countrey is hotter then the countrey of Spaine, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth, and leuel. There is no place be it neuer so little, but it hath some trees (yea albeit it be sandie) or else is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like vnto Rie: the corne is like oates, and smal peason as thicke as if they had bene sowen and plowed, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackberies, white and red Roses, with many other floures of very sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many goodly medowes full of grasse, and lakes wherein great plentie of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The bay of heat.

Varietie of goodly trees.

Baye du Chaleur, or the Bay of heat.

¶ Of another nation of wilde men: of their maners, liuing and clothing.

BEing certified that there was no passage through the said Bay, we hoised saile, and went from S. Martines Creeke vpon Sunday being the 12. of Iuly, to goe and discouer further beyond the said Bay, and went along the sea coast Eastward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but shallow ground, and the Sea stormie, so that we were constrained to draw toward shore, betweene the said Cape and an Iland lying Eastward, about a league from the said Cape, where we cast ancker for that night. The next morning we hoised saile to trend the said coast about, which lyeth North Northeast. But there rose such a stormie and raging winde against vs, that we were constrained to come to the place againe, from whence we were come: there did we stay all that day til the next that we hoised vp saile, and came to the middest of a riuer fiue or sixe leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being ouerthwart the said Riuer, there arose againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and stormes. So that we were constrained vpon Tuesday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the riuer, and there did we stay till the sixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thursday, the winde became so raging that one of our ships lost an ancker, and we were constrained to goe vp higher into the riuer seuen or eight leagues, into a good harborough and ground that we with our boates found out, and through the euill weather, tempest, and darkenesse that was, wee stayed in the saide harborough till the fiue and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee sawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fishing for mackerels, whereof there is great store. Their boates were about 40, and the persons what with men, women & children two hundred, which after they ad hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the sides of ur ships. We gaue them kniues, combes, beads of glasse, and other trifles of small value, for hich they made many signes of gladnesse, lifting their hands vp to heauen dancing and sing- in their boates. These men may very well and truely be called Wilde, because there is oorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates ets was not worth fiue souce. They goe altogether naked sauing their priuities, which uered with a little skinne, and certaine olde skinnes that they cast vpon them. Nei- n nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found first: eads be altogether shauen, except one bush of haire which they suffer to grow vpon o of their crowne as long as a horse taile, & then with certaine leather strings binde knot vpon their heads. They haue no other dwelling but their boates, which they vpside downe, and vnder them they lay themselues all along vpon the bare ground. eate their flesh almost raw, saue onely that they heate it a little vpon imbers of coales, e they their fish. Vpon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the and freely went on shore among them, whereat they made many signes, and all their n in two or three companies began to sing and dance, seeming to be very glad of our unning. They had caused all the yong women to flee into the wood, two or three except- that stayed with them, to ech of which we gaue a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, or which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with their hands. When the men saw vs giue something vnto those that had stayed, it caused al he rest to come out of the wood, to the end they should haue as much as the others: These women were about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell vpon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their maner of cherishing and making much of one, who gaue to each of them a little Tinne bell: then suddenly they began to dance, and sing many songs. There we found great store of Mackrels, that they had taken vpon the shore, with certaine nets that they make to fish, of a kind of Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they neuer come to the sea, but onely in fishing time. As farre as I vnderstand, there groweth likewise a kinde of Millet as big as Peason, like vnto that which groweth in Bresil, which they eate in stead of bread. They had great store of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They haue also Prunes (that is to say Damsins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honesta. They haue also Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cahehya. If we shewed them any thing that they haue not, nor know not what it is, shaking their heads, they will say Nohda, which is as much to say, they haue it not, nor they know it not. Of those things they haue, they would with signes shew vs how to dresse them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taste of salt. They are very great theeues, for they will filch and steale whatsoeuer they can lay hold of, and all is fish that commeth to net.

m. 300.

Fortie or 50 houses of Saluages.

Hempe.

Maiz.

Damsins, figs, nuts, apples.

¶ How

¶ How our men set vp a great Crosse vpon the point of the sayd Porte, and the Captaine of those wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeased, and contented that two of his Children should goe with him.

VPon the 24 of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the presence of many of them, vpon the point of the entrance of the sayd hauen, in the middest whereof we hanged vp a Shield with three Floure de Luces in it, and in the top was carued in the wood with Anticke letters this posie, Viue le Roy de France. Then before them all we set it vpon the sayd point. They with great heed beheld both the making and setting of it vp. So soone as it was vp, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heauen, yeelding God thankes: and we made signes vnto them, shewing them the Heauens, and that all our saluation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they shewed a great admiration, looking first one at another, and then vpon the Crosse. And after wee were returned to our ships, their Captaine clad with an old Beares skin, with three of his sonnes, and a brother of his with him, came vnto vs in one of their boates, but they came not so neere vs as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration vnto vs, shewing vs the crosse we had set vp, and making a crosse with two fingers, then did he shew vs all the Countrey about vs, as if he would say that all was his, and that wee should not set vp any crosse without his leaue. His talke being ended, we shewed him an Axe, faining that we would giue it him for his skin, to which he listned, for by little and little hee came neere our ships. One of our fellowes that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, wherat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightwaies assure them, that they should haue no harme, nor any iniurie offred them at all, & entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we shew them with signes, that the crosse was but onely set vp to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would shortly come againe, and bring good store of iron wares & other things, but that we would take two of his children with vs, & afterward bring them to the sayd port againe: and so wee clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about euery ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gaue they their old clothes to their fellowes that went backe againe, and we gaue to each one of those three that went backe, a hatchet, and some kniues, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the newes vnto their fellowes, in the after noone there came to our ships sixe boates of them, with fiue or sixe men in euery one, to take their farewels of those two we had detained to take with vs, and brought them some fish, vttering many words which we did not vnderstand, making signes that they would not remoue the crosse we had set vp.

This hauen seemeth to be Gaspay.

Two sauages taken.

¶ How after we were departed from the sayd porte, following our voyage along the sayd coast, we went to discouer the land lying Southeast, and Northwest.

THe next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the said port: and being out of the riuer, we sailed Eastnortheast, for after the entrance into the said riuer, the land is enuironed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sayling behind, which we came to seeke, the land lying Southeast and Northwest, the course of which was distant from the riuer about twentie leagues.

Of the Cape S. Aluise, and Cape Memorancie, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and suddenly went ouer it.

ON Munday being the 27 of the moneth, about sunne-set we went along the said land, as we haue said, lying Southeast & Northwest, till Wednesday that we saw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the East: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we sounded, and found 24 fadome water. The said lands are plaine, and the fairest and most without woods that we haue seene, with goodly greene fields and medowes: we named the sayd Cape S. Aluise Cape, because that was his day: it is 49 degrees and a halfe in latitude, and in longitude *. On Wednesday morning we were on the East side of the Cape, and being almost night we went Northwestward for to approch neere to the sayd land, which trendeth North and South. From S. Aluise Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fifteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend Northwest. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we would needes sound, but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along Fifty degrees of latitude. the said land, about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the first of August, by Sunne rising, wee had certaine other landes, lying North and Northeast, that were very high and craggie, and seemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low lands with woods and riuers: wee went about the sayd lands, as well on the one side as on the other, still bending Northwest, to see if it were either a gulfe, or a passage, vntill the fift of the moneth. The distance from one land to the other is about fifteene leagues. The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a terce in latitude. We had much adoe to go fiue miles farther, the winds were so great, and the tide against vs. And at fiue miles end, we might plainely see and perceiue land on both sides, which there beginneth to spread it selfe, but because we rather fell, then got way against the wind, we went toward land, purposing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthermost out into the sea that we could see, about fiue leagues from vs, but so soone as we came thither, we found it to be naught else but Rockes, stones, & craggie cliffes, such as we had not found any where since we had sailed Southward from S. Iohns Cape: and then was the tide with vs, which caried vs against the wind Westward, so that as we were sayling along the sayd coast, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and suddenly went ouer, but we were constrained to leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

How after we had agreed and consulted what was best to be done, we purposed to returne: and of S. Peters Streight, and of Cape Tiennot.

After we had sailed along the sayd coast, for the space of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne against vs, with so swift and raging a course, that it was not possible for vs with 13 oares to row or get one stones cast farther, so that we were constrained to leaue our boates with some of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went ashore to the sayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend Southwest, which hauing seene, we came to our boats againe, and so to our ships, which were stil ready vnder saile, hoping to go forward: but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where so soone as we came, wee assembled together all our Captaines, Masters, and Mariners, to haue their aduice and opinion what was best to be done: and after that euery one had said, considering that the Easterly winds began to beare sway, and blow, & that the flood was so great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that stormes and tempests began to reigne in Newfound land, and that we were so farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we must agree to returne home againe, or els to stay there all the yeere. Moreouer, we did consider, that if the Northerne winds did take vs, it were not possible for vs to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and considered, we altogether determined to addresse our selues homeward. Nowe because vpon Saint Peters day wee entred into the sayd The Streit of S. Peter. Streite, wee named it Saint Peters Streite. Wee sounded it in many places, in some wee found 150 fadome water, in some 100, and neere the shoare sixtie, and cleere ground. From that day till Wednesday following, we had a good and prosperous gale of winde, so that we trended the said North shore East, Southeast, West Northwest: for such is the situation of it, except one Cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the Southeast, about twenty fiue leagues from the Streight. In this place we saw certaine smokes, that the people of the countrey made vpon the sayd cape: but because the wind blewe vs toward the coast, we went not to them, which when they saw, they came with two boates and twelue men vnto vs, and as freely came vnto our ships, as if they had bene French men, and gaue vs to vnderstand, that they came from the great gulfe, and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was vpon that Cape, making signes vnto vs, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ships, and that they were laden with Fish. We named the sayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the said Cape all the land trendeth Eastsoutheast, and Westnorthwest. All these lands lie low, very pleasant, enuironed with sand, where the sea is entermingled with marishes and shallowes, the space of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from West to Eastnortheast altogether enuironed with Islands two or three leagues from land, in which as farre as we could see, are many dangerous shelues more then foure or fiue leagues from land.

Cape Tiennot.

How that vpon the ninth of August wee entred within White Sands, and vpon the fift of September we came to the Port of S. Malo.

FRom the sayd Wednesday vntill Saturday following, we had a great wind from the Southwest, which caused vs to run Eastnortheast, on which day we came to the Easterly partes of Newfoundland, between the Granges and the Double Cape. There began great stormie winds comming frõ the East with great rage: wherefore we coasted the Cape Northnorthwest, to search the Northerne part, which is (as we haue sayd) all enuironed with Islands, and being neere the said Islands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought vs within the sayd gulfe, so that the next day being the 9 of August, we by the grace of God entred within the white Sands. And this is so much as we haue discouered. After that, vpon the 15 of August, being the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, after that we had heard seruice, we altogether departed from the porte of White Sands, and with a happy and prosperous weather we came into the middle of the sea, that is between Newfoundland and Britanie, in which place we were tost and turmoyled three dayes long with great stormes and windy tempests comming from the East, which with the ayde and assistance of God we suffred: then had we faire weather, and vpon the fift of September, in the sayd yere, we came to the Port of S. Malo whence we departed.

The language that is spoken in the Land newly discouered, called New France.

God	———	Figs	asconda
the Sunne	Isnez	Gold	henyosco
the Heauen	camet	the priuie members	assegnega
the Day	———	an Arrow	cacta
the Night	aiagla	a greene Tree	haueda
Water	ame	an earthen dish	vndaco
Sand	estogaz	a Bow	———
a sayle	aganie	Brasse	aignetaze
the Head	agonaze	the Brow	ansce
the Throate	conguedo	a Feather	yco
the Nose	hehonguesto	the Moone	casmogan
the Teeth	hesangue	the Earth	conda
the Nayles	agetascu	the Wind	canut
the Feete	ochedasco	the Raine	onnoscon
the Legs	anoudasco	Bread	cacacomy
a dead man	amocdaza	the Sea	amet
a Skinne	aionasca	a Ship	casaomy
that Man	yca	a Man	vndo
a Hatchet	asogne	the Haires	hoc hosco
a Cod fish	gadagoursere	the Eyes	ygata
good to be eaten	guesande	the Mouth	heche
Flesh	———	the Eares	hontasco
Almonds	anougaza	the Armes	agescu

a Woman	enrasesco	a Knife	agoheda
a sicke Man	alouedeche	a Mackrell	agedoneta
Shooes	atta	Nuttes	caheya
a skinne to couer a mans priuy mēbers	ouscozon vondico	Apples	honesta
		Beanes	sahe
red cloth	cahoneta	a Sword	achesco

A shorte and briefe narration of the Nauigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and diuers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein.

Chap. 1.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1535, vpon Whitsunday, being the 16. of May, by the commandement of our Captaine Iames Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Malo we deuoutly each one confessed our selues, and receiued the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the sayd Church, wee presented our selues before the Reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed vs all, being in his Bishops roabes. The Wednesday following, being the 19 of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoysed sayle with three ships, that is to say, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundreth, or a hundreth and twentie tunne, wherein the foresaid Captaine Iames Cartier was Generall, and master Thomas Frosmont chiefe Master, accompanied with master Claudius de Pont Briand, sonne to the Lorde of Montceuell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraies, Iohn Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the second ship called the little Hermina, being of threescore tunne burden, were Captaines vnder the sayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and Master William Marie. In the third ship called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. Iames Maingare. So we sayled with a good and prosperous wind, vntill the 20 of the said moneth, at which time the weather turned into stormes and tempests, the which with contrary winds, and darkenesse, endured so long that our ships being without any rest, suffered as much as any ships that euer went on seas: so that the 25 of Iune, by reason of that foule and foggie weather, all our ships lost sight one of another againe till wee came to Newfoundland where we had appointed to meete. After we had lost one another, wee in the Generals ship were with contrary windes tost to and fro on the sea, vntill the seuenth of Iuly, vpon which day we arriued in Newefound land, and came to the Island called The Island of Birds, which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Island is so full of birds, that all our ships might easily haue bene fraighted with them, & yet for the great number that there is, it would not seeme that any were taken away. We to victuall our selues filled two boats of them. This Island hath the Pole eleuated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Vpon the eight of the sayd moneth we sailed further, & with a prosperous weather came to the Port called The Port of white sands, that is in the Bay called The Bay of Castels, where we had purposed to meete & stay together the 15 of the said moneth. In this place therefore we looked for our fellowes, that is to say, the other two ships, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together. So soone as our fellowes were come, we set our ships in a readines, taking in both water, wood, & other necessaries. And then on the 29 of the sayd moneth, early in the morning we hoised saile to passe on further, & sayling along the Northerne coast that runneth Northeast and Southwest, til two houres after Sun-set or thereabouts, then we crossed along two Islands, which doe stretch further foorth then the others, which we called S. Williams Islands, being distant about 20 leagues or more from the Port of Brest. All the coast from the Castels to that place lieth East & West, Northeast & Southwest, hauing betweene it sundry little Islands, altogether barren and full of stones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30 of Iuly, we sailed on Westward to find out other Islands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a halfe, among which there is

The Isle of birds in 49 degrees 40 minutes.
The Bay des Chasteaux or The Grand Bay.

a great Bay toward the North all full of Islands and great creekes where many good harboroughs seeme to be: them we named S. Marthas Islands, from which about a league and a halfe further into the sea there is a dangerous shallow, wherein are fiue rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas Islands about seuen leagues as you passe into the sayd Islands, on the East & on the West side, to which we came the sayd day an houre after noone, & from that houre vntill midnight we sailed about fifteene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Islands, which we named S. Germans Islands Southeastward, from which place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise betweene S. Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about two leagues from the sayd Islands, there lyeth a banke of sand, vpon which banke the water is but foure fadome deepe, and therefore seeing the danger of the coast, we strucke saile and went no further that night: The next day being the last of Iuly, we went all along the coast that runneth East and West, and somewhat Southeasterly which is all enuironed about with Islands and drie sands, and in trueth is very dangerous. The length from S. Germans Cape to the said Islands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the rest of the coast be compassed about with sands without any signe or shew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trẽdeth Northwest about seuen leagues from the foresaid Islands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therefore we sailed on all that night West and Westnorthwest, till it was day, and then the wind turned against vs, wherefore we went to seeke a hauen wherein we might harbour our ships, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpose, about seuen leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, & that we named S. Nicholas Hauen, it lieth amidst 4 Islands that stretch into the sea: Vpon the neerest wee for a token set vp a woodden crosse. But note by the way, that this crosse must be brought Northeast, & then bending toward it, leaue it on the left hand and you shall find sixe fadome water, and within the hauen foure. Also you are to take heede of two shelues that leane outward halfe a league. All this coast is full of shoulds and very dangerous, albeit in sight many good hauens seeme to be there, yet is there nought else but shelues and sands. We staied and rested our selues in the sayd hauen, vntill the seuenth of August being Sonday: on which day we hoysed sayle, and came toward land on the South side toward Cape Rabast, distant from the sayd hauen about twentie leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest: but the next day there rose a stormie and a contrary winde, and because we could find no hauen there toward the South, thence we went coasting along toward the North, beyond the abouesayd hauen about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Islands, passages, and entrances toward what wind soeuer you please to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Island that is like to a Cape of lande, stretching somewhat further foorth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill fashioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the sayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the sayd moneth wee went from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, sayling Westward, and discouered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth West and by South, distant from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about fiue and twenty leagues. And of the two wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde vs, that this was part of the Southerne coaste, & that there was an Island, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the yeere before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes iourney from the sayd Cape, and Island began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North shore extending toward Canada, and about three leagues athwart the sayd Cape, there is aboue a hundreth fadome water. Moreouer I beleeue that there were neuer so many Whales seen as wee saw that day about the sayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of August the fifteenth of the moneth, hauing passed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hilles, and this Cape wee named The Island of the Assumption, and one Cape of the said high countreys lyeth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest, the distance betweene which is about fiue and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainely be perceiued to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We

Cape Thiennot.

Port S. Nicholas.

Cape Rabast.

The gulfe of S. Laurence.

A Cape of the Isle of Assumption.

A mighty skull of Whales.

The Isle of Assumption.

trended the sayd landes about toward the South: from the sayd day vntill Tewesday noone following, the winde came West, and therefore wee bended toward the North, purposing to goe and see the land that we before had spied. Being arriued there, we found the sayd landes, as it were ioyned together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are vpon the sayd low lands stretch East, and West, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told vs that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence commeth the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly lands, and the Northerly about thirtie leagues distance, and more then two hundreth fadome depth. The sayd men did moreouer certifie vnto vs, that there was the way and beginning of the great riuer of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which riuer the further it went the narrower it came, euen vnto Canada, and that then there was fresh water, which went so farre vpwards, that they had neuer heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and how they did affirme no other passage to be there, would not at that time proceede any further, till he had seene and noted the other lands, & coast toward the North, which he had omitted to see from S. Laurence his gulfe, because he would know, if between the lands toward the North any passage might be discouered.

The mouth of the riuer of Hochelaga about thirty leagues broad.

How our Captaine caused the ships to returne backe againe, only to know if in Saint Laurence gulfe there were any passage toward the North.

Chap. 2.

VPon the 18 of August being Wednesday, our Captaine caused his shippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other shore, so that we trended the said Northerly cost, which runneth Northeast and Southwest, being fashioned like vnto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not so high as that on the South parts. The Thursday following we came to seuen very high Islands, which we named The round Islands. These Islands are distant from the South shore about 40 leagues, and stretch out into the sea about 3 or 4 leagues. Against these there are goodly low grounds to be seene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats cōpassed about. Ouerthwart these lands there are diuers sandy shelues more then two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almost dry. At the furthest bounds of these lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a riuer of fresh water, that with such swiftnesse runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it the water is as fresh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred into the sayd riuer, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome & a halfe of water. There are in this riuer many fishes shaped like horses, which as our wild men told vs, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we saw therin a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we hoysed saile, and sailed so long along the said coast, that we had sight of the rest of the sayd Northerne coast, which as yet we had not seene, and of the Island of the Assumption which wee went to discouer, departing from the sayd land: which thing so soone as we had done, & that we were certified no other passage to be there, we came to our ships againe, which we had left at the said Islands, where is a good harborough, the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the same place by occasion of contrary winds & foggie mists, we were constrained to stay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoise saile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed & came to a hauen on the Southerly coast about 80 leagues from the said Islands. This hauen is ouer against three flat Islands that lie amidst the riuer, because on the midway betweene those Islands, & the sayd hauen toward the North, there is a very great riuer that runneth betweene the high and low landes, and more then three leagues into the sea it hath many shelues, & there is not altogether two fadome water, so that the place is very dangerous: and neere vnto the said shelues, there is either fifteene or 20 fadomes from shore to shore. All the Northerly coaste runneth Northeast and by North, and Southwest & by South. The

The round Isles.

A fresh riuer.

Morses.

The Isle of Assumption, or Natiscotec.

A hauen on the Southerly coast.

A great riuer.

S. Iohns Islets.

This is the riuer of Tadascu, or of Saguenay.

said hauen wherin we stayed on the South side, is as it were but a sluce of the waters that rise by the flood, & but of smal accompt: we named them S. Iohns Islets, because we found them, & entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the said hauen, there is an Island lying Eastward about 5 leagues distant from the same: betweene which and the land there is no passage sauing only for smal boats. The hauen of S. Iohns Islets dryeth vp all the waters that rise by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the least. The best place to harborough ships there is on the South part of a little Island that is ouer against the said hauen, whereby the banck ; or shore of the Island riseth. Vpon the first of September we departed out of the said hauen, purposing to go toward Canada; & about 15 leagues from it toward the West, & Westsouthwest, amidst the riuer, there are three Islands, ouer against the which there is a riuer which runneth swift, and is of a great depth, & it is that which leadeth, and runneth into the countrey and kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told vs. This riuer passeth and runneth along very high and steepe hils of bare stone, where very little earth is, & notwithstanding there is great quantity of sundry sorts of trees that grow in the said bare stones, euen as vpon good & fertile ground, in such sort that we haue seene some so great as wel would suffise to make a mast for a ship of 30 tunne burden, and as greene as possibly can be, growing in a stony rocke without any earth at all. At the entrance of the sayd riuer we met with 4 boats ful of wild men, which as far as we could perceiue, very fearfully came toward vs, so that some of them went backe againe, & the other came as neere vs as easily they might heare & vnderstand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, vpon whose word they came to vs. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the sayd riuer to go to Canada, and by reason of the seas flowing, the tide was very swift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Islands, about which, more then three leagues compasse, lie many rocks and great stones, & but two fadome water: and the flowing amidst those Islands is very vnconstant and doubtful, so that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to lose our Pinnesse: & coasting along the said drie sands, there is more then 30 fadom water.

The riuer of Saguenay.

Innumerable Tortoises.

The Ile of Condres or Filberds.

About fiue leagues beyond the riuer of Saguenay Southwest, there is another Iland on the Northside, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to haue cast anker, on purpose to stay the next tide, but we could sound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a flight shoot from shore, so that we were constrained to winde backe to the said Iland, where wee sounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoysed saile and went thence, sayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fish neuer before of any man seene or knowen. They are about the bignesse of a porpose, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grayhounds, altogither as white as snow without any spot, within which riuer there is great quantitie of them: they doe liue altogither betweene the Sea and the fresh water. These people of the Countrey call them Adhothuys, they tolde vs that they be very sauory and good to be eaten. Moreouer they affirme none to be found elsewhere but in the mouth of that riuer. The sixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more vpward into the riuer, and there lighted on an Iland that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little hauen or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Iland. There are likewise great quantitie of the said Adhothuys taken by the inhabitours of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeux in France at euery tide. This Iland is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, replenished with many goodly and great trees of many sorts. Among the rest there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, somewhat bigger and better in sauour then ours, but somewhat harder, and therefore we called it The Iland of Filberds. The seuenth of the moneth being our Ladies euen, after seruice we went from that Iland to goe vp higher into the riuer, and came to 14 Ilands seuen or eight leagues from the Iland of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Ilands is ten leagues in length, and fiue in bredth, greatly inhabited of such men as onely

This great Iland is called The Ile of Orleans.

Maiz.

Sante Croix.

Stadacona.

Goodly hemp.

liue by fishing of such sorts of fishes as the riuer affordeth, according to the season of them. After we had cast anker betwene the said great Iland, & the Northerly coast, we went on land and tooke our two wild men with vs, meeting with many of those countrey people, who would not at all approch vnto vs, but rather fled from vs, vntill our two men began to speake vnto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who so soone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to reioyce, dancing and shewing many sorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefest of them came to our boats & brought many Eeles and other sorts of fishes, with two or three burdens of great Millet wherewith they make their bread, and many great muske millions. The same day came also many other boates full of those countreymen and weomen, to see and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteously receiued and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as possibly could be. And to haue them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gaue them many small gifts, but of small value: neuerthelesse they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whose proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelue boats came to our ships, accompanied with many people, who causing ten of his boates to goe backe with the other two, approched vnto vs with sixteene men. Then beganne the said Agouhanna ouer against the smallest of our ships, according to their maner and fashion, to frame a long Oration, moouing all his bodie and members after a strange fashion, which thing is a ceremonie and signe of gladnesse and securitie among them, and then comming to the Generals ship, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he spake with them & they with him, where they began to tell and shew vnto him what they had seene in France, and what good entertainement they had had: hearing which things the said Lord seemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kisse it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for so they vse to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, causing bread and wine to be brought to make the said Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and satisfied. Our Captaine for that time gaue them nothing, because he looked for a fitter opportunity. These things being done, ech one tooke leaue of others, and the said Lord went with his boats againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then caused our boates to be set in order, that with the next tide he might goe vp higher into the riuer, to find some safe harborough for our ships: and we passed vp the riuer against the streame about tenne leagues, coasting the said Iland, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little riuer and hauen, where by reason of the flood there is about three fadome water. This place seemed to vs very fit and commodious to harbour our ships therein, and so we did very safely, we named it the holy Crosse, for on that day we came thither. Neere vnto it, there is a village, whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees euen as in France, as Okes, Elmes, Ashes, Walnut trees, Maple tres, Cydrons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring foorth fruit as bigge as any damsons, and many other sortes of trees, vnder which groweth as faire tall hempe, as any in France, without any seede or any mans worke or labour at all. Hauing considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our Captaine withdrew himselfe on purpose to returne to our ships: but behold, as we were comming out of the riuer we met comming against vs one of the Lords of the said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, weomen, and children, who after the fashion of their countrey, in signe of mirth and ioy, began to make a long Oration, the women still singing and dancing vp to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kindnesse toward vs, caused the boat wherein they were, to come vnto him, and gaue them certaine trifles, as kniues, and beades of glasse, whereat they were maruellous glad, for being gone about three leagues from them, for the pleasure they conceiued of our comming, we might heare them sing, and see them dance for all they were so farre.

How

How our Captaine went to see and note the bignesse of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ships, causing them to be brought to the riuer of The holy Crosse.

Chap. 3.

AFter we were come with our boats vnto our ships againe, our Captaine caused our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the said Iland, to note the trees that in shew seemed so faire, and to consider the nature and qualitie of it: which thing we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Also we saw many goodly Vines, a thing not before of vs seene in those countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland. It is in length about twelue leagues, in sight very pleasant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, vnlesse it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fishers dwellings as before we haue said. The next day we departed with our ships to bring them to the place of the holy Crosse, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of those people, came to meete vs, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ships, shewing sundry and diuers gestures of gladnesse and mirth, except those two that we had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, who seemed to haue altered and changed their mind, and purpose, for by no meanes they would come vnto our ships, albeit sundry times they were earnestly desired to doe it, whereupon we began to mistrust somewhat. Our Captaine asked them if according to promise they would go with him to Hochelaga? They answered yea, for so they had purposed, and then ech one withdrew himselfe. The next day being the fifteenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on shore, to cause certaine poles and piles to be driuen into the water, and set vp, that the better and safelier we might harbour our ships there: and many of those countrey people came to meete vs there, among whom was Donnacona and our two men, with the rest of their company, who kept themselues aside vnder a point or nooke of land that is vpon the shore of a certaine riuer, and no one of them came vnto vs as the other did that were not on their side. Our Captaine vnderstanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the saide point where he found the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and diuers other: and after salutations giuen on ech side, Taignoagny setled himselfe formost to speake to our Captaine, saying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieue and sorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine answered, that albeit it did greeue them, yet would not he leaue them off, and that (as he knew) it was the maner of France. But for all these words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to speake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceiue, that whatsoeuer Taignoagny spake, was onely long of himselfe and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a maruellous stedfast league of friendship, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, cast out three great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one hauing taken leaue of the other for that day, we went aboord againe. The day following we brought our two great shippes within the riuer and harborough, where the waters being at the highest, are three fadome deepe, and at the lowest, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinnesse without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soone as we had safely placed our ships, behold we saw Donnacona, Taignoagny & Domagaia, with more then fiue hundred persons, men, women and children, and the said Lord with ten or twelue of the chiefest of the countrey came aboord of our ships, who were all courteously receiued, and friendly entertained both of our Captaine and of vs all: and diuers gifts of small value were giuen them. Then did Taignoagny tell our Captaine, that his Lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them should goe with him, because the riuer was of no importance. Our Captaine answered him, that for all his saying, he would not leaue off his going thither, if by any

The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans.

meanes it were possible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as possibly he could: and that if he (that is to say Taignoagny) would goe with him, as he had promised, he should be very well entertained, beside that, he should haue such a gift giuen him, as he should well content himselfe: for he should doe nothing else but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagny answered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they sodainly returned to their houses. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned euen as at the first, and brought with him many Eeles, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take great store in the said riuer, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soone as they were come to our ships, according to their wonted use they beganne to sing and dance. This done, Donnacona caused all his people to be set on the one side: then making a round circle vpon the sand he caused our Captaine with all his people to enter thereinto, then he began to make a long Oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelue yeeres old, which he presented vnto our Captaine: then sodainly beganne all his people to make three great shreeks, or howles, in signe of ioy and league of friendship: presently vpon that he did present vnto him two other young male children one after another, but younger then the other, at the giuing of which euen as before they gaue out shreekes and howles very loud, with other cerimonies: for which presents, our Captaine, gaue the saide Lorde great and hearty thankes. Then Taignoagny told our Captaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter vnto the said Lords owne sister, and the presents were only giuen him to the end he should not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Captaine answered, that if they were only giuen him to that intent, if so he would, he should take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leaue his going off, for as much as he was so commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Captaine that their Lord had giuen him those children as a signe and token of goodwill and security, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, vpon which talke great wordes arose betweene Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainely perceiued that Taignoagny was but a crafty knaue, and that he intended but mischiefe and treason, as well by this deede as others that we by him had seene. After that our Captaine caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two Swords and two copper Basons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought vnto him, and them he gaue to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yeelding most heartie thankes vnto our Captaine for them, and presently vpon that he commanded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our Captaine to cause a peece of artillerie to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them maruellous things, and also, because they had neuer heard nor seene any before: to whom our Captaine answered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelue cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noyse they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heauen had fallen vpon them, and put themselues to flight, howling, crying, and shreeking, so that it seemed hell was broken loose. But before we went thence, Taignoagny caused other men to tell vs, that those men which we had left in our Pinnesse in the road, had slaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had shot off, whereupon the rest had put themselues all to flight, as though they should all haue bene slaine: which afterward we found vntrue, because our men had not shot off any peece at all that day.

How Donnacona and Taignoagny with others, deuised a prettie sleight or pollicie: for they caused three of their men to be attired like Diuels, fayning themselues to be sent from their God Cudruaigny, onely to hinder our voyage to Hochelaga.

Chap. 4.

THe next day being the eighteenth of September, these men still endeuoured themselues to seeke all meanes possible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and deuised a prettie guile, as hereafter shalbe shewed. They went and dressed three men like Diuels, being wrapped in dogges skinnes white and blacke, their faces besmeered as blacke as any coales, with hornes on their heads more then a yard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ships as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the space of two houres, looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the Diuels were, might approach and come neere vs, which when time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood cōming to vs, but yet not so neere as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to salute our Captaine, who asked him if he would haue the boate to come for him; he answered, not for that time, but after a while he would come vnto our ships: then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeit Diuels were with such long hornes on their heads, and the middlemost came making a long Oration and passed along our ships without turning or looking toward vs, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and Diuels, who so soone as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boate euen as if they had beene dead: then were they taken vp and carried into the wood, being but a stones cast off, then euery one withdrew himselfe into the wood, not one staying behind with vs, where being, they began to make a long discourse, so loud that we might heare them in our ships, which lasted aboue halfe an houre, & being ended we began to espie Taignoagny and Domagaia comming towards vs, holding their hands vpward ioyned together, carying their hats vnder their vpper garment, shewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking vp to heauen, cryed three times Iesus, Iesus, Iesus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Iesus Maria, Iames Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ailed, and what was happened or chanced anew; they answered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, saying in French, Nenni est il bon, that is to say, it was not good: our Captaine asked them againe what it was, then answered they, that their God Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochleaga: and that he had sent those three men to shewe vnto them that there was so much yce and snow in that countrey, that whosoeuer went thither should die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them saying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or said: then bade we them shew his messengers from vs, that Christ would defend them all from colde, if they would beleeue in him. Then did they aske of our Captaine if he had spoken with Iesus: he answered no, but that his Priests had, and that he told them they should haue faire weather: which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell those newes vnto their felowes, who sodainly came all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those words that our Captaine had spoken, and to shew that thereby they had had, and felt great ioy, so soone as they were before our ships, they altogether gaue out three great shreekes, and thereupon beganne to sing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a resolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them should goe with him to Hochelaga, vnlesse he would leaue him some hostage to stay with him: our Captaine answered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they should stay, and that for all them he would not leaue off his iourney thither.

How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinnesse, and the two boates from Canada to goe to Hochelaga: and also there is described, what was seene by the way vpon the said riuer.

Chap. 5.

THe next day being the 19 of September we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and two boates departed to goe vp the riuer with the flood, where on both shores of it we beganne to see as goodly a countrey as possibly can with eye be seene, all replenished with

very

Vines laden with grapes.

very goody trees, and Vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the riuer, which rather seemed to haue bin planted by mans hand than otherwise. True it is, that because they are not dressed and wrought as they should be, their bunches of grapes are not so great nor sweete as ours: also we sawe all along the riuer many houses inhabited of Fishers which take all kindes of fishes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindnesse vnto vs, as if we had beene their Countreymen, and brought vs great store of fish, with other such things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting up their hands toward heauen, gaue many signes of ioy: we stayed at a place called Hochelai, about fiue and twentie leagues from Canada, where the riuer waxeth very narrow, and runneth very swift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but also for certaine great stones that are therein: Many boates and barkes came vnto vs, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the countrey, making a long discourse, who being come neere vs, did by euident signes and gestures shew vs, that the higher the riuer went, the more dangerous it was, and bade vs take heede of our selues. The said Lord presented and gaue vnto our Captaine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being a wench 7 or 8 yeres old, the man child he gaue him againe, because it was too young, for it was but two or three yeeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteously as he could did entertaine and receiue the said Lord and his company, giuing them certaine small trifles, and so they departed toward the shore againe. Afterwards the sayd Lord and his wife came vnto Canada to visite his daughter, bringing vnto our Captaine certaine small presents. From the nineteenth vntill the eight and twentieth of September, we sailed vp along the saide riuer, neuer losing one houre of time, all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a countrey as possible can be wished for, full (as we haue said before) of all sorts of goodly trees, that is to say, Okes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Ashes, Boxe, Willowes, and great store of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, so that if any of our fellowes went on shore, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many Cranes, Swannes, Geese, Duckes, Feasants, Partriges, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreasts, Nightingales, Sparrowes of diuerse kindes, with many other sorts of Birds, euen as in France, and great plentie and store. Vpon the 28 of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the riuer fiue or sixe leagues broad, and twelue long, all that day we went against the tide, hauing but two fadome water, still keeping the sayd scantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espie no passage or going out, nay, rather it seemed to haue bene closed and shut vp round about, and there was but a fadome and an halfe of water, little more or lesse. And therefore we were constrayned to cast anker, and to stay with our Pinnesse, and went with our two boates to seeke some going out, and in one place we found foure or fiue branches, which out of the riuer come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the said branches, because of the great fiercenesse and swiftnesse wherewith they breake out, and the course of the water, they make certaine barres and shoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Those Shouldes being passed, we found foure or fiue fadome, and as farre as we could perceiue by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flowe higher by three fadomes. All these foure or fiue branches do compasse about fiue or sixe Ilands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the saide Islands, and met with fiue men that were hunting of wilde beastes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had euer bene brought vp togither. Our boates being somewhat neere the shore, one of them tooke our Captaine in his armes, and caried him on shore, as lightly and as easily as if he had bene a child of fiue yeeres old. So strong and sturdie was this fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wilde Rats that liue in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gaue vnto our Captaine, who for a recompence gaue them kniues and glassen Beades. We asked them with signes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they answered yea, and that we had yet three dayes sayling thither.

Hochelay.

The lake of ...olesme.

Wild rats as big as Conies.

How

How our Captaine caused our boates to be mended and dressed to goe to Hochelaga: and because the way was somewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinnesse behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainment we had of the people.

Chap. 6.

THe next day our Captaine seeing that for that time it was not possible for our Pinnesse to goe on any further, he caused our boates to be made readie, and as much munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanyed with many Gentlemen, that is to say, Claudius of Ponte Briand, Cup-bearer to the Lorde Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, Iohn Gouion, Iohn Powlet, with twentie & eight Mariners: and Mace Iallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge vnder the Captaine of the other two ships, to goe vp as farre as they could into that riuer: we sayled with good and prosperous weather vntill the second of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our Pinnesse fiue and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of those countriemen, who brought vs fish and such other victuals as they had, still dancing and greatly reioycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gaue them kniues, beades, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied. So soone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete vs aboue a thousand persons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receiue vs as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time seene, the men dauncing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another: after that they brought vs great store of fish, & of their bread made of Millet, casting them into our boates so thicke, that you would haue thought it to fall from heauen. Which when our Captaine sawe, he with many of his company went on shore: so soone as euer we were aland they came clustring about vs, making very much of vs, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to haue our Captaine and his company to touch them, making signes and shewes of great mirth and gladnesse, that lasted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine seeing their louing kindnesse and entertainment of vs, caused all the women orderly to be set in aray, and gaue them Beades made of Tinne, and other such small trifles, and to some of the men he gaue kniues: then he returned to the boates to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as neere our boates as they might, making great fires, and dauncing very merily, still crying *Aguiaze*, which in their tongue signifieth Mirth and Safetie.

They leaue their Pinnesse behind.

Hochelaga distant from the lake of Angoleme 45. leagues.

How our Captaine with fiue gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to see the towne of Hochelaga, and the situation of it.

Chap. 7.

OVr Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, hauing very gorgeously attired himselfe, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the towne and habitation of those people, and a certaine mountaine that is somewhat neere the citie: with whom went also fiue Gentlemen and twentie Mariners, leauing the rest to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with vs three men of Hochelaga to bring vs to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best countrey that possibly can be seene, full of as goodly great Okes as are in any wood in France, vnder which the ground was all couered ouer with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or fiue miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest Lords of the citie, accompanied with many moe, who so soone as he sawe vs beckned and made signes vpon vs, that we must rest vs in that place where they had made a great fire and so we did. Af-

The third of October.

Hochelaga sixe miles from the riuer side.

This Millet is Maiz.

The description of Hochelaga.

Maiz, pease, beanes, musk-millions, cucumbers, and other fruits.

Plentie of fish and the preseruing thereof.

Esurgni good to stanch blood.

ter that we had rested our selues there a while, the said Lord began to make a long discourse, euen as we haue saide aboue, they are accustomed to doe in signe of mirth and friendship, shewing our Captaine and all his company a ioyfull countenance, and good will, who gaue him two hatchets, a paire of kniues and a crosse which he made him to kisse, and then put it about his necke, for which he gaue our Captaine heartie thankes. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such corne as the countrie yeeldeth. It is euen as the Millet of Bresil, as great and somewhat bigger then small peason, wherewith they liue euen as we doe with ours. In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were ioyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse aboue. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly ioyned togither after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Ouer it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get vp, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelue, or fifteene broad, built all of wood, couered ouer with the barke of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunning ioyned togither. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middest of euery one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They liue in common togither: then doe the husbands, wiues and children each one retire themselues to their chambers. They haue also on the top of their houses certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They haue certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beat our hempe, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote stone, and then couer it with hote stones, and so they bake their bread in stead of Ouens. They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corne and also of pease and of beanes, whereof they haue great store, as also with other fruits, as Muske-Millions, and very great Cowcumbers. They haue also in their houses certaine vessels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preserue and keepe their fish, causing the same in sommer to be dried in the sunne, and liue therewith in winter, whereof they make great prouision, as we by experience haue seene. All their viands and meates are without any tast or sauour of salt at all. They sleepe vpon barkes of trees laide all along vpon the ground being ouer-spread with the skinnes of certaine wilde Beastes, wherewith they also cloth and couer themselues. The thing most precious that they haue in all the world they call Asurgny: it is as white as any snow: they take it in the said riuer of Cornibotz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deserued death, or that they take any of their enemies in Warres, first they kill him, then with certaine kniues they giue great slashes and strokes vpon their buttocks, flankes, thighs, and shoulders: then they cast the same bodie so mangled downe to the bottome of the riuer, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leaue it ten or 12 houres, then they take it vp againe, and in the cuts find the said Esurgny or Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their necks, euen as we doe chaines of gold and siluer, accounting it the preciousest thing in the world. They haue this vertue and propertie in them, they will stop or stanch bleeding at the nose, for we haue prooued it. These people are giuen to no other exercise, but onely to husbandrie and fishing for their sustenance: they haue no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they haue no knowledge of it, and that is, because they neuer trauell and go out of their countrey, as those of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongst that riuer be subiects vnto them.

How

How we came to the Towne of Hochelaga, and the entertainement which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gaue them, with diuers other things.

Chap. 8.

SO soone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselues before vs after their fashion, making very much of vs: we were by our guides brought into the middest of the towne. They haue in the middlemost part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stones cast, whither we were brought, and there with signes were commanded to stay: then suddenly all the women and maidens of the towne gathered themselues together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie soeuer they could touch, weeping for very ioy that they saw vs, shewing vs the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring vs with their signes, that it would please vs to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselues backe, then they euery one sate downe on the ground round about vs, as if they would haue shewen and rehearsed some Comedie or other shew: then presently came the women againe, euery one bringing a foure square Matte in manner of Carpets, and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they caused vs to sit vpon them. That done, the Lord & King of the countrey was brought vpon 9 or 10 mens shoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) sitting vpon a great Stagges skinne, and they laide him downe vpon the foresaid mats neere to the Captaine, euery one beckning vnto vs that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old: he was no whit better apparelled then any of the rest, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing made of the skinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in stead of his Crowne. He was full of the palsie, and his members shronke togither. After he had with certaine signes saluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he shewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with signes desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gaue it vnto our Captaine: that done they brought before him diuers diseased men, some blinde, some criple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and couered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it seemed vnto them that God was descended and come downe from heauen to heale them. Our Captaine seeing the misery and deuotion of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint Iohn, that is to say, In the beginning was the word; touching euery one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receiue Baptisme and Christendome: that done, he tooke a Seruice-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the passion of Christ, word by word, that all the standers by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept silence, & were maruellously attentiue, looking vp to heauen, and imitating vs in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, & likewise the children on an other, & to the chiefest of them he gaue hatchets, to the other kniues, & to the women beads & such other small trifles. Then where ỹ children were, he cast rings, counters, & brooches made of Tin, whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other musicall instruments to be sounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leaue and went to our boate: the women seeing that, put themselues before to stay vs, and brought vs out of their meates that they had made readie for vs, as fish, pottage, beanes, and such other things, thinking to make vs eate, and dine in that place: but because the meates had no sauour at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signes gaue them to vnderstand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diuerse of the men and women followed vs, and brought vs to the toppe of the

Mount Roiall.

A ridge of mountaines to the North of Hochelaga and another to the South.

The 3 faults or falles of water in 44 degrees of latitude.

The riuer of Saguenay commeth from the West, where there is gold and siluer.

Red copper in Saguenay.

the foresaid mountaine, which wee named Mount Roiall, it is about a league from the Towne. When as we were on the toppe of it, we might discerne and plainly see thirtie leagues about. On the Northside of it there are many hilles to be seene running West and East, and as many more on the South, amongst and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleasant as possibly can be seene, being leuell, smooth, and very plaine, fit to be husbanded and tilled: and in the middest of those fieldes we saw the riuer further vp a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath beene seene, and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discerne, going Southwest along three faire and round mountaines that wee sawe, as we iudged about fifteene leagues from vs. Those which brought vs thither tolde and shewed vs, that in the sayd riuer there were three such falles of water more, as that was where we had left our boates: but because we could not vnderstand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were one from another. Moreouer they shewed vs with signes, that the said three fals being past, a man might sayle the space of three monethes more alongst that Riuer, and that along the hilles that are on the North side there is a great riuer, which (euen as the other) commeth from the West, we thought it to be the riuer that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any signe or question mooued or asked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whistle, which was of siluer, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his side being of yellow copper guilt, and shewed vs that such stuffe came from the said Riuer, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to say, as euill people, who goe all armed euen to their fingers ends. Also they shewed vs the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought togither. They gaue vs also to vnderstande that those Agouionda doe continually warre one against another, but because we did not vnderstand them well, we could not perceiue how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine shewed them redde Copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that Countrey, with signes asked them if any came from thence, they shaking their heads answered no: but they shewed vs that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and seene these things of them, we drewe to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of those people: some of them when as they sawe any of our fellowes weary, would take them vp on their shoulders, and carry them as on horsebacke. So soone as we came to our boates we hoysed saile to goe toward our Pinnesse, doubting of some mischance. Our departure grieued and displeased them very much, for they followed vs along the riuer as farre as they could: we went so fast that on Munday being the fourth of October wee came where our Pinnesse was. The Tuesday following being the fift of the moneth, we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and boates departed from thence toward the Prouince of Canada, to the port of the Holy Crosse, where we had left our ships. The seuenth day we came against a riuer that commeth from the North, and entred into that riuer, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilands full of faire and goodly trees: we named that riuer The riuer of Fouetz: But because one of those Ilandes stretcheth it selfe a great way into the riuer, our Captaine at the point of it caused a goodly great Crosse to be set vp, and commanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe vp the saide riuer, and consider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went vp as farre as we could: but because we found it to be of no importance, and very shallow, we returned and sayled downe the riuer.

How we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, and in what state we found our ships: and how the Lord of the Countrey came to visite our Captaine, and our Captaine him: and of certaine particular customes of the people.

Chap. 9.

VPon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, where our ships were, and found that the Masters and Mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ships, altogither closed with great peeces of timber set vpright and verywell fastened togither: then had they beset the said trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other necessarie things to shield and defend themselues from the power of all the countrey. So soone as the Lord of the countrey heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to visite vs, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia and many others, fayning to be very glad of our comming, making much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deserued it. Donnacona their Lord desired our Captaine the next day to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to visite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ships. The place where they make their abode is called Stadacona. When we were about a stones cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meete vs, being all set in a ranke, and (as their custome is) the men all on one side, & the women on the other, still dancing and singing without any ceasing: and after we had saluted and receiued one another, our Captaine gaue them kniues and such other sleight things: then he caused all the women and children to passe along before him, giuing ech one a ring of Tin, for which they gaue him hearty thankes: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to see their houses, which (the qualitie considered) were very well prouided, and stored with such victuals as the countrey yeeldeth, to passe away the winter withall. Then they shewed vs the skins of fiue mens heads spread vpon boords as we doe vse parchment: Donnacona told vs that they were skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them. Moreouer they told vs, that it was two yeeres past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea euen into the said riuer, in an Iland that lyeth ouer against Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women, and children, who being all asleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would haue come out of it to saue themselues, they were all slaine, only fiue excepted, who escaped. For which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing with signes, that one day they would be reuenged: that done, we came to our ships againe.

Stadacona.

Toudamani dwelling Southward of Canada.

The manner how the people of that Countrey liue: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and customes.

Chap. 10.

This people beleeue no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them and telleth them what weather shal follow, whether good or bad. Moreouer they say, that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they beleeue that when they die they go into the stars, & thence by litle & little descend downe into the Horizon, euen as the stars doe, & that then they goe into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire & precious trees, floures, & fruits. After that they had giuen vs these things to vnderstand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceiue them, for he is but a Diuell & an euill spirit: affirming vnto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heauen, and who giueth vs all necessaries, being the Creatour of all himselfe, and that onely we must beleeue in him: moreouer, that it is necessarie for vs to be baptised, otherwise wee are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily beleeue, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to say, nought, so that very earnestly they desired and prayed our Captaine that he would cause them to be baptised, and their Lorde, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came vnto vs, hoping to be baptised: but because we did not throughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe & religion, we excused our selues, desiring Taignoagny, & Domagaia, to tell the rest of their countreymen, that he would come againe another time, & bring Priests & chrisome with vs, for without them they could not be baptised: which they did easily beleeue, for Domagaia & Taignoagny had

They desire to be baptised.

had seene many children baptised in Britain whiles they were there. Which promise when they heard they seemed to be very glad. They liue in common togither: and of such commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well stored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themselues with the skinnes of certaine wilde beasts, but very miserably. In winter they weare hosen and shoes made of wilde beasts skins, and in Sommer they goe barefooted. They keepe and obserue the rites of matrimonie, sauing that euery one weddeth 2 or 3 wiues, which (their husbands being dead) do neuer marrie againe, but for the death of their husbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life, besmearing al their faces with cole-dust & grease mingled togither as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are knowen to be widdowes. They haue a filthy and detestable vse in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for euery man that will haue to doe with them, vntill such time as they find a match. This I say, because I haue seene by experience many housen full of those Damosels, euen as our schooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreouer, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally togither, shewing whatsoeuer God hath sent them. They are no men of great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a sword, on which ground groweth their corne, which they call Offici: it is as bigge as our small peason: there is great quantitie of it growing in Bresill. They haue also great store of Muske-milions, Pompions, Gourds, Cucumbers, Peason and Beanes of euery colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth also a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great prouision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men vse of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make pouder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire vpon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they neuer goe without some of it about them. We ourselues haue tryed the same smoke, and hauing put it in our mouthes, it seemed almost as hot as Pepper. The women of that countrey doe labour much more then the men, as well in fishing (whereto they are greatly giuen) as in tilling and husbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men as women an[illegible]ldren, are very much more able to resist cold then sauage beastes, for wee with our o[illegible]yes haue seene some of them, when it was coldest (which cold was extreme raw and bi[illegible]e to our ships starke naked going vpon snow & yce, which thing seemeth incredible [illegible]hat haue not seene it. When as the snow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take [illegible] of wilde beasts, as Faunes, Stags, Beares, Marterns, Hares & Foxes, with diuers other sorts whose flesh they eate raw, hauing first dried it in ỹ sunne or smoke, and so they doe their fish. As farre foorth as we could perceiue and vnderstand by these people, it were a very easie thing to bring them to some familiaritie & ciuility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies sake set thereunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.

Their Maiz.

Tobacco described.

Of the greatnesse and depth of the said riuer, and of the sorts of beasts, birdes, fishes, and other things that we haue seene, with the situation of the place.

Chap. 11.

THe said riuer beginneth beyond the Iland of the Assumption, ouer against the high mountaines of Hognedo, and of the seuen Ilands. The distance ouer from one side to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the middest it is aboue 200 fadome deepe. The surest way to sayle vpon it is on the South side. And toward the North, that is to say, from the said 7 Ilands, from side to side, there is seuen leagues distance, where are also two great riuers that come downe from the hils of Saguenay, and make diuers very dangerous shelues in the sea.

At the entrance of those two riuers we saw many & great store of Whales and Sea horses. Ouerthwart the said Islands there is another little riuer that runneth along those marrish grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherin there is great store of water foules. From the entrance of that riuer to Hochelaga there is about 300 leagues distance: the originall beginning of it is in the riuer that commeth from Saguenay, which riseth and springeth among high & steepe hils: it entreth into that riuer before it com[illegible]h to the Prouince of Canada on the North side. That riuer is very deepe, high, and streight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any vessell to goe vpon it. After that riuer followeth the Prouince of Canada, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are also in the circuit and territorie of Canada, along, and within the said riuer, many other Ilands, some great, & some small, among which there is one that containeth aboue ten leagues in length, full of goo[illegible]ly and high trees, and also many Vines. You may goe into it from both sides, but yet the su[illegible]st passage is on the South side. On the shore or banke of that riuer Westward, there is a go[illegible]dly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, conuenient and fit for to harborough ships. H[illegible]rd by there is in that riuer one place very narrow, deepe, & swift running, but it is not pass[illegible]ing the third part of a league, ouer against the which there is a goodly high piece of land, with [illegible] a towne therein and the countrey about it is very well tilled & wrought, & as good as possib[illegible] ca[illegible] be seene. [illegible]st voyage, That is the place and abode of Donnacona, and of our two men we tooke in our fi[illegible] say, it is called Stadacona. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, that is to [illegible]hich Ayraste, Starnatan, Tailla, which standeth vpon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stadagona, vnder [illegible] the towne toward the North the riuer and port of the holy crosse is, where we staied fro[illegible] haue 15 of September, vntill the 16 of May 1536, and there our ships remained dry, as w[illegible] guen- said before. That place being past, we found the habitation of the people called T[illegible]th in a ondahi, standing vpon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which s[illegible] as Hochelay Champaigne countrey. All the sayd countrey on both sides of the riuer as farr [illegible]ines farre dis- & beyond, is as faire and plaine as euer was seene. There are certaine mount[illegible] which moun- tant [illegible]m the said riuer, which are to be seene about the foresaid townes, [illegible]ountrey is full of taines diuers riuers descend, which fall into the said great riuer. All th[illegible]e inhabited, where sundry sorts of wood and many Vines, vnlesse it be about the places tha[illegible]ld their houses and they haue pulled vp the trees to till and labour the ground, and to like sorts of beasts, as lodgings. There is great store of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other suc[illegible]nd Rats exceeding great, Connies, Hares, Marterns, Foxes, Otters, Beuers, Weasels, Badgers, with the skinnes of those and diuers other sortes of wilde beastes. They cloth themselues [illegible] There are also many beasts, because they haue nothing else to make them apparell withal[illegible] grey, Duckes, Thrushes, sorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Bustards, wilde Geese white and [illegible] Stares, Nightingales, Black-birdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Red-bre[illegible], Sparrowes, and other Birds, euen as in Franc[illegible]. Also, as we [illegible]aue said before, the said riuer is the plentifullest of fish [illegible]at euer hath of any man bene see[illegible] or heard of, because that from the mouth to the end [illegible] it, according to their seasons, you [illegible]all finde all sorts of fresh water fish and salt. The[illegible] are also many Whales, Porposes, Sea [illegible]rses, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fish that [illegible] had neuer seene nor heard of before. [illegible]ey are as great as Porposes, as white as any sn[illegible] e[illegible]r bodie and head fashioned as a gre[illegible]hound, they are wont alwaies to abide betwe[illegible], the [illegible]esh & salt water, which beginneth betweene the riuer of Saguenay and Canada.

Riuers falling from mountaines.

Beasts.

Birdes.

Fishes.

It is now found to be but 200 leagues.

Of [illegible]duertisements and notes giuen vnto vs by those countreymen, after our returne from Hochelaga.

Chap. 12.

[illegible] returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, trafficked, and with great familiaritie and loue [illegible]sant with those that dwelt neerest vnto our ships, except that sometimes we had [illegible] contention with certaine naughtie people, full sore against the will of the others. [illegible]erstood of Donnacona and of others, that the said riuer is called the riuer of Sa[illegible], and goeth to Saguenay, being somewhat more then a league farther Westnorthwest, and

The right way to Saguenay.

Store of golde & red copper.

Two or three great lakes. Mare dulcium aquarum.

The riuer of Irrouacas falling into the lake of Angolesme.

and that 8 or 9 dayes iourneys beyond, it wil beare but small boats. But the right and ready way to Saguenay is vp that riuer to Hochelaga, and then into another that commeth from Saguenay, and then entreth into the foresaid riuer, & that there is yet one moneths sayling thither. Moreouer, they told vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they haue great store of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the said first riuer to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an Iland enuironed round about with that and other riuers, and that beyond Saguenay the said riuer entereth into two or 3 great lakes, and that there is a Sea of fresh water found, and as they haue heard say of those of Saguenay, there was neuer man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told vs, they themselues were neuer there. Moreouer they told vs, that where we had left our Pinnesse when wee went to Hochelaga, there is a riuer that goeth Southwest, from whence there is a whole moneths sayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor snow seene, where the inhabitants do continually warre one against another, where is great store of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other sorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beasts skinnes euen as they: we asked them if there were any gold or red copper, they answered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceiue and vnderstand by their signes and tokens.

Of a strange and cruell disease that came to the people of Stadacona, wherewith because we did haunt their company, we were so infected, that there died 25 of our company.

Chap. 13.

IN the moneth of December, wee vnderstood that the pestilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in such sort, that before we knew of it, according to their confession, there were dead aboue 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ships, nor vs. And albeit we had driuen them from vs, the said vnknowen sicknes began to spread it selfe amongst vs after the strangest sort that euer was eyther heard of or seene, insomuch as some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feete, then did their legges swel, their sinnowes shrinke as blacke as any cole. Others also had all their skins spotted with spots of blood of a purple coulour: then did it ascend vp to their ankels, knees, thighes, shoulders, armes, and necke: their mouth became stincking, their gummes so rotten, that all the flesh did fall off, euen to the rootes of the teeth, which did also almost all fall out. With such infection did this sicknesse spread it selfe in our three ships, that about the middle of February, of a hundreth and tenne persons that we were, there were not ten whole, so that one could not helpe the other, a most horrible and pitifull case, considering the place we were in, forsomuch as the people of the countrey would dayly come before our fort, and saw but few of vs. There were already eight dead, and more then fifty sicke, and as we thought, past all hope of recouery. Our Captaine seeing this our misery, & that the sicknesse was gone so farre, ordained and commanded, that euery one should deuoutly prepare himselfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set vpon a tree, about a flight shot from the fort amidst the yce and snow, giuing all men to vnderstand, that on the Sunday following, seruice should be said there, and that whosoeuer could goe, sicke or whole, should goe thither in Procession, singing the seuen [illegible] of Dauid, with other Letanies, praying most heartily that it would please the said o[illegible] compassion vpon vs. Seruice being done, and as well celebrated as we cou[illegible] there made a vow, that if it would please God to giue him leaue to returne i[illegible] would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rouge[illegible] in Amboise, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and because the sickenesse was to vs [illegible] our Captaine caused him to be ripped to see if by any meanes possible we might [illegible] it was, and so seeke meanes to saue and preserue the rest of the company: he was [illegible] haue his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his h[illegible]

ind

indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogither shrunke
the heart, so that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood issued out from e about
his heart: his milt toward the backe was somewhat perished, rough as if it had bene about
against a stone. Moreouer, because one of his thighs was very blacke without, it was rubbed
but within it was whole and sound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. opened,
sort did the sicknesse continue and encrease, that there were not aboue three soun In such
the ships, and none was able to goe vnder hatches to draw drinke for himselfe, d men in
fellowes. Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead vnder the sn nor for his
we were not able to digge any graues for them the ground was so hard frozen ow, because
weake. Besides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the , and we so
our weakenesse and miserie, which to hide, our Captaine, countrey would perceiue
keepe in health, would go out with two or three of m it pleased God alwayes to
whom when he saw out of the Fort, he would thre , some sicke and some whole,
soone as he came againe, he would beate th them and chide them, faigning
that so ountrey that hee caused all his men to n with signes shewe the peo-
ple of the co me in beating of chalke, some in hour in the ships, some in
calking them, so hem come foorth till their worke was done. me in another, and that
he would not haue th ld make all his men whole & sound to make his tale seeme
true and likely, he wou mmers, and other things togither, at wh reat noyse with
knocking stickes, stones, ha sicknesse, that we had lost all hope euer to were so op-
pressed and grieued with that nd mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked vp ce againe,
if God of his infinite goodnesse a medie against all diseases vnto vs, the best that n vs, and
reuealed a singular and excellent re ow. euer was
found vpon earth, as hereafter shall fo

e holy Crosse amidst the snow and y
How long we stayed in the Port of th from the beginning of it to the m e, and
how many died of the said disease, idst of
March.

Chap. 14.

March, we were kept in amidst
FRom the midst of Nouember vntill the midst of e high and more, higher then th the yce
aboue two fadomes thicke, and snow aboue foure foo at all our drinkes were frozen he sides
of our ships, which lasted till that time, in such sort, t and-breadth thicke, as well in the
Vessels, and the yce through all the ships was aboue a uen to Hochelaga, was fr aboue
hatches as beneath, and so much of the riuer as was fresh, st men, and all the rest ozen, in
which space there died fiue and twentie of our best and chief ree or foure e were so
sicke, that wee thought they should neuer recouer againe, only excepted. Then
it pleased God to cast his pitifull eye vpon vs, and sent vs the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recouerie, in such maner as in the next Chapter shall be shewed.

How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recouered our health: and the maner how to vse it.

Chap. 15.

OVr Captaine considering our estate (and how that sicknesse was encreased and hot amongst vs) one day went foorth of the Forte, and walking vpon the yce, hee saw a troupe of those Countreymen comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelue dayes afore, had bene very sicke with that disease, and had his knees swolne as bigge as a child of two yeres old, all his sinews shrunke together, his teeth spoyled, his gummes rotten, and stinking. Our Captaine seeing him whole and sound, was thereat maruellous glad, hoping to vnderstand and know of him how he had healed himselfe, to the end he might ease and help his men. So soone as they were come neere him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heale himselfe: he answered, that he had taken the iuice and sappe of the leaues of a certaine Tree, and therewith had healed himselfe: For it was a singular remedy

st that disease, Then our Captaine asked of him if any were to be had thereabout, de-
agains him to shew him, for to heale a seruant of his, who whilest he was in Canada with
siring acona, was striken with that disease: That he did because he would not shew the num-
Donna his sicke men. Domagaia straight sent two women to fetch some of it, which brought
ber of welue branches of it, and therewithall shewed the way how to vse it, and that is thus, to
ten or t barke and leaues of the sayd tree, and boile them together, then to drinke of the sayd
take the euery other day, and to put the dregs of it vpon his legs that is sicke: moreouer,
decoction s, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other disease: the tree is in their
they told v alled Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree. Our Captain
language c f that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was
presently caused some o ne or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to tast
none durst tast of it, exce ike, and presently recouered their health, and were
& proue it: the other seeing r disease soeuer, in such sorte, that there were
deliuered of that sickenes, a h the French Pockes foure or fiue yeres,
some had bene diseased and this medicine was found and proued and with
this drinke were cleane d be first to take of it, that they d to be true,
there was such strife a as big as any Oake in France was spoiled were ready to kill
one another, so that daies, and it wrought so wel, that if all and lopped bare, and
occupied all in a bene there with all the drugs of Alex the phisicians of Mount-
pelier and one yere, as that tree did in sixe dayes, for andria, they would not haue
done so m it, by the grace of God recouered their health. it did so preuaile, that as many
as vsed o

A perfect remedy against the French Pocks.

w the Lord Donnacona accompanied with Taig
Ho hat they would goe to hunt Stags, and De noagny and diuers others, faining
t r returne brought a great multitude ere, taried out two moneths, and at
thei nt to see before. of people with them, that we were not
wo

C ap. 16.

le that disease lasted in our ships,
WHi rom home, faining that they wo the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others
went f called Aiounesta, and Asqu ld goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their
tongue the riuer that they could say noudo, because the yce and snow was not so broken
along it but a fortnight, & we b it was told vs of Domagaia and others, that they would
stay o rust that they had bene g eeued it, but they stayed aboue two moneths, which made
vs mist aure, we seeing our selu he to raise the countrey to come against vs, and do vs some
disple that if es so weake & faint. Albeit we had vsed such diligence and
policie in our Fort, the power of the countrey had bene about it, they could haue
done nothing but looke vpon vs: and whilest they were foorth, many of the people came dayly to our ships, and brought vs fresh meat, as Stags, Deere, fishes, with diuers other things, but held them at such an excessiue price, that rather then they would sell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, because that yere the Winter was very long, and they had some scarcity and neede of them.

A long winter.

How Donnacona came to Stadacona againe with a great number of people, and because he would not come to visit our Captaine, fained himselfe to be sore sicke, which he did only to haue the Captaine come see him.

Chap. 17.

ON the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the shore side, accompanied with diuers lusty and strong men, such as we were not wont to see, and tolde vs that their lord Donnacona would the next day come and see vs, and bring great store of Deeres flesh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cause wee knew not, but (as the prouerb sayth) he that takes heede and shields himselfe from all men, may hap to scape from some: for we had need to looke about vs, considering how in number we were diminished, and in strength greatly weakned, both by reason of our sicknesse and also of the number that were dead, so that we were constrained to leaue one of our ships in the Port of the Holy Crosse. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it vs, and durst not passe the riuer that was betwixt Stadacona and vs, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we mistrusted some treason. Our Captaine seeing this sent one of his seruants to them, accompanied with Iohn Poulet being best beloued of those people, to see who were there, and what they did. The sayd Poulet & the other fained themselues onely to be come to visit Donnacona, & bring him certaine presents, because they had beene together a good while in the sayd Donnaconas Towne. So soone as he heard of their comming, he got himselfe to bed, faining to bee very sicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his house to see him, and wheresoeuer they went, they saw so many people, that in a maner one could not stirre for another, and such men as they were neuer wont to see. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houses, but still kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ships, and tolde them that if it would please our captaine to shew him so much fauour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whose name was Agonna, of whom hee had receiued some displeasure, and carie him with him into France, he should therefore for euer be bound vnto him, and would doe for him whatsoeuer hee would command him, and bade the seruant come againe the next day, and bring an answere. Our Captain being aduertised of so many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purposed to play a prettie prancke, that is to say, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and some more of the chiefest of them prisoners, in so much as before hee had purposed, to bring them into France, to shew vnto our King what he had seene in those Westerne parts, and maruels of the world, for that Donnacona had told vs, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themselues with woollen cloth euen as we doe in France. Moreouer he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other strange people. The sayd Lord was an olde man, and euen from his childehood had neuer left off nor ceased from trauailing into strange Countreys, as well by water and riuers, as by lande. The sayd Poulet, and the other hauing tolde our Captaine their Embassage, and shewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the next day he sent his seruant againe to bid Taignoagny come and see him, and shewe what hee should, for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished. Taignoagny sent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had so offended him, which hee did not, but stayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to our shippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from vs, as if we would haue slaine them, so that then wee plainely perceiued their knauery.

Rubies, Gold, and wollen cloth with other riches in Saguenay.

A people called Picquemians.

The towne of Sidatin.

But because they vnderstood, that those of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forsaken the bottome of a ship which we would leaue, to haue the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and most of them without difficulty did passe from one side of the riuer to the other with small Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come ouer: Taignoagny, and Domagaia stood talking together aboue an houre before they would come ouer, at last they came to speake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cause the foresayd man to be taken and caried into France. Our Captaine refused to doe it, saying, that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly cary him to Newfoundland, and there leaue him in an Island. Our Captaine spake this, onely to assure them, that they should bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other side: which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee should neuer returne into France againe, and therefore promised to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Crosse, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

How that vpon Holyrood day our Captaine caused a Crosse to be set vp in our Forte: and how the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and others of their company came: and of the taking of the sayd Lord.

Chap. 18.

THe third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the solemnitie of the day, caused a goodly fayre crosse of 35 foote in height to bee set vp, vnder the crosset of which hee caused a shield to be hanged, wherein were the Armes of France, and ouer them was written in antique letters, Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat. And vpon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of Stadacona, men, women, and children, who told vs that their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, & being come neere our ships, our Captaine went to salute Donnacona, who also shewed him a mery countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were still bent toward the wood. Shortly after came Taignoagny, who bade Donnacona that he should not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, & kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ships to eate & drinke as hee was wont to do, and also Taignoagny, who promised, that after a while he would come, and so they did, & entred into our ships: but first it was told our Captain by Domagaia that Taignoagny had spoken ill of him, & that he had bid Donnacona hee should not come aboord our ships. Our Captaine perceiuing that, came out of the Forte, and saw that onely by Taignoagny his warning the women ran away, and none but men stayed in great number, wherefore he straight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, & two more of the chiefest whom he pointed vnto: then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Presently after, the said lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by & by Taignoagny came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call vnto them to take them, at whose crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the sayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians seeing their Lord taken, began to run away, euen as sheepe before the woolfe, some crossing ouer the riuer, some through the woods, each one seeking for his owne aduantage. That done, we retired our selues, and laid vp the prisoners vnder good guard and safety.

Donnacona, Taignoagny, & Domagaia takē.

How the said Canadians the night following came before our ships to seeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolues: of the talke and conclusion they agreed vpon the next day: and of the gifts which they gaue our Captaine.

Chap. 19.

THe night following they came before our ships, (the riuer being betwixt vs) striking their breasts, and crying and howling like woolues, still calling Agouhanna, thinking to speake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made signes vnto vs, that we had hanged or killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluster, as euer we saw, who went to hide themselues in the Forest, except some, who with a loud voice would call and crie to Donnacona to speake vnto them. Our Captaine then commanded Donnacona to be brought vp on high to speake vnto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had spoken, and shewed vnto the King of France what hee had seene in Saguenay and other countreys, after ten or twelue moneths, he should returne againe, and that the King of France would giue him great rewards, whereat Donnacona was very glad, and speaking to the others, told it them, who in token of ioy, gaue out three great cryes, and then Donnacona and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be described. Our Captaine bade Donnacona that hee should cause them to come to the other side of the riuer, to the end they might better [illegible] together without any feare, & that he should assure them: which Donnacona did, and there came a boate full of the chiefest of them to the ships, and there anew began to talke together, giuing great praise to our captaine, and gaue him a present of foure and twenty chaines of Esurgny, for that is the greatest and preciousest riches they haue in this world, for they esteeme more of that, then of any gold or siluer. After they had long talked together, and that their Lord sawe that there was no remedy to auoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him some victuals to serue him by the way. Our Captaine gaue Donnacona, as a great present, two Frying pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other small trifles, as Kniues, and Beades, whereof hee seemed to be very glad, who sent them to his wiues and children. Likewise, he gaue to them that came to speake with Donacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

Foure and twenty chains of Esurgny.

How the next day, being the fift of May, the sayd people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and how foure women came to the shore to bring him victuals.

Chap. 20.

VPon the fifth of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the sayd people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and sent a boate, which in their tongue they call Casnoni, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men should be retained. These women brought great store of victuals, as great Millet, which is their corne that they liue withall, flesh, fish, and other things, after their fashion.

These women being come to our shippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then Donnacona prayed our Captaine to tell those women that hee should come againe after ten or twelue moneths, and bring Donnacona to Canada with him: this hee sayd onely to appease them, which our captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as signes, seemed to be very glad, giuing our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought Donnacona with him, they would giue him many things: in signe whereof, each one gaue our Captaine a chaine of Esurgny, and then passed to the other side of the riuer againe, where stood all the people of Stadacona, who taking all leaue of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following, being the sixt of the moneth, we departed out of the sayd Port of Santa Croix, and came to harborough a little beneath the Island of Orleans, about twelue leagues from the Port of the Holy Crosse, and vpon Sonday we came to the Island of Filberds, where wee stayed vntill the sixteenth of that moneth, till the fiercenesse of the waters were past, which at that time ranne too swift a course, and were too dangerous to come downe along the riuer, and therefore we stayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of Donnaconas subiects came from the riuer of Saguenay to him, but being by Domagaia aduertised, that their Lord was taken to bee caryed into France, they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leaue to come to our ships, to speake to Donnacona, who told them that after twelue moneths he should come againe, and that he was very well vsed by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Mariners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gaue their Lord three bundles of Beauers, and sea Woolues skinnes, with a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay, and other things. They gaue also to our Captaine a chayne of Esurgny, for which our Captaine gaue them ten or twelue Hatchets, and they gaue him hearty thankes, and were very well contented. The next day, being the sixteenth of May, we hoysed sayle, and came from the said Island of Filberds, to another about fifteene leagues from it, which is about fiue leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take some rest the night following, we stayed that day, in hope the next day we might passe and auoide the dangers of the riuer of Saguenay, which are great. That euening we went a land and found great store of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it The Island of Hares: in the night there arose a contrary winde, with such stormes and tempest, that wee were constrained to returne to the Island of Filberds againe, from whence wee were come, because there was none other passage among the sayde Islandes, and there we stayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather and good winde came againe: and then wee sayled againe, and that so prosperously, that we passed to Honguedo, which passage vntill that

The Isle of Orleans.
Isle de Coudres.

A knife of red coper brought from Saguenay.

The Isle of Hares.

time had not bene discouered: wee caused our ships to course athwart Cape Prat which is the beginning of the Port of Chaleur: and because the winde was good and conuenient, we sayled all day and all night without staying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brions Island, which we were not minded to doe, to the end wee might shorten our way. These two lands lie Northwest, and Southeast, and are about fiftie leagues one from another. The sayd Island is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Vpon Thursday being the twenty sixe of the moneth, and the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we coasted ouer to a land and shallow of lowe sandes, which are about eight leagues Southwest from Brions Island, aboue which are large Champaignes, full of trees and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see, nor perceiue any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to Brions Island againe, where wee stayed till the beginning of Iune, and toward the Southeast of this Island, wee sawe a lande, seeming vnto vs as an Island, we coasted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had notice of three other high Islands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen these things we returned to the Cape of the sayd land, which doeth deuide it selfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty seuen degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a riuer, but there is no hauen of any worth. Aboue these lands we saw another cape toward the south, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Isle of Brion.

The Sonday following, being the fourth of Iune, and Whitsonday, wee had notice of the coaste lying Eastsoutheast, distant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and because the wind was against vs, wee went to a Hauen, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we stayed till Tewesday that we departed thence, sayling along that coast vntill wee came to Saint Peters Islands. Wee found along the sayd coast many very dangerous Islands and shelues, which lye all in the way Eastsoutheast and Westnorthwest, about three and twenty leagues into the sea. Whilest we were in the sayd Saint Peters Islands we met with many ships of France and of Britaine, wee stayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleuenth of the moneth, vntil the sixteenth that we departed thence & came to Cape Rase, and entred into a Port called Rognoso, where wee tooke in fresh water, and wood to passe the sea: there wee left one of our boates. Then vpon Monday, being the nineteenth of Iune, we went from that Port, and with such good and prosperous weather we sailed along the sea, in such sorte, that vpon the sixt of Iuly 1536 we came to the Porte of S. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Nauigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant vs his grace and fauour, and in the end bring vs to the place of euerlasting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of Hochelaga and Canada, of vs called New France: But first the names of their numbers.

Secada	1	Indahir	6
Tigneni	2	Aiaga	7
Hasche	3	Addigue	8
Hannaion	4	Madellon	9
Ouiscon	5	Assem	10

Here follow the names of the chiefest partes of man, and other words necessary to be knowen.

the Head	aggonzi	the Mouth	esahe
the Browe	hegueniascon	the Teeth	esgongay
the Eyes	higata	the Tongue	osnache
the Eares	abontascon	the Throat	agonhon

the

the Beard	hebelim
the Face	hegouascon
the Haires	aganiscon
the Armes	aiayascon
the Flanckes	aissonne
the Stomacke	aggruascon
the Bellie	eschehenda
the Thighes	hetnegradascon
the Knees	agochinegodascon
the Legges	agouguenehondo
the Feete	onchidascon
the Hands	aignoascon
the Fingers	agenoga
the Nailes	agedascon
a Mans member	ainoascon
a Womans member	castaigne
an Eele	esgueny
a Snaile	vndeguezi
a Tortois	heuleuxima
Woods	conda
leaues of Trees	hoga
God	cudragny
giue me some drink	quazahoaquea
giue me to breakfast	quase hoa quascaboa
giue me my supper	quaza hoa quatfriam
let vs goe to bed	casigno agnydahoa
a Man	aguehum
a woman	agruaste
a Boy	addegesta
a Wench	agniaquesta
a Child	exiasta
a Gowne	cabata
a Dublet	caioza
Hosen	hemondoha
Shooes	atha
a Shirt	amgoua
a Cappe	castrua
Corne	osizi
Bread	carraconny
Water	ame
Flesh	quahouascon
Reisins	queion
Damsons	honnesta
Figges	absconda
Grapes	ozoba
Nuttes	quahoya
a Hen	sahomgahoa
a Lamprey	zisto
a Salmon	ondacon
a Whale	ainne honne
a Goose	sadeguenda
a Streete	adde
Cucumber seede	casconda
to Morrowe	achide
the Heauen	quenhia
the Earth	damga
the Sunne	ysmay
the Moone	assomaha
the Starres	stagnehoham
the Winde	cohoha
good morrow	aignag
let vs go to play	casigno caudy
come & speak with me	assigniquaddadia
looke vpon me	quagathoma
hold your peace	aista
let vs go with yͤ boat	casigno casnouy
giue me a knife	buazahca agoheda
a Hatchet	adogne
a Bow	ahenca
a Darte	quaetan
let vs goe a hunting	Casigno donnascat
a Stagge	aionnesta
a Sheepe	asquenondo
a Hare	Sourhanda
a Dogge	agaya
a Towne	canada
the Sea	agogasy
the waues of the sea	coda
an Island	cohena
an Hill	agacha
the yce	honnesca
Snow	camsa
Colde	athau
Hotte	odazani
Fier	azista
Smoke	quea
a House	canoca
Beanes	sahe
Cinnamom	adhotathny
my Father	addathy
my Mother	adanahoe
my Brother	addagrim
my Sister	adhoasseue

They of Canada say, that it is a moneths sayling to goe to a lande where Cinnamom and Cloues are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of Iames Cartiers discouery and Nauigation to the Newfoundlands, by him named New France.

The third voyage of discouery made by Captaine Iaques Cartier, 1540. vnto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

Ten Sauages brought into France.

Iohn Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberual.

Great riches & very good soile in Saguenay, which is beyond yͤ saults.

The kings letters to Cartier.

23. of May, 1540.

The great mischiefe of leesing the season.

Carpont Hauen.

KIng Francis the first hauing heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of discouery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and seene in the Westerne partes discouered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and hauing also seene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of those Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donnacona, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne desire and request, and died in the sayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Maiestie was aduertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought ouer by him (which were tenne in number) sauing one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he resolued to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with Iohn Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberual, whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Gouernour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the sayd Cartier Captaine generall and leader of the shippes, that they might discouer more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were possible) vnto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention vnto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King caused a certaine summe of money to be deliuered to furnish out the sayd voyage with fiue shippes: which thing was performed by the sayd Monsieur Roberual and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the sayd fiue ships at Saint Malo in Britaine, where the two former voyages had beene prepared and set forth. And the said Monsieur Roberual sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said fiue ships to bee built and furnished and set in good order, Monsieur Roberual came downe to S. Malo and found the ships fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acrosse full ready to depart and set saile, staying for nothing else but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberual the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things necessary come downe, which he had prouided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and because the said things were very necessary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come: And that the said Cartier shoulde depart with the fiue shippes which he had furnished, and should goe before. Considering also that the said Cartier had receiued letters from the king, whereby hee did expresly charge him to depart and set sayle immediatly vpon the sight and receit thereof, on payne of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberual had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, souldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the said voyage, hee gaue vnto Captaine Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to gouerne all things as if he had bene there in person: and himselfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd fiue ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540. And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that wee were on the sea with our sayd fiue ships full three moneths before wee could arriue at the Port and Hauen of Canada, without euer hauing in all that time 30 houres of good wind to serue vs to keepe our right course: so that our fiue shippes through those stormes lost company one of another, all saue two that kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Vicount of Beaupre, vntill at length at the ende of one moneth wee met all together at the Hauen of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great neede of water, because of the cattell, aswell Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberual, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arriued not before the Hauen of Saincte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we [illegible] ght moneths) vntill the 23. day of August. In which place the people [illegible] came to our shippes, making shew of ioy for our arriuall, and namely he c[illegible] er which had the rule and gouernment of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which [illegible] was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into Fra[illegible]e: And hee came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and ch[illegible] And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the res[illegible] the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were maried, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Gouernour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona. After which conference the said Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with Esnoguy (which is their riches and the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was vpon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of Esnoguy, and put them vpon the Captaines armes, colling him about the necke and shewing vnto him great signes of ioy: which was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke his said crowne of leather and put it againe vpon his head, and gaue him and his wiues certaine smal presents, signifying vnto him, that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow vpon him: for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine went with two of his boates vp the riuer, beyond Canada and the Port of Saincte Croix, to view a Hauen and a small riuer, which is about 4. leagues higher: which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, then the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the sayd riuer, and at a lowe water he caused his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ships in more safetie, which he meant to keepe and stay in the Countrey, which were three: which hee did the day following, and the rest remayned in the roade in the middest of the riuer (In which place the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of August vntill the second of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ships he sent backe Mace Iolloberte his brother in lawe, and Steuen Noel his Nephew, skilfull and excellent pilots, with letters vnto the king, and to aduertise him what had bene done and found: and how Monsieur de Roberual was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driuen backe againe into France.

Transporting of diuers sorts of Cattell for breed.

The 23. of August.

The new king of Canada.

Great dissimulation of a Sauage.

A good roade 4. leagues aboue Saincte Croix.

The description of the aforesayd Riuer and Hauen.

THe sayd Riuer is small, not past 50. pases broad, and shippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both sides of the said Riuer there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and diuers sorts, which are aboue tenne fathoms higher then the rest, and there is one kind of tree aboue three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees of the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreouer there are great store of Okes the most excellent that euer I saw in my life, which were so laden with Mast that they cracked againe: besides this there are fairer Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard vnto this wood on the South side the ground is all couered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies,

Trees aboue 3. fathoms about. Hanneda the most excellent tree of the world.

Abundance of Vines full of grapes.

Fruit like Medlers.

Seed sprong out of the ground within 8 dayes.

A great plaine of very good arable ground.

Diamants of Canada.

An yron Mine.

Leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans naile found in Canada.

Excellent and strong hempe.

but they be not so kind as those of France because the Vines bee not tilled, and because they grow of their owne accord. Moreouer there are many white Thornes, which beare leaues as bigge as oken leaues, and fruit like vnto Medlers. To bee short, it is as good a Countrey to plow and manure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seedes here of our Countrey, [illegible]eaus, Lettises and others, which grew and sprong vp out of the ground in [illegible]. The mouth of the riuer is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like [illegible]ake: and at the mouth of it toward the East there is a high and steepe cliffe, where we made a way in maner of a payre of staires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the [illegible]ether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe as well by the great as by [illegible] mall riuer. Moreouer a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, [illegible]e and handsome and somewhat enclining toward the South, as easie to be brought to tillage as I would desire, and very well replenished with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forrests of France. Here wee set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the said ground, and sowed it part with Naueaus or small Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I said before, sprang out of the earth. And vpon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the sayd Fort: adioyning whereunto we found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be Diamants. On the other side of the said mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great Riuer is all along a goodly Myne of the best yron in the world, and it reacheth euen hard vnto our Fort, and the sand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters side we found certaine leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Westward of the said Riuer there are, as hath bene sayd, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire and goodly grasse as euer I sawe in any Medowe in France: and betweene the sayd Medow and the Wood are great store of Vines: and beyond the said Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it selfe, which is as good as possibly may be seene, and as strong. And at the ende of the sayd Medow within an hundred pases there is a rising ground, which is of a kind of slate stone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which shewe like gold and siluer: and throughout all that stone there are great graines of the sayd Myne. And in some places we haue found stones like Diamants, the most faire, pollished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see, when the Sunne shineth vpon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.

How after the departure of the two shippes which were sent backe into Britaine, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to goe vp the great Riuer to discouer the passage of the three Saults or falles of the Riuer.

The Viscount of Beaupre and the rest of their councell.

The rich countrey of Saguenay situated beyond the Saults which are in 64. deg.

They depart from Charlesburg Royal the 7. of Septem.

THe said Captaine hauing dispatched two ships to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preseruation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Masters, and Pilots chosen for counsayle, to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and vnderstand the fashion of the Saults of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readinesse for their businesse. The foresaid boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Painpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the sayd place of Charlesburg Royal the seuenth day of September in the yeere aforesayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre stayed behind for the garding and gouernement of all things in the Fort. And as they went vp the riuer, the Captaine went to see the Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had giuen vnto the said Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would haue wrought against him. In regard of which his curtesie the said

Captaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him vnderstand that the Captaine thought himselfe beholding vnto him, hee gaue vnto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed vpon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles. And withall hee gaue him two Basins of Laton, and certaine hachets and kniues: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arriued the eleuenth day of the moneth at the first Sault of water, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tutonaguy. And after wee were arriued there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre vp as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe vp against the course or streame of the sayde Sault. And after wee had passed some part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and so great a current, that wee could not possibly passe any further with our Boate. And the Captaine resolued to goe by land to see the nature and fashion of the Sault. And after that we were come on shore, wee founde hard by the water side a way and beaten path going toward the sayde Saultes, by which wee tooke our way. And on the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made vs great cheere, and entertained vs very friendly. And after that he had signified vnto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with vs to shewe vs the way, and they brought vs so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell ouer against the second Sault, which came and brought vs of their victuals, as Pottage and Fish, and offered vs of the same. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more Saults wee had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that wee were at the second Sault, and that there was but one more to passe, that the Riuer was not nauigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd Sault was but a third part farther then we had trauailed, shewing vs the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd vpon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterward layde other small branches betweene both, representing the Saults. And by the sayde marke, if their saying be true, it can be but sixe leagues by land to passe the sayd Saults.

They delight in red cloth.

The 11 of September. The Towne of Tutonaguy.

Bad ground, and a great current.

A Towne of friendly people.

Another village of good people which dwell ouer against the second Sault.

They were at the second Sault.

The riuer not nauigable to passe to Saguenay.

Here after followeth the figure of the three Saults.

AFter that we had bene aduertised by the sayde people, of the things abouementioned, both because the day was farre spent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the same day, we concluded to returne vnto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great store of people to the number of 400. persons or thereabout, which seemed to giue vs very good entertainment and to reioyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gaue eche of them certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other smal toyes, and vnto the chiefe men euery one his litle hatchet & hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of ioy. But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for vs, then would they haue done their best to haue killed vs, as we vnderstood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came vp the riuer, thinking to haue found him: But hee coulde find no body saue one of his sonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee was gone to Maisouna, as our boyes also told vs, saying, that it was two dayes since he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conclude with Agona, what they should doe against vs. And when we were arriued at our Fort, wee vnderstoode by our people, that the Sauages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring vs fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of vs. Wherefore our Captaine, hauing bene aduertised by some of our men which had bene at Stadacona to

400 persons about their boates.

Like those of new Albion.

The Sauages are great dissemblers.

Maisonna.

The Sauages conspire together against the French.

visite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order: &c.

A very great number of Sauages assembled together.

The rest is wanting.

A letter written to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris, by Iaques Noel of S. Malo, the nephew of Iaques Cartier, touching the foresaid discouery.

MAster Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an English Gentleman: wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the Riuer of Canada which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Iaques Cartier: and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe The great Lake, which is aboue the Saults, according as the Sauages haue aduertised vs, which dwell at the sayd Saults. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North. The Saults or falles of the Riuer stand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the middest of the Riuer there is bad ground. It were best to build boates aboue the Saults: and it is easie to march or trauell by land to the end of the three Saults: it is not aboue fiue leagues iourney. I haue bene vpon the toppe of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I haue seene the said Riuer beyond the sayd Saultes, which shewed vnto vs to be broader then it was where we passed it. The people of the Countrey aduertised vs, that there are ten dayes iourney from the Saults vnto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes iourney. At this present I cannot write vnto you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to giue you your hearts desire. From S. Malo in haste this 19 day of June. 1587.

The Saults are in 44. deg. and easie to passe.

But 5. leagues iourney to passe the 3 Saults.

Ten dayes iourney from the Saults to this great Lake.

Your louing Friend,

IAQVES NOEL.

COsin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send mee a booke of the discouery of New Mexico, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captain Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

Vnderneath the aforesaid vnperfite relation that which followeth is written in another letter sent to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris from Iaques Noel of S. Malo, the grand nephew of Iaques Cartier.

I Can write nothing else vnto you of any thing that I can recouer of the writings of Captaine Iaques Cartier my vncle disceased, although I haue made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne: sauing of a certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said vncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur: which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the Riuer of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I myself haue knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I haue bene: The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the Riuer is diuided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said riuer somewhat neerest that arme which runneth toward the Northwest, these words following written in the hand of Iaques Cartier.

The Saults are in the latitude of 44. deg.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

And about an hundred leagues vnder the same I found written these two lines following in the said Carde enclining toward the Southwest. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloues, which they call in their language Canodeta.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I ſpake vnto you, it is made after the maner of a ſea Chart, which I haue deliuered to my two ſonnes Michael and Iohn, which at this preſent are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they haue learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to aduertiſe you thereof.

Your louing Friend,
IAQVES NOEL.

Here followeth the courſe from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland vp the Riuer of Canada for the ſpace of 230. leagues, obſerued by Iohn Alphonse of Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monſieur Roberual, 1542.

BElles Isles are in 51 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. Belles Isles and Carpont are Northnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt, and they are ten leagues diſtant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Isle from the Grand Bay are Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance from Bell Isle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midſt of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and a halfe, and on the Northſide thereof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Isle, ouer againſt Carpont toward the Eaſt there is a ſmall flat Island, and on the ſide toward the Northeaſt there is a flat rocke. And when thou commeſt out of the harborough of Carpont thou muſt leaue this rocke on the ſtarreboord ſide, and alſo on the larboord ſide there are two or three ſmall Isles: and when thou commeſt out on the Northeaſt ſide, ranging along the ſhore toward the Weſt about two pikes length in the midway there is a ſhold which lieth on thy ſtarboord ſide: and ſaile thou by the North coaſt, and leaue two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; becauſe there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the ſea. And when thou art come athwart the hauen of Butes, run along the North ſhore about one league or an halfe off, for the coaſt is without all danger: Bell Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere vnto the North ſhore lie Northeaſt, Weſt and Southweſt, & the diſtance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land vntill it come ouer againſt the Bay des Chaſteaux: and from thence forward it hath not paſt 5 leagues in breadth. And againſt Blanc Sablon it is 8 leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the South ſhore is all low land along the ſea coaſt. The North ſhore is reaſonable high land, Blanc Sablon is in 51 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$. The Isles of Blanc Sablon & the Isles de la Damoiſelle, are Northeaſt, Weſtſouthweſt, and take a little of the Weſtſouthweſt, and they are diſtant 36 leagues: theſe Iles are in 50. deg. $\frac{3}{4}$. And there is a good hauen: & you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeaſt, and within the diſtance of a pike & an half, becauſe of a rocke which lieth on your larrebord ſide, & you may ancre in 10 fathome water ouer againſt a litle nooke: and from the great headland vnto the place where thou doeſt ancre there is not aboue the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldeſt go out by the Weſt ſide, thou muſt saile neere the Isle by the ſtarrebord, & giue roome vnto the Isle on the larbord at the comming forth: and when thou art not paſt a cables length out thou muſt saile hard by the Isles on the larbord ſide, by reaſon of a suncken flatte which lieth on the ſtarrebord, and thou ſhalt ſaile ſo on to the Southſouthweſt, vntill thou come in ſight of a rocke which ſhineth, which is about halfe a league in the ſea diſtant from the Isles, and thou ſhalt leaue it on the larrebord: (and from the Isles of Damoiſelle vnto Newfoundland the ſea is not in bredth aboue 36. leagues, becauſe that Newfoundland euen vnto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnortheaſt & Southſouthweſt.) Between the Isles de la Damoiſelle and the Isles of Blanck Sablon there be many Isles and good harbours: and on this coaſt there are faulcons & haukes, and certaine foules which ſeeme to be feaſants. The Isles de la Damoiſelle & Cape Tienot are Northeaſt & Weſtſouthweſt & take a little of the Northeaſt and ſouthweſt, & they are diſtant 18. leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50. deg. and

Belle Isle.
Carpont in 52. degrees.
The Grand Bay in 52. and an halfe.
A flatte rocke.
Butes.
The Isle of Blanc Sablon or white ſand.
The seuerall breadths of the Grand Bay.
Blanc Sablon in 51. deg. 2. third parts.
The Isles de la Damoiſelle in 50 deg. 3. fourth parts.
Many Isles & good harbors.
Cape Tienot in 50 deg. one fourth part.

and ¼. And there the sea is broadest. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greatest bredth of the sea. And there are 6 or 7 Isles between the Isles de la Damoiselle & Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in yͤ sea 5 or 6 leagues distant frõ it a sunkẽ Iland dangerous for ships.

The Isle Ascention, Assumption or Natiscotec.

The Cape Tienot and the midst of the Isle of Ascension are Northeast and southsouthwest, & they are 22. leagues distant, the midst of the Isle of Ascension is in 49 deg. & ½. The said Isle lieth Northwest and Southeast, the Northwest end is in 50. degrees of latitude and the Southeast end is in 48. degrees and a halfe and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues broad: and from the Northwest end of the Isle vnto the firme land of the North side the Sea is not aboue seuen leagues broad, but vnto the firme land on the South side are about 15. leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of the Isle of Ascention toward the Southeast are Northeast and Southwest, and are distant 30. leagues. The said Cape of Tienot and the Northwest end of the Isle of Ascension are East and West, and take a little of the Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 34. leagues.

The commendation of the Isle of Ascentiõ.

The Isle of Ascension is a goodly Isle, and a goodly champion land without any hilles, standing all vpon white rocks and Alablaster, all couered with trees vnto the Sea shore, and there are al sorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beasts, as beares, Luserns, Porkespicks.

From Cape Briton to the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascention is but 50 leagues.

And from the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascension vnto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues.

The Cape of Monts nostre Dame.

The Northwest end of the Isle & the Cape des Monts nostre Dame, which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeast and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues. The Cape is in 49. degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Isle of Ascension toward the Southeast are East and West and there is 15. leagues distance betweene them.

The Bay of Molues or Gaspay.

The Bay de Chaleur or of Heate.

The Bay of Ognedoc.

The Bay of Molues or Gaspay is in 48. degrees, and the coast lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeast and Southwest vnto the Bay of Heate: and there are 3. Isles, one great one and two smal: from the Bay of Heate vntill you passe the Monts nostre Dame al the land is high and good ground al couered with trees. Ognedoc is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and it is a good Harbour: and you must saile along the shore on the Northside by reason of the low point at the entrance therof: and when you are passed the poynt bring your selfe to an ancre in 15. or 20. fathoms of water toward the South shore, and here within this Hauen are two riuers, one which goeth toward the Northwest, and the other to the Southwest.

Greater store and better fish then in Newfoundland.

Foules.

Trees.

And on this coast there is great fishing for Coddes and other fish, where there is more store then is in Newfoundland, and better fish. And here is great store of riuer foule, as Malards, wild Geese, and others: And here are all sorts of trees, Rose trees, Raspesses, Filbird trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is hotter here in Sommer then in France. The Isle of Ascension and the 7. Isles which lie on the North shore lie Southeast and Westnorthwest, and are distant 24. leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the 7. Isles are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, & are distant 35. leagues.

The mouth of the riuer of Canada twenty fiue leagues broad.

The 7 Isles in 50 degrees and a halfe.

The Cape of Monts nostre Dame and the 7. Isles are North and South, and the cut ouer from the one to the other is 25. leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence vpward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7. Isles are in 50. degrees and ½. The 7. Isles and the poynt of Ongear lie Northeast and Southwest and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues, and betweene them are certaine small Islands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Nostre Dame, which are on the South side of the entrance of the riuer, are North and South: and the cut ouer from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the abredth of the Sea.

The riuer is here but 10 leagues broad.

The poynt of Ongear and the riuer of Caen lie East and West, and they are distant 12. leagues. And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherin growe all sortes of trees that are in France and some fruits.

The point of Ongear in 49 degrees and a quarter.

The Isle of Raquelle in 48 degrees and two third parts.

The riuer 8 leagues broad.

The poynt of Ongear is in 49 degrees and ¼. And the riuer of Caen and the Isle of Raquelle lye Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 12. leagues. The Isle of Raquelle is in 48. degrees and ⅔. In this riuer of Caen there is great store of fish. And here the Sea is not past 8. leagues broad. The Isle of Raquelle is a very low Isle, which is neere vnto the South shore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Ra-

quelle and [illegible] nd there is not from the Isle to the
South shore [illegible] the North shore about foure leagues.
The Isle of [illegible] ay are Northeast Westsouthwest, and
are distant [illegible] of Saguen hem two small Islandes neere the
North shore. [illegible] nere are betweene t degrees and ⅓, and the entrance
[illegible] ance of Saguenay is in 48. it is dangerous toward the South-
hath not past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it beginneth to waxe wider and
west: and two or three leagues within the entrance Sea: And I thinke that the same
wider: and it seemeth to bee as it were an arme of the ere a great current, and there
runneth into the Sea of Cathay, for it sendeth foorth the riuer from the North shore to
doth runne in that place a terrible rase or tyde. And here tl a dangerous passage betweene
the South shore is not past foure leagues in breadth, and it is r. The Isle of Raquelle and
both the lands, because there lie bankes of rockes in the riu of the East and the West,
the Isle of Hares lye Northeast and Southwest, and take y and the Isle of Liepueres or
and they are distant 18. leagues. The entr nd are distant 5. leagues. The entrance of
Hares lie Northnortheast & Southsouthwe thnorthwest, and Southsouthwest, and are distant
Saguenay and the Isle of Raquelle are 48. and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree. From the Mountaines of
three leagues. The Ile of Hares is ochelaga, all the land on the South coast is faire, a lowe
Nostre Dame vnto Canada and vnto couered with trees vnto the brinke of the riuer. And the
land and goodly champaigne, all and in some places there are high mountaines. And from
land on the North side is highe of Orleans the riuer is not past 4 or 5 leagues broad. Be-
the Isle of Hares vnto the Is the highland on the North side the sea is not past a league and
tweene the Isle of Hares and deepe, for it is aboue 100. fathoms deepe in the middest. To
an halfe broad, and it is very there are 2 or 3 small Isles and rockes. And from hence to the
the East of the Isle of Hares lbeards, all is nothing but Isles and rockes on the South shore:
Isle Des Coudres or of I sea is fayre and deepe. The Isle of Hares and the Isle of Filbeards
and towards the North th southwest, and they are distant 12 leagues. And you must alwayes
lie northeast, West and d on the north shore; for on the other shore there is nothing but
run along the high lar passe by the side of the Isle of Filbeards, and the riuer there is not
rocks. And you mus ague broad, and you must sayle in the middest of the chanel: and in
past a quarter neth the best passage either at an hie or a low water, because the sea runneth
the middest ry, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and
there stron The isle of Filbeards is a small isle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad,
cable. y are all banks of sand. The Isle of Filberds stands in 47. deg. and ¾. The isle of
but th Fil erds and the isle of Orleans lie northeast and southwest, and they are distant 10 leagues,
and thou must passe by the high land on the northside about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the riuer there is nothing but sholds and rocks. And when thou shalt bee ouer against a round Cape, thou must take ouer to the South shore southwest, and a quarter toward the south; and thou shalt sayle in 5. 6 and 7 fathoms: and there the riuer of Canada beginneth to bee fresh, and the salt water endeth. And when thou shalt be athwart the point of the isle of Orleans, where the riuer beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sayle in the midst of the riuer, and thou shalt leaue the isle on the starreboord, which is on the right hand: and here the riuer is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South shore there is a ledge of Isles all couered with trees, and they end ouer against the point of the Isle of Orleans. And the poynt of the Isle of Orleans toward the Northeast is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Isle of Orleans is a fayre Isle, all couered with trees euen vnto the riuers side: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broade. And on the North shore there is another Riuer, which falleth into the mayne Riuer at the ende of the Island: and Shippes may very well passe there. From the middest of the Isle vnto Canada the Riuer runneth West; and from the place of Canada vnto France-Roy the riuer turneth West Southwest: and from the West ende of the Isle to Canada is but one league; and vnto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Isle, thou shalt see a great Riuer which falleth fifteene

The entrance of Saguenay.

The sea of Cathay.

The riuer not past 4 leagues ouer.

The Isle of Hares in 48 and one sixteenth part.

Note.

The isle of Filbeards in 47 degrees and 3 quarters.

The beginning of the fresh water.

The riuer but a quarter of a league broad.

The Isle of Orleans in 47 degrees and one third part.

Canada 1 league to the West of the Isle of Orleans.

or

The Fort of France-Roy stood in 47 degrees and one sixt part.

or twenty fathoms downe from a ro
roy stands in 47 degrees, and one sixt of France-
The extension of all these lands,
good and as temperate as France, an pon iust oc For it is as

Why the coũtrey is colder in the Winter then France. A second reason.

colder in the Winter is, because the l in the same latitude. wherefore it is
is also broad and deepe: and in som fresh Riuer is naturally more co the Sea; and it
also because the land is not tylled, e places it is halfe a league and aboue in breadth. And
of colde, because there is not store nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cause
the Meridian at Rochel: and it is of fire nor cattel. And the sunne hath his Meridian as high as

The variation of yͤ compasse.

And here the north starre by the noone here when the Sunne is at South Southwest at Rochel.
it is noone, it is but halfe an h compasse standeth North northeast. And when at Rochel
Ocean sea and the coast of Nure past nine at France-Roy. From the sayde place vnto the
entrance of Norumbega vnto ew France, is not aboue 50 leagues distance. And from the
Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues and vnto leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to
but Norumbega entereth into the riuer of Canada, of Rasus 30 leagues. And I doubt not

From the fort of France Roy vnto yͤ mouth of the Grand Bay 230 leags.

the Fort of France-Roy vntill a man come foorth of th vnto the Sea of Saguenay. And from
And the course is Northeast and West Southwest not ab rande Bay is not aboue 230 leagues.
reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree. By the nat e 5 degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$ difference: and
Hochelaga are still better and better, and more fruitfull. e of the climate the lands toward

Gold and siluer like to be found in Canada.

and Peares. And I thinke that golde and siluer will be foun And this land is fitte for Figges
of the countrey say. These landes lye ouer against Tartarie, here, according as the people
stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world. and I doubt not but that they
to haue a small Shippe of 70 tunnes to discouer the coast of N And therefore it were good

A Bay in 42. degrees giuing some hope of a passage. Trees.

of Florida: for I haue bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betw ew France on the backe side
and I haue not searched the ende thereof, and I knowe not wheth ne Norumbega and Florida,
in all these Countreys there are okes, and bortz, ashes, elmes, ar r it passe through. And
prussetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, hasel-trees, bles, trees of life, pines

Redde plums.

grapes, and there haue bene found redde plummes. And very fair ilde peare trees, wilde,
and peason grow of their owne accord, gooseberries and strawbe corne groweth there,
goodly Forrests, wherein men may hunt. And there are great store of And there are

Fowle.

porkepicks, and the Sauages say there bee Vnicornes. Fowle there are in a tagges, deere,
bustards, wilde geese, cranes, turtle doues, rauens, crowes, and many other undance, as
things which are sowen there, are not past 2. or 3. dayes in coming vp out of the ds. All

Corne. Wheate to be sowen in March.

I haue tolde in one eare of corne an hundred and twenty graines, like the corne of F round.
And ye neede not to sowe your Wheate vntill March, and it will be ripe in the middest ce.
August. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and replenished with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reason why it

The cause of the oftẽ snowing in Canada.

snoweth there oftner then in France is, because it raineth there but seldome: for the raine is conuerted into snowes.

All things aboue mentioned, are true.

Iohn Alphonse made this Voyage with Monsieur Roberual.

There is a pardon to be seene for the pardoning of Monsieur de Saine terre, Lieutenant of the sayd Monsieur de Roberual, giuen in Canada in the presence of the sayde Iohn Alphonse.

The Voyage of Iohn Francis de la Roche, knight, Lord of Roberual, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred persons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. in which parts he remayned the same summer, and all the next winter.

SIr Iohn Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberual, appoynted by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreis of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings cost: And hauing in his fleete 200. persons, aswel men as en, accompanied with diuers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monsieur Saine- his Lieutenant, l'Espiney his Ensigne, captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noire Fontaine, ieu Lamont, Frote, la Brosse, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Roieze, and Iohn Alfonse of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, set sayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The same day about noone we came athwart of Chefe de boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Munday the seuenteenth of the sayde Moneth wee departed from Chefe deboys. The winde serued vs notably for a time: but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary, which hindered our iourney for a long space: For wee were suddenly enforced to turne backe, and to seeke Harborough in Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretaigne, where wee stayed so long, and had such contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, vntill the seuenth of Iune. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint Iohn, where wee founde seuenteene Shippes of fishers. While wee made somewhat long abode heere, Iaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was sent with fiue sayles the yeere before, arriued in the very same Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good. Diamonts. Golde found.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his small company withstand the Sauages, which went about dayly to annoy him: and that this was the cause of his returne into France. Neuerthelesse, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furnished with sufficient forces, commanded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooued as it seemeth with ambition, because they would haue all the glory of the discouerie of those partes themselues, stole priuily away the next night from vs, and without taking their leaues departed home for Bretaigne. Iaques Cartier stole away.

Wee spent the greatest part of Iune in this Harbour of Saint Iohn, partly in furnishing our selues with fresh water, whereof wee stoode in very great neede by the way, and partly in composing and taking vp of a quarell betweene some of our Countreymen, and certaine Portugals. At length, about the last of the aforesayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and passed by the Isle of Ascension: and finally arriued foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans. In this place wee found a conuenient Harbour for our shipping, where wee cast anchor, went a shoare with our people, and chose out a conuenient place to fortifie ourselues in, fitte to command the mayne Riuer, and of strong situation against all inuasion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of Iuly, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and prouisions on shore, and began to trauaile in fortyfying of our selues. Iuly.

Of the Fort of France-Roy, and that which was done there.

HAuing described the beginning, the middest, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monsieur Roberual in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the West partes: He sayled so farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arriued in the sayde Countrey, accompanyed with two hundred persons, souldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a fleete. The sayde Generall at his first arriuall built a fayre Fort, neere and somewhat Westward aboue Canada, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, situated vpon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were diuers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houses of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere vnto it were an Ouen and Milles, and a stooue to warme men in, and a Well before the house. And the buylding was situated vpon the great Riuer of Canada, commonly called France prime, by Monsieur Roberual. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two stories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoeuer was brought with vs was sent to be kept: and neere France prime.

vnto that Towre there is another small riuer. In these two places aboue and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged.

August 1542.
September 14.

And in the Moneth of August, and in the beginning of September euery man was occupied in such woorke as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of September, our aforesayde Generall sent backe into France two Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appoynted for Admirall Monsieur de Saine-terre, and the other captaine was Monsieur Guinecourt, to carie newes vnto the King, and to come backe againe vnto him the yeere next ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were sent him, and were found in this countrey.

The proportion of their victuals.

After these two Shippes were departed, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the Winter in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short: and they were scantled so, that in eche messe they had but two loaues weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at Dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at supper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without Butter.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porposes and beanes at supper.

About that time the Sauages brought vs great store of Aloses, which is a fish somewhat redde like a Salmon, to get kniues and other small trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell sicke of a certaine disease in their legges, reynes, and stomacke, so that they seemed to bee depriued of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

The length of the Winter.

Note that the yce began to breake vp in April.

They had women with them.

Monsieur Roberual vsed very good iustice, and punished euery man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. Iohn of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in yrons, and diuers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they liued in quiet.

The maners of the Sauages.

TO declare vnto you the state of the Sauages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themselues for feare of heat and sunne burning.

Their apparell. So haue they of Ceuola, and Quiuira, and Meta Incognita.

Their victuals.

They remoue from place to place.

Fish.

Beastes.

Fowle.

In stead of apparell, they weare skinnes vpon them like mantles; and they haue a smal payre of breeches, wherewith they couer their priuities, as well men as women. They haue hosen and shooes of lether excellently made. And they haue no shirts: neither couer they their heads, but their hayre is trussed vp aboue the crowne of their heads, and playted or broyded. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all vnsalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, as well fish as flesh. They haue no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they may best finde foode, as Aloses in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, Mullets, Surmullets, Barz, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porposes. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkespynes, and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire.

Their Bread of great Myl or Maiz.

Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they liue very well; for they take care for nothing else.

Drinke of Seale oyle at their great feast.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts.

Their gouernment.

They haue a King in euery Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient vnto him: and they doe him honour according vnto their maner and fashion. And when they trauayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

The weomen nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skinnes of furre

The

The voyage of Monsieur Roberual from his Fort in Canada vnto Saguenay, the fifth of Iune, 1543.

MOnsieur Roberual the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said countrey of Saguenay on the Tuesday the 5. day of Iune 1543. after supper: and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the sayd voyage. But vpon a certaine occasion they lay in the Rode ouer against the place before mentioned: but on the Wednesday about sixe of the clocke in the morning they set sayle, and sayled against the streame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, as well great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the aforesayd Generall. The 5. of Iune. The 6. of Iune.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforesayde place and Fort thirtie persons to remayne there vntill his returne from Saguenay, which hee appoynted to bee the first of Iuly, or else they should returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the sayde thirtie persons, and the furniture which was there, while hee stayed still in the Countrey.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gaue commission, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the sayd Lieutenant. Monsieur de Royeze.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance vntill the sayd first day of Iuly, were receiued by the sayd Lieutenant Royeze.

On Thursday the 14. of Iune Monsieur de l'Espiney, la Brosse, Monsieur Frete, Monsieur Longeual, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay. The 14. of Iune.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noire Fontaine, and one named la Vasseur of Constance.

On Tuesday the 19. of Iune aforesayd, there came from the Generall, Monsieur de Villeneufe, Talebot, and three others, which brought sixescore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to stay yet vntill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of Iuly. The 19. of Iune. Mais. The 22. of Iuly 1543.

The rest of this Voyage is wanting.

THE VOYAGES AND NAUIGATIONS

OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO VIRGINIA, AND THE SEUERALL DISCOUERIES THEREOF CHIEFLY AT THE CHARGES OF THE HONOURABLE SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT, FROM 33 TO 40 DEGREES OF LATITUDE: TOGETHER WITH THE SUCCESSE OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES THERE PLANTED: AS LIKEWISE A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTREY, WITH THE INHABITANTS, AND THE MANIFOLD COMMODITIES. WHEREUNTO ARE ANNEXED THE PATENTS, LETTERS, DISCOURSES, &C. TO THIS PART BELONGING.

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Maiestie to M. Walter Ralegh now Knight, for the discouering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science, & meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe giue and graunt to our trusty and welbeloued seruant Walter Ralegh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free liberty & licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to euery or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to haue, holde, occupy & enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdictions, royalties, priuiledges, franchises and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoeuer we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and successors, shal goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires & assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and leade in the sayde voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and euery or any of them, such, and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to haue, take and employ, and vse sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by vs, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and euery of them, shall haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to be discouered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and iurisdictions, as well marine as other within the sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vsed, with full power to dispose thereof, and of euery part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors: reseruing alwayes to vs, our heires and successors, for all seruices, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obteined: All which lands, Countreis, and territories shall for euer be holden of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, of vs, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the said fift part, reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we do by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant licence to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoeuer, all and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayde (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subiects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with vs) where the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoeuer, all and euery those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they haue commonly vsed, or being driuen by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and euery of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countryes, landes, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, shall in his iourneis for discouerie, or in the iourneis for conquest hereafter trauaile to such lands, countreis and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countryes, and Territories, with such licence, (as aforesayd) shall and may haue all the priuiledges of free Denizens, and persons natiue of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Note.

Free Denization granted.

And forasmuch as vpon the finding out, discouering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneyes or voyages, to determine to liue together in Christian peace, and ciuill quietnesse eche with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit enioy that whereunto they shall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for vs, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue & grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitall, or criminall, as ciuil, both marine and other, all such our subiects, as shal from time to time aduenture themselues in the said iourneis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them deuised, or established, for the better gouernment of the said people as aforesaid.

So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernement, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of vs, our heires and successours, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God.

And further, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant ful power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloued Counsailour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, or high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England for vs, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the priuie Counsaile of vs, our heires and successors, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him, & by themselues, or by their, or any of their sufficient Atturneis, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and seruants, to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the priuie Counsaile, of vs our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisedomes, or discretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any acte of vniust or vnlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subiects of vs, our heires or successors, or to any of the subiects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Gouernours, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and successours, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Gouernour or estate, or their subiects, wee, our heires and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such iniuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold vs and themselues fully contented: And that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limitted, that then it shal be lawful to vs, our heires and successors, to put the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discouered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegeance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subiects, nor by vs any way to be auouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegeance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made in these presents bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, prouision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, giuen, ordained, or prouided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoeuer, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selues, at Westminster the fiue and twentie day of March, in the sixe and twentith yeere of our Raigns.

Anno 1584.

The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discouered part of the Countrey now called Virginia Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Ralegh knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth.

THe 27 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584 we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals, hauing receiued our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements deliuered by your selfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnnecessary, for the manifest discouerie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning: onely I haue presumed to present vnto you this briefe discourse, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to succeede, as well to your selfe, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose seruantes this our discouerie hath beene performed) as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisedome wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of Iune in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more Southeasterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwardes we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very vnwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that hauing refreshed our selues with sweet water, & fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arriuall there. These Islands, with the rest adioyning, are so well knowen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

A Southerly course not greatly needfull for Virginia.

The second of Iuly, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arriued vpon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or riuer issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without some difficultie, & cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the hauens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thankes giuen to God for our safe arriuall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adioyning, and " to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after deliuered the same ouer to your vse, according to her Maiesties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highnesse great seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies vsed in such enterprises, we viewed the land about vs, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea ouerflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little shrubbe, as also climing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my selfe hauing seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

A sweet smell from the land.

The first riuer.

" Iuly 13 possession taken.

Abundance of grapes.

We passed from the Sea side towardes the toppes of those hilles next adioyning, being

The Isle of Wokokon.

but of meane higth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not aboue sixe miles broade. Vnder the banke or hill whereon we stoode, we behelde the vallyes replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose vnder vs, with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together.

Goodly Cedars, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras.

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middest of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscouia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boate rowing towardes vs hauing in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards vs, and wee being then all within boord, he walked vp and downe vpon the point of the land next vnto vs: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, neuer making any shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not vnderstood by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ships, and gaue him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after hauing viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Coue or Creeke adioyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he diuided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse: which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites receiued, departed out of our sight.

Conference with a Sauage.

Abundance of fish.

The arriuall of the kings brother.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly and ciuill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Maiestie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place ouer against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his seruants spread a long matte vpon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer mistrusted any harme to be offered from vs, but sitting still he beckoned vs to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of ioy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwardes on ours, to shew wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech vnto vs, wee presented him with diuers things, which hee receiued very ioyfully, and thankefully. None of the company durst speake one worde all the time: only the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reuerenced: the King himselfe in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being sixe dayes iourney off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, wee likewise gaue somewhat to the other that sat with him on the matte: but presently he arose and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee deliuered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruants, and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke vp and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fifty Crownes. They offered vs good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for kniues, and would haue giuen any thing for swordes: but wee would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboord the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few dayes ouerpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, (whereof wee deliuered your worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some of the children of the kings brother and other noble men, haue fiue or sixe in either eare: he himselfe had vpon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being vnpolished we knew not what mettal it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women ware their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their haire black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne, and chesnut coloured haire.

Trafficke with the Sauages.

Tinne much esteemed.

White corall Perles.

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, diuers kindes of dies, very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the gouernours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderstood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouernours, then these doe. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to vs (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, sauing her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might vnderstand with what strength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge-tooles to make them withall: if they haue any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened vpon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saued, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast vpon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rosen vpon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and euer

Pitch trees.

The manner of making their boates.

where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serueth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and diuers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderstoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well vnderstand.

He was very iust of his promise: for many times we deliuered him merchandize vpon his word, but euer he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent vs euery day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent vs diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in fiue moneths: in May they sow, in Iuly they reape, in Iune they sow, in August they reape: in Iuly they sow, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wodden mattock, or pickeaxe: our selues prooued the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they haue also Beanes very faire of diuers colours and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so haue they both wheat and oates.

Roanoak Island.

The great kindnes of the kings brothers wife.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde: there are aboue fourteene seuerall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their vnderwoods are Bayes and such like: they haue those Okes that we haue, but farre greater and better. After they had bene diuers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, with seuen more went twentie mile into the Riuer, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following, wee came to an Island which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered, seuen leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially; when wee came towardes it, standing neere vnto the waters side, the wife of Granganimo the kings brother came running out to meete vs very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary vs on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing fiue roomes in her house, she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dresse some meate for vs to eate.

A solemne banket.

After we had thus dryed ourselues, she brought vs into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of diuers kindes and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and diuers other wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly deuise. We found the people most gentle, louing, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as liue after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselues from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselues with such meat as the soile affoordeth: there meate is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and sauorie: their vessels are earthern pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wodden platters of sweet timber:

within

Their Idols.

within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooued and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening and would not tary all night she was very sory, and gaue vs into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought vs to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remoouing the same a prettie distance from the shoare: shee perceiuing our ielousie, was much grieued, and sent diuers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by vs, and sent vs into our boates fiue mattes to couer vs from the raine, vsing very many wordes to entreate vs to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not aduenture any thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and louing people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

Skicoak a great towne.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and ouer against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great riuer called Occam by the inhabitants on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, & sixe dayes iourney from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Sauages were neuer at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they haue heard affirme it to bee aboue one houres iourney about.

A ship cast away.

Into this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subiect to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they cal Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes iourney is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere vnto which, sixe and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saued, and those were white people, whom the countrey people preserued.

Their weapons.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island vnhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together & made mastes vnto them and sailes of their shirtes, and hauing taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found vpon the coast cast a land in another Island adioyning: other then these, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seene or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred maruelously when we were amongst them at the whitenes of our skins, euer coueting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in maruelous admiration, & all things els were so strange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare and for the strangenesse of the same: for the weapons which themselues vse are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they vse wooden breastplates for their defence. They haue beside a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towardes the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their ciuill dissentions which haue happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are maruelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Or Pananusioc. Adioyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adioyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate vpon a goodly riuer called Neus: these kings haue mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we haue brought with vs to England, haue giuen vs to vnderstand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many iniuries & slaughters done vpon them by this Piemacum. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the deuill) the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly vpon thē, and slewe them euery one, reseruing the women and children: and these two haue oftentimes since perswaded vs to surprize Piemacum his towne, hauing promised and assured vs, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding vpon the Islands, and some stretching vp further into the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Hauen, we saw before vs another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are aboue an hundreth Islands of diuers bignesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and diuers other sweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I haue sayd, some of two, or three, of foure, of fiue miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares and diuers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Roanoak sixteen miles long.

Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our discouery made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord vs to take viewe of: and so contenting our selues with this seruice at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe giuen, we resolued to leaue the countrey, and to apply ourselues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee haue aboue certified you of the countrey taken in possession by vs, to her Maiesties vse, and so to yours by her Maisties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen, & men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cauill to the title of the countrey, in her Maiesties behalfe may be preuented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may vse and pretend, whose names are:

Master Philip Amadas, Master Arthur Barlow,	Captaines.

William Greeneuile,
Iohn Wood,
Iames Browewich,
Henry Greene,
Beniamin Wood,
Simon Ferdinando,
Nicholas Petman,
Iohn Hewes,
} Of the companie.

We brought home also two of the Sauages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenuile, for Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.

THe 9. day of April, in the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seuen sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seuen score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a small barke: whereunto were also adioyned for speedy seruices, two small pinnesses. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candish, M. Iohn Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. Iohn Clarke, and diuers others, whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assistants for counsell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteuentura, Isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Cotesa, a little Iland situate neere to the Iland of S. Iohn, where we landed, and refreshed our selues all that day.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Island of S. Iohn, within a Faulcon shot of the shoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greeneuil, and the most part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea side: the riuer ran by the one side of our forte, and the other two sides were inuironed with woods.

They land vpon the Iland of S. Iohn de Porto Rico.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, some part whereof we fet three miles vp in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

The 16. day there appeared vnto vs out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but assoone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separated from our fleete in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arriued at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to haue beene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts, for ioy of whose comming our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewed themselues to vs vpon the other side of the riuer: who being seene, our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horsmen of ours, mounted vpon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their ariuall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our mens discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selues with water and victuales, and other necessaries, whereof we stood in neede, which we craued might be yeelded vs with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieue ourselues by the sworde) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yeelded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great fauour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnesse was finished, and lanched: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Countrey about the space of 4. miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish vs with victuals: who keeping their olde custome for periurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboord to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29. day wee set saile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs stung before vpon shoare with the Muskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards vpon the sight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and diuers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay vpon the Southwest side of Saint Iohns, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arriued there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe vpon the sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hils within the trench: who being seene of the Spaniards, there came downe towardes him two or three troopes of horsemen and footmen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durst not come neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troopes, caryed their salte aboord and laded his Frigat, and so returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arriued in the Iland of Hispaniola.

Iune.

THe 1. day of Iune we anchored at Isabella, on the North side of Hispaniola.

The 3. day of Iune, the Gouernour of Isabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboord our shippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many braue and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Gouernour aforesayd, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, promising within few dayes to come to him in person, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Gouernour accompanied with a lusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their seruants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our ships road at anker, who being seene, our Generall manned immediatly the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, euery man appointed, and furnished in the best sort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spanish Gouernour receiued him very courteously, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted our English Gentlemen, and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in feare of vs, and of so many of our boates whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Gouernour discoursed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the state of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men prouided two banquetting houses couered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the seruaunts, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in serued by vs all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musicke, wherwith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to bee hunted by horsemen after their maner, so that the pastime grewe very pleasant for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were giuen and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of diuers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shew of friendship, and courtesie vsed towards vs by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnesse that was amongst vs, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainement: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might haue looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master Iohn Haukins receiued at Saint Iohn de Vllua, or Iohn Oxnam neere the streights of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day we ankered at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee vnderstood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse were in very great danger to haue beene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hasard, and returned aboord the Admirall in safetie.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Isle of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salte-pondes, vpon the aduertisement and information of a Portugall: who in deede abused our Generall and vs, deseruing a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased vs. They land on the Iles of Caicos.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed. Guanima.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo. Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where wee caught in one tyde so much fish as would haue yeelded vs twentie pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida. They land in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the vnskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground, and sunke.

The 3. we sent word of our arriuing at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak. Iuly.

The 6. M. Iohn Arundel was sent to the maine, and Manteo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master Iohn Arundell, Master Stukeley, and diuers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twentie others in the new pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a shipboat, Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ship-boate, passed ouer the water from Wococon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discouered the townes of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Sauages Paquique, with diuers other places, and so returned with that discouery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Sauages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demaund a siluer cup which one of the Sauages had stollen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the discouery of Secotan, and the same day came aboord our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

August. The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok.

The 5. M. Iohn Arundell was sent for England.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and set saile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, assoone as euer he and his men were out of it.

September. The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tyger.

October. The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anker at Falmouth.

The 18. the Generall came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously receiued by diuers of his worshipfull friends.

The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, vnder the Gouernement of Master Ralph Lane.

MAster Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey.
Master Hariot.
Master Acton.
Master Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Master Maruyn.
Master Gardiner.
Captaine Vaughan.
Master Kendall.
Master Prideox.
Robert Holecroft.
Rise Courtney.
Master Hugh Rogers.
Master Thomas Haruie.
Master Snelling.
Master Anthony Russe.
Master Allyne.
Master Michael Polison.
Iohn Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Geffery Churchman.
William Farthow.
Iohn Taylor.
Philip Robyns.
Thomas Philips.
Valentine Beale.
Thomas Foxe.
Darby Glande.
Edward Nugen.
Edward Kelley.
Iohn Gostigo.
Erasmus Clefs.
Edward Ketcheman.
Iohn Linsey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane.
Iohn Harris.
Francis Norris.
Matthew Lyne.
Edward Kettell.
Thomas Wisse.
Robert Biscombe.
William Backhouse.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Ioseph Borges.
Dougham Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Mill.
Richard Gilbert.
Steuen Pomarie.
Iohn Brocke.
Bennet Harrie.
Iames Steuenson.
Charles Steuenson.
Christopher Lowde.
Ieremie Man.
Iames Mason.
Dauid Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookener.
William Philips.
Randall Mayne.
Iames Skinner.
George Eseuen.
Iohn Chandeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Constable.
Thomas Hesket.
William Wasse.
Iohn Feuer.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
Iohn Wright.
Gabriel North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
Iames Lacie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert.
Iohn Euans.

Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Francis Whitton.
Rowland Griffyn.
William Millard.
Iohn Twit.
Edward Seclemore.
Iohn Anwike.
Christopher Marshall.
Dauid Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Siluester Beching.
Vincent Cheyne.
Hance Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
William Walters.

An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

IN the meane while you shall vnderstand, that since Sir Richard Greenuils departure from vs, as also before, we haue discouered the maine to be the goodliest oyle vnder the cope of heauen, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie haue no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such seuerall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we haue found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and vnknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though sauagely, and the climate so wholsome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld vnto vs, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Sauages that possesse the land, they know no vse of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, haue, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous, and very desirous to haue clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canuas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I haue ioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia.

Commodities fit to carie to Virginia.

Your most assured friend
RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. vntil the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.

THat I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to diuide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable vs to enter into the discouery of.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally mouing vs to resolue on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to haue stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the begin-

2. parts of this discourse.

ning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the maine to haue cut vs off, &c.

The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

FIrst therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall vnderstand that our discouerie of the same hath beene extended from the Island of Roanoak, (the same hauing bene the place of our settlement or inhabitatiō) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.

The vttermost place to the Southward of any discouery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds: we had but one boate with foure oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry aboue fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seuen dayes at the most: and as for our pinnesse, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leaue the discouery of those parts vntill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discouery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

The excellencie of the seate of Chesepiook.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shore) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoeuer.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discouery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, nauigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, & Metackwem: all these being vnder the iurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco: from Muscamunge we enter into the Riuer, and iurisdiction of Chawanook: There the Riuer beginneth to straighten vntil it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betwene Westminster, and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook vpon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging vnto it: it is subiect to Chawanook.

The towne of Chawanook able to make 700. men of warre.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Prouince & Seigniorie lying vpon that Riuer, and the very Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Prouince it selfe.

The king of the sayd Prouince is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Sauage, a very graue and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue mee more vnderstanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the searches and Sauages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a Canoe vp his Riuer of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to passe ouer land Northeast to a certaine Kings countrey, whose Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as hee described vnto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

An Iland in a Bay.

Out of this Bay hee signified vnto mee, that this King had so great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

Pearles in exceeding quantitie.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, & brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gaue mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to me by his speach, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we haue, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to giue me guids to go ouer land into that kings countrey whensoeuer I would: but he aduised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolued with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to haue had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to haue found vs vntill the new corne were come in, I would haue sent a small barke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to haue found out the Bay he spake of, and to haue sounded the barre if there were any, which should haue ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would haue gone vp to the head of the riuer of Chawanook with the guids that Menatonon would haue giuen me, which I would haue bene assured should haue beene of his best men, (for I had his best beloued sonne prisoner with me) who also should haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage ouer land.

An enterprise of speciall importance.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my descent where I would haue left my boates, to haue raised a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would haue left fiue and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my march vpon some conuenient plot would I haue raised another sconse according to the former, where I would haue left fifteene or twentie. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I would haue raised my saide sconse vpon some Corne fielde, that my company might haue liued vpon it.

And so I would haue holden this course of insconsing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arriued at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there haue raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) vnto this other before mentioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at al times returne with my company back vnto my boates riding vnder my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable Riuer, and in all those parts most famous, called the Riuer

Whither M. Ralfe Lane meant to remoue.

of Moratoc. This Riuer openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the Riuer of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarse be nauigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Isle of dogges, in some place more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a vale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Sauages of Moratoc themselues doe report strange things of the head of that Riuer, and that from Moratoc it selfe, which is a principall Towne vpon that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere vnto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waues thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, hauing dismissed Menatonon vpon a ransome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could haue victuall to cary vs, vntil we could meete with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Sauages, dwelling more to the Westward of the said Riuer: but the hope of recouering more victuall from the Sauages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape staruing in that discouerie before our returne, as euer men did, that missed the same.

Wingina changeth his name.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina vpon the death of his brother Granganimo, had giuen both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose touching them, I hauing bene inforced to make him priuie to the same, to bee serued by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did neuer rest to solicite continually my going vpon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come vpō vs at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were ioyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselues to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about vs, as I found at my comming thither, which being vnlooked for did so dismay them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie against vs of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed vnto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards vs.

Conspiracie of the Sauages against the English.

Hee in like sort hauing sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe vp into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had euer dealt kindly with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retired themselues with their * Crenepos, and their Corne within the maine: insomuch as hauing passed three dayes voyage vp the Riuer, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrary windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Sauages in the discouerie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to haue had corne of them: I at night vpon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, aduertised the whole company of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them vpon vaine hope to be in the ende starued, seeing all the Countrey fled before vs, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victual left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for vs to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might

* Their women.

be relieued vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

Thus much I signified vnto them, as the safest way: neuerthelesse I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should aduenture the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selues backe againe. And for that they might be the better aduised, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholy was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee should not leaue the search of that Riuer, and that there were in the companie two Mastiues, vpon the pottage of which with Sassafras leaues (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee relieued by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselues, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to haue some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to haue had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Prouince to the which the said Mangoaks haue recourse and trafique vp that Riuer of Moratoc, which hath a marueilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling vp the said riuer, and also to the Sauages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

A marueilous Mineral in the countrey of Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador euery mettall whatsoeuer: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a riuer that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne ouer the hollow part thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receiue into the same as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeelde in fiue parts at the first melting, two parts of metall for three parts of oare. Of this metall the Mangoaks haue so great store, by report of all the Sauages adioyning, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne my prisoner, who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said it was twentie dayes iourney ouerland from the Mangoaks, to the said Mineral Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Vpon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitiue in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the Sauages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe ouer with me, euen to the said Country of Chaunis Temoatan (for ouerland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seuen dayes with the soonest:) These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recouer the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could neuer see man, onely fires we might perceiue made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and vp into the Countrey, vntill the very last day. In the euening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with vs: which worde was not so soone spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande vpon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselues to flight: wee landed, and hauing faire and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselues we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosing for the company a conuenient ground in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going backe againe, if possibly we might recouer the mouth of the riuer, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent vnto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselues if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Riuers mouth within foure or fiue miles of the same, hauing rowed in one day downe the current, as much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged vpon an Iland, where we had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer vsed before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was vpon Easter eue, which was fasted very truely. Vpon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Sauages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yeelde vs some fish, as God was pleased not vtterly to suffer vs to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arriued at our home Roanoak.

A conflict begun by the Sauages.

The great current of the Riuer of Morattico.

I haue set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst vs, to haue perfited this discouerie of the Mine: for that the discouery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discouery of either of the two aboue shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselues will not be worth the fetching.

Prouided also, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to haue spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I should haue had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driuen away by storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to vs in any conuenient sufficiencie. For this riuer of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is saide, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the Riuer of Choanoak sconses being raised, from whence againe ouerland through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks vp the riuer of Moratico by the way, as also vpon the said Riuer for the defence of our boats like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall cleare your selfe from al those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discouery into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I haue though simply, yet truely set downe vnto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeeld vnto you, which might haue bene performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had prouided for vs had at the first bene left with vs, or that hee had not in his eternall prouidence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisedome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a most strange & vnlooked for storme of all our prouision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al hauing bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same hauing bene most sufficient to haue performed the greatest part of the premisses, must euer make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to my selfe yet vnknowen) to haue bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discouery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

ENsenore a Sauage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against vs, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to saue vs from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe vs very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was aduised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to haue assuredly brought vs to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Iland vnsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee could haue bene preserued from staruing out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

This skill of making weares would be learned.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselues, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starued by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starued, but the other false.

Neuerthelesse vntill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heauen, and Iesus Christ whom wee serue and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what prouince soeuer. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake haue no more credite for vs: and it came so farre that the king was resolued to haue presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But euen in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the aduertisement that hee had receiued: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Sauages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the prouinces) durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and that those that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loued to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all deuises against vs: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to bee receiued againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the King and the rest, that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, shoulde finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they haue bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of vs, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching vs, when hee sawe the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible vnto them: But that which made vp the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good prouidence of the Almightie for the sauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd iourney, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie vnto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe seruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the sayde Okisko ioyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maiestie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Sauages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward vs: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set vp weares foorthwith for vs: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God blessing the grouth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of ground for our selues to sowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill vntill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their haruest,) that then a newe supply out of England or els our owne store would well ynough maintaine vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Sauages should not helpe vs with Chassaui, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile vs, (as often they did,) we might very well starue, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the staruing horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the prouerbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try vs. For within few

The beginning of their haruest in Iuly.

few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in vre against vs, which were readily imbraced, and all their former deuises against vs, reneued, and new brought in question. But that of staruing vs, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by hauing made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues ouer against vs. Neuerthelesse there wanted no store of mischieuous practises among them, and of all they resolued principally of this following.

First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mooued, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be inuited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe vse to solemnise in their Sauage maner for any great personage dead, and should haue bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe aboue named should haue executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should haue come ouer into the Island, where they ment to haue dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to liue withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

The conspiracie of Pemisapan.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was couered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would haue come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, vpon the instant whereof they would haue knocked out my braines.

The forme of the treason.

The same order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for vs at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of vs with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell vs any victuals whatsoeuer: besides that in the night they should sende to haue our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken neuer to be repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to liue vpon shell fish, for so the Sauages themselues doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among vs, our weares failing vs of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serue two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came vpon the coast to warne vs of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Prouost Marshal to liue there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent euery weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine ouer against vs, to liue of Casada and oysters.

The sufficiencie of our men to deal against the Sauages. 10. to an hundreth.

The Sauages liue by fishing, and hunting, till haruest.

In the meane while Pemisapan went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken vp, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to haue relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had giuen many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeue such tales of vs.

The third cause of his going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid: all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The anwere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was deuided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the said prouince who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags receiued the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of Iune: all which the premises were discouered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well vsed at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discouered al vnto me, which also afterwards was reueiled vnto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly vpon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study how to preuent them, and also to saue all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the ariuall of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good aduenture,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, & to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes prouision to serue for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himselfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him & the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Sauages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad vnto them, and I resolued not to stay longer vpon his comming ouer, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolued to do the next day: but that night I meant by the way to giue them in the Island a canuisado, and at the instant to seize vpon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from aduertisements.

The slaughter and surprise of the Sauages.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this, I had sent the Master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather vp all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, & to take as many as were going from vs to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a canoa going from the shore, and ouerthrew the canoa, and cut off two Sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discouered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, priuy to their owne villainous purposes against vs, held as good espial vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The alarme giuen, they tooke themselues to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot; the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horsman & one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Sauages that met me at the shore, that I was going to

Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Osocon, who the night past was conueying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding myselfe amidst seuen or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gaue the watch-word agreed vpon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purposed for vs. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the sauing of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he ouerran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man seruing me, one Nugent, and the deputy prouost, vndertooke him; and following him in the woods, ouertooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king & my man by our owne negligence to haue beene intercepted by the Sauages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

Pemisapan slaine.

This fell out the first of Iune 1586, and the eight of the same came aduertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discouered a great fleet of three and twenty sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He aduised me to stand vpon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, & that same day trauelled by land twenty miles: and I must truely report of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that neuer spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any seruice committed vnto him.

A letter from Sir Francis Drake.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arriued in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleuenth day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deserued, but as I could both for my company and myselfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craued at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and vnfit men for my good action, which I would deliuer to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leaue vs so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discouered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull prouision in time left with vs as yet remained vndone.

That it woulde please him withall to leaue some sufficient Masters not onely to cary vs into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe vs to some small boats and oare-men.

Also for a supply of calieuers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He hauing receiued these my requests, according to his vsuall commendable maner of gouernment (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I vsed in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Master of the victuals, The Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoeuer, to the vttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnesses, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards vs, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by iudgement of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to employ themselues most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, vntill the terme which I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the prouision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboord, my sayd Masters being also gone aboord, my sayd barks hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an vnwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the Generall very prouidently foreseene the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboord: but in the end hauing driuen sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my prouisions, my two Masters, and my company aboord, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme hauing continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer vnto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called The barke Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all prouisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leaue her in the road, and to leaue the care of the rest vnto my selfe, and aduised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliuer presently vnto him in writing what I would require him to doe for vs; which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, should be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as priuy as my selfe to the Generals offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall prouisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take vs from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenuill, so vndoubtedly promised vs before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolue my selfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to giue vs present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe deliuered vnto him, hee most readily assented vnto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses vnto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, & the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers cast ouerboord, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieued with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (hauing bestowed vs among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme susteined more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises vnto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of Iune 1586, and arriued in Portsmouth the seuen and twentieth of Iuly the same yeere.

The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of Sir Walter Ralegh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Ralegh at his owne charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, fraighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, for the supply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they set saile from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony halfe despaired of the comming of any supply: wherefore euery man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as might haue sufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus trusting to their owne haruest, they passed the Summer till the tenth of Iune: at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countreymen the English Colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English Colony inhabited: and hauing espied some of that company, there he ankered and went aland, where hee conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had past with them. They answered him that they liued all; but hitherto in some scarsity: and as yet could heare of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that hee would leaue with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themselues. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their trauels ech to other, some on land, some on boord, a great storme arose, and droue the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English Colony: the rest on land perceiuing this, hasted to those three sailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the natiue inhabitants of that countrey.

Immediatly after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship abouementioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh and his direction, arriued at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony vp in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd prouision into England.

This ship arriued in Virginia.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinuile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three shippes well appointed for the same voyage, arriued there; who not finding the aforesaid shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himselfe trauelling vp into diuers places of the countrey, aswell to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, vnder the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discouer some places of the countrey: but after some time spent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet vnwilling to loose the possession of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leaue some men behinde to reteine possession of the Countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of prouision for two yeeres, and so departed for England.

Sir Richard Grinuils third voyage.

Fifteene men more left in Virginia.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such things as were woorth cariage, where also he tooke diuers Spanyards. With these and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, aswell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others: Written by Thomas Heriot, seruant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discouering a full tweluemoneth.

Rafe Lane one of her Maiesties Esquiers, and Gouernour of the Colony in Virginia, aboue mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happinesse in the Lord.

ALbeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without desert: neuerthelesse, forsomuch as I haue bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoeuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much vpon my credit I am to affirme, that things vniuersally are so truely set downe in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouch, it may very well passe with the credit of trueth euen amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this my publique assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

SInce the first vndertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of discouering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages hauing beene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeere 1587: there haue bene diuers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shamefull speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discouery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grinuile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but sixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discouered then had bene before. Which reports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselues the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of euents, to the shame of those that haue auouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the aduenturers, fauourers and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing beene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall vnderstand hereafter to be requisit. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diuersity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be setled in any certainty.

I haue therefore thought it good, being one that haue beene in the discouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imployed: and hauing therefore seene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart so much vnto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the fauour of her Maiesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reason of their diuersitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to your fauourable constructions, and to be adiudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey haue bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, haue maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Gouernours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also haue those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends & acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great trauellers as themselues. They stood so much as it may seeme, vpon their credit and reputation, that hauing bene a tweluemoneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great disgrace vnto them, as they thought, if they could not haue sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some haue spoken of more then euer they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some haue not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, & other some make difficulties of those things they haue no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were neuer out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold & siluer was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle vnderstanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or such as neuer (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in briefe to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious, and slanderous reports and deuices els, by our owne countreymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier vnderstanding, I will diuide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serue the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an ouerplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will enrich yourselues the prouiders: those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countreymen, to supply them with most things which heretofore they haue bene faine to prouide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are vsually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by vs during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoouefull for those that shall inhabit, and plant there to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary vses: with a briefe description of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable commodities.

SIlke of grasse, or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot & an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great vse and vent thereof aswel in our countrey as elswhere. And by the meanes of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by proofe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme silke. In many of our iourneys we found Silke-wormes faire and great, as bigge as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to haue found such plenty, as elswhere to be in the countrey we haue heard of, yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding & nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered & husbanded in that sort, as by men of skil is knowen to be necessary: there wil rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spanyards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it selfe: and howsoeuer the leafe and stemme or stalke do differ from ours, the stuffe by iudgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further proofe should finde otherwise, we haue that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily vnderstand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of fortie or fiftie miles, whereof by the iudgement of some that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richnesse of such a commodity is so well knowen, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coprasse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kind of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants vse it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fifteene miles of length, and fiue or sixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more vses then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of vsing, and the manifold vertues thereof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, translated and entituled in English, The ioyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteds, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make vp fraight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowre, of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three seuerall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which also by the experience and vse of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall vses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profit. We hope also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the countrey there are store, although there were but two skinnes that came to our hands. Luzernes also we haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deers skinnes dressed after the maner of Chamoes, or vndressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet-cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bin killed by a Sauage or inhabitant, & in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, & the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the country els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour & feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood & deerenesse thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants diuers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we vnderstood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they say are mountaines and riuers that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Siluer. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arriual in the countrey, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of Siluer grosly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about fourescore miles from vs: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I after vnderstood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metall found. The aforesayd Copper we also found by tryall to holde Siluer.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found some Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet discouered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the Sauage people about fiue thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a faire chaine, which for their likenesse and vniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equality in greatnesse, were

Fiue thousand Pearles gathered.

very faire and rare: and had therefore beene presented to her Maiesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storme lost them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Sweet gummes of diuers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receiue it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in taking reasonable paines shal discouer them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kinds: There is Shoemake well knowen, and vsed in England for blacke: the seed of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for diuers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes remaine yet to be prooued. The inhabitants vse them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skinnes: and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baskets: hauing no other thing besides that they account of, apt to vse them for. If they will not prooue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt vses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and vses amongst English Diers, which can not be yeelded sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the Islands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We carried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so well preserued as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for their setting when we arriued, we could not make that proofe of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for Orenges and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinses. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugars, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leaue to your discreet and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we haue not discouered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certeinty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be prouided, and prepared, I might haue specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might haue sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion: but because others then welwillers might be there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I haue vttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowen to yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, vsually fed vpon by the naturall inhabitants: as also by vs, during the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

PAgatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowre: being vsed according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase: of a thousand, fifteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen & twelue weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in fouretеene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and some two: euery head conteining fiue, sixe, or seuen hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okingier, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, sauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they litle differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better then our English Peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is vsed in England, either by themselues, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a morter, and thereof make loaues or lumps of doughish bread, which they vse to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their seueral formes, called by vs Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those kinds in England. In Virginia such of seuerall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it vnto take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fiue foot high: of the seed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many vse sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We our selues vsed the leaues also for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a spanne in breadth. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforesayd commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and seuerally by themselues, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note vnto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few dayes before they sowe or set, the men with woodden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a foot long, and about fiue inches in breadth, doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground to raise vp the weeds, grasse, and olde stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt vp into many small heaps, to saue them labour for carying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee obserued they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they vse.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) & couer them with the molde againe: and so thorowout the whole plot making such holes, and vsing them after such maner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, euery ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes also in euery ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard spare ground betweene euery hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze; in diuers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by vs experimented, an English acre conteining forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne, Beanes and Peaze, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this vnto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victual, the increase is so much, that small labor & paines is needful in respect of that which must be vsed for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we haue made proofe of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a tweluemoneth, if he haue nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but of fiue and twenty yards square. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfesame ground two haruests or ofcomes: for they sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March vntill the end of Iune: so that they also set when they haue eaten of their first croppe. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they haue two haruests, as we haue heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne neuerthelesse, whether to vse or not to vse it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall haue further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oats, and Peaze, we haue seene proofe of, not being purposely sowen, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we haue euer seene heere in England. But of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. Thus much haue I digressed, and I hope not vnnecessarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, apperteining to this chapter.

Tabacco.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: in the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the seuerall places and countreys where it groweth and is vsed: the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into pouder, they vse to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the vse thereof not onely preserueth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they haue not bene of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserued in health, and know not many grieuous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are maruellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and staring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithall, and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selues, during the time we were there, vsed to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and haue found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they vse to husband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.

Monardes parte 2. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reason of their drinesse they will neither rost nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants vse to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the housholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not so much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithstanding vsed to boile and eat many.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring foorth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre vnlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth neerest vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopt into small pieces, and stampt, is strained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root; for it was discouered since, and is in vse as is aforesayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to serue for any vse or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Coscushaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassauy, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is vsed very much by the inhabitants. The iuice of this root is poison, & therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stampt: loaues of the same to be layd nere or ouer the fire vntill it be sowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and holesome may be made thereof.

The iuice of Coscushaw is poison.

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

Of Fruits.

CHesnuts there are in diuers places great store: some they vse to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they vse of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kinde is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they vse to put into some sorts of their spoonemeat: also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them haue a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit: so called by vs chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good vntill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cheries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are lushious sweet.

There are iii. kinds of Tunas whereof that which beareth no fruith bring-the foorth the Cochinillo.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bignesse of English peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaues are very thicke, and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that haue bene in the Indies, where they haue seene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe describe his plant right like vnto this of Metaquesunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a bastard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for such matter we haue not so specially obserued.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberies there are as good and as great as those which we haue in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, such as we haue in England.

Sacquenummener, a kinde of berries almost like vnto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters vpon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and holesome; otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely sicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a seed almost like vnto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in some places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

THere is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are fiue sorts that grow on seuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the second Osamener, the third Pummuckoner. These kinde of acornes they vse to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almost after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be vsed, they first water them vntill they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to make loaues or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I sayd before the inhabitants vsed to make sweet oile.

Another sort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like vnto Chesnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fift sort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their seruants, or sometime the chiefe themselues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beasts.

DEere, in some places there are great store: neere vnto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, and some lesse: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the snags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies. Those that we haue seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like vnto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those which they vsually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our selues, but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirels, which are of a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do vse to take & eat many: so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for assoone as they haue spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get vp the next tree they can: from whence with arrowes they are shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our calieuers.

I haue the names of eight and twenty seuerall sorts of beasts, which I haue heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine: of which there are only twelue kinds that we haue yet discouered; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion, and eat him: and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluish dogs, which I haue not set downe for good meat, least that some would vnderstand my iudgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company haue bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

TVrkie cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of fowle I haue the names in the countrey language of fourescore and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, & haue the pictures as they were drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of seuerall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seuenteene kinds more of land fowle, although we haue seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored vpon further discouery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vsed for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eighteene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds of fish in those moneths are most plentifull, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts, Porpoises, Rayes, Oldwiues, Mullets, Plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we haue taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue the pictures of twelue sorts more, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

The inhabitants vse to take them two maner of wayes; the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

In the gulfe of California they vse the like fishing.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, such as we haue in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Also Muscles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Creuises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, hauing a crusty taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many Tortoises both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venimous beasts; but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their egges. Some haue bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.

The third and last part of such other things as are behouefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

Of commodities for building and other necessary vses.

THose other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are such as concerne building, & other mechanicall necessary vses, as diuers sorts of trees for house and ship-timber, and other vses else: Also lime, stone, and bricke, least that being not mentioned some might haue bene doubted of, or by some that are malitious the contrary reported.

Okes there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue said before very many, some haue bene seene excellent faire timber of foure and fiue fadome, and aboue fourescore foote streight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees so called that are sweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels: we haue knowen some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they haue caried well 20. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, streight, soft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (besides other vses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweete wood good for seelings, chests, boxes, bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue also said before. Some of our company which haue wandered in some places where I haue not bene, haue made certaine affirmation of Cyprus, which for such and other excellent vses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vse to make their bowes.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fish after the English maner, although the inhabitants vse onely reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, doe serue for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and Ashe, good for caske-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as also for many things els.

Elme. Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taste and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes describeth to be Cassia Lignea of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it so conuenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation: seeing that for timber and other necessary vses, I haue named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good vse, I know no cause to doubt.

Now for stone, bricke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In some of our voyages we haue seene diuers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of gray stone like vnto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleaue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vse of any store whereupon they should haue occasion to seeke any. For if euery housholde haue one or two to cracke nuts, grinde shels, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vse they any digging, but onely for graues about three foote deepe: and therefore no marueile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-stones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntil there be discouery of sufficient store in some place or other conuenient, the want of you which are & shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by bricke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vse in the Isles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides diuers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

Thus much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stones, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

IT resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners leauing large discourse thereof vntil time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themselues but targets made of barkes, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Iaques Cartier, voyage 2. chap. 8.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelue houses: some 20. the greatest that we haue seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is vsed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes couered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we haue seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundreth fighting men at the most. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselues is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambushes, or some subtile deuises. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue some hope of defence, after the deliuery of euery arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapōs and deuises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee haue had in some places, the turning vp of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as we haue,) they seeme very ingenious. For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they vpon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good gouernment be vsed, that they may in short time bee brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they haue already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They beleeue that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts & degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be vsed in the creation and gouernment to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diuersitie of creatures that are visible or inuisible.

For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceiued and brought foorth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages haue passed since, they say they can make no relation, hauing no letters nor other such meanes as we to keepe Records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offring vnto them. In some Machicomuck we haue seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleeue also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heauen the habitacle of gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being seene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saued

saued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to auoyd that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from vs, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his soule was aliue, & had trauailed farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then euer hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most braue and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friendes what good they were to doe to enioy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soeuer be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them haue great respect to their Gouernours, and also great care what they doe, to auoyd torment after death, and to enioy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by hauing speciall familiaritie with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde firewoorkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clockes that seeme to goe of themselues and many other things that wee had were so strange vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God so specially loued, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was conteined the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with vs at our Prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grieuously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending vs and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs, many would come to vs and desire vs to pray to our God of England, that he would preserue their Corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing vs. One other rare and strange accident, leauing others, wil I mention before I end, which moued the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtle deuise practised against vs, wee leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euery such Towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they vsed some practise against vs, & after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselues. Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had obserued such effects in foure or fiue Townes to followe their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate vs that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die, alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that we to shewe our selues his true seruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth, and serue him in righteousnesse, but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done according to his diuine will and pleasure, and as by his wisedome he had ordeined to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neuerthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, & that we in vsing such speeches vnto them, did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thankes in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of vs, that some people could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women amongst vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuisible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting inuisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleeue, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithall the inuisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended vs, as wee listed, howe farre distant from vs soeuer it were. And other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selues haue cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoeuer some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And also of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident, there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These their opinions I haue set downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and gouernment to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although some of our company towards the end of the yeere, shewed themselues too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might easily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part iustly deserued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning vs is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoeuer els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selues neede nothing at all to be feared.

The best neuerthelesse in this, as in all actions besides, is to be endeuoured and hoped, and of the worst that may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

The conclusion.

NOw I haue (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I haue mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discouered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we haue reason so to gather by the difference we found in our trauailes, for although al which I haue before spoken of, haue bene discouered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our trauailing: yet sometimes as we made our iourneys further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as euer we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee haue already discouered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in discouering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discouery haue not yet seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the Climate, being answerable to the Iland of Iapan, the land of China, Persia, Iury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and neuer so vehemently hot, as sometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen vnto you without further relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but thus much: that for all the want of prouision, as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such sort, as to haue brought vs into some grieuous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily prouided for vs, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore in al our trauailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and vpon none of the aforesaide causes. For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before euer they came thither, and those that knew them, much marueled that they liued so long being in that case, or had aduentured to trauaile.

This want is hereafter to be supplied.

Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be perfourmed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh so liberall in large giuing and granting lande there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene fiue hundreth acres to a man onely for the aduenture of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably prouided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe vse but that diligence and care, that is requisit, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt but for the time following, they may haue victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sorts of cattell also hereafter, as some haue bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some haue bene already, and proue well: And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I haue spoken of, as shall both enrich themselues, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I haue thought necessary to aduertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as haue bene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discouerers of the Country, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinuil, and after his departure of our Gouernour there Master Ralph Lane, with diuers other directed and imployed vnder their gouernment: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation of the Gouernour and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the course of times: which when time shall be thought conuenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and gouernour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in the yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to perseuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom hee appointed Gouernour, and also appointed vnto him twelue Assistants, vnto whom hee gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouernour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

April.

OVr Fleete being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinnesse, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portesmouth, and the same day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where wee stayed eight dayes.

May.

THe fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admiral, lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leauing her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

Iune.

THe 19 we fell with " Dominica, and the same euening we sayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

" One of the Isles of the Indies inhabited with Sauages.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres, it ware away of it selfe.

Circumspectiō to be vsed in strange places.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we tooke fiue great Torteses, some of them of such bignes, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no watring place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so euill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut vp, and could not see in fiue or sixe dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouernour also, with sixe others, went vp to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Island, but could perceiue no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potsheards of sauage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was iudged, that this Island was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had told vs for certaine the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Gouernour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley eleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very fayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company: for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohn, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25 of Iune we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketos Bay, where we spent three dayes vnprofitable in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

" Musketos Bay, is a harbour vpon the south side of S. Iohns Island, where we take in fresh water.

THe first day we weyed anker at " Musketoes Bay, where were left behind two Irish men of our company, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Iohns till euening, at which time wee fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in salte, and had caused vs before, to make and prouide as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouernour also, for that hee vnderstood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for salt. Ferdinando perceiuing them in a readines, sent to the Gouernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

" A pleasant and fruitfull countrey, lying on the west end of S. Iohns Island, where groweth plenty of Orenges, Limons, Plãtans, & Pines.

The next day sayling along the West end of S. Iohn, the Gouernour determined to go aland in S. Germans " Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenges, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well knowen to the Gouernour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, & there land the Gouernour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattel, and all such things as we would haue taken in at S. Iohn: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainely did appeare to vs afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of Iuly, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4 of Iuly, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Gouernor, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt of Iuly we came to the Island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando sayd were two salt pondes, assuring vs if they were drie, we might find salt to shift with, vntill the next supply: but it prooued as true as finding of sheepe at Baque. In this Island, whilest Ferdinando solaced himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Island, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16 of Iuly we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes: but finding himselfe deceiued, he weyed, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away vpon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length vpon it: such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

The two and twentieth of Iuly wee arriued safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnesse ankered: the Gouernour went aboord the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe vp to Roanoak foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinuile had left there the yeere before, with whom hee meant to haue conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leaue them in the Island, except the Gouernour, & two or three such as he approued, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, sauing onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Sauages had slaine long before.

An intent to plant in the Bay of Chesepiok.

The three and twentieth of Iuly the Gouernour with diuers of his company, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing vnhurt, sauing that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of euer seeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The same day order was giuen, that euery man should be employed for the repayring of those houses, which wee found standing, and also to make other newe Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arriued all safe at Hatoraske, to the great ioy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieued greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

Edward Spicer.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelue Assistants was slaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Sauages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, saue only a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gaue him sixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their woodden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Iuly Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the

Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kindred dwelling in that Island, of whom wee hoped to vnderstand some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey towards vs, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceiuing vs begin to march with our shot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the old loue, that was betweene vs and them at the first, and to liue with them as brethren and friends: which answere seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feasted vs after their maner, and desired vs earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They told vs further, that for want of some such badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed vs one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt euer since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them in stead of Winginos men, wherefore they held vs excused.

August.

THe next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, & Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receiue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be vtterly forgiuen and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seuen dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Gouernours of those townes with them, to our Gouernour at Roanoak, or their answere. We also vnderstood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept companie: and also we vnderstood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinuile, were suddenly set vpon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk, in manner following. They conueyed themselues secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelesly liued: and hauing perceiued that of those fifteene they could see but eleuen only, two of those Sauages appeared to the 11 Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefest men should come vnarmed to speake with those two Sauages, who seemed also to bee vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilest one of those Sauages traiterously imbraced one of our men, the other with his sworde of wood, which he had secretly hidden vnder his mantell, strooke him on the head and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty Sauages shewed them selues: the other Englishman perceiuing this, fled to his company, whom the Sauages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages foorthwith set the same on fire: by meanes wherof our men were forced to take vp such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne forth among the Sauages, with whom they skirmished aboue an howre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Sauages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themselues, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask.

By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes comming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oysters: these foure they receiued into their boate, leauing Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Hauing nowe sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboord the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Gouernour hauing long expected the comming of the Wiroanses, of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seuen dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answeres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Dasamonquepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driuing of our eleuen Englismen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the reuenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, wherof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where those Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himselfe toward vs as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, & very secretly conueyed our selues through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene vs and the water: and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiuing them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entered the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but we were deceiued, for those Sauages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne & fruit of that place, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for haste had left all their corne, Tobacco, and Pompions standing in such sort, that al had bene deuoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to haue payd deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, shee had bene slaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Sauage knew master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saued. Finding our selues thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tabacco that we found ripe, leauing the rest vnspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these Sauages somewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Gouernour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance.

The 13 of August our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull seruice.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Gouernour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had vnladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at Northeast, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on sixe dayes before he could come to vs againe, so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their sailers were left aland.

At this time some controuersies arose betweene the Gouernour and Assistants, about choosing two out of the twelue Assistants, which should goe backe as factors for the company into England: for euery one of them refused, saue onely one, which all other thought not sufficient: but at length by much perswading of the Gouernour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of diuers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leauing the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leaue their natiue countrey, and vndertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to leade so many into a countrey, in which hee neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, & most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all such things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himselfe.

Their meaning to remoue 50 miles into the countrey.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but diuers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Gouernour againe, to take vpon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond vnder all their handes and seales for the safe preseruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoyled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoeuer the same should be missed and demanded: which bond, with a testimony vnder their hands and seales, they foorthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

May it please you, her Maiesties subiects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and euery of you to vnderstand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our knowen and apparent lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of vs, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde & consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested Iohn White, Gouernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the foresayd supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour & maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernement, and all his goods among vs, and himselfe in all our behalfes to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure ourselues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto, the 25 of August 1587.

The Gouernour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight, came aboord the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day both the ships weyed anker, and set saile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flyboate were throwen from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about vpon them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them neuer recouered it: neuerthelesse they assayed presently againe to wey their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weye it, but were throwen downe and hurt the second time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboord, and most of them by this vnfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neuerthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall, vntill the seuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and sawe Flores.

September.

THe eighteenth, perceiuing of all our fifteene men in the Flyboate there remained but fiue, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but to linger about the Island of Tercera for purchase: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arriue shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty dayes, hauing had sometimes scarse and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storme at Northeast, which for sixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driuen further in those sixe then we could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in foure dayes together could see neither sunne nor starre, and all the beuerage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.

October.

THe 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinnesse of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, vntill the pinnesse sent off their boate to vs with 6 or 8 men, of whom we vnderstood wee were in Smerwick in the West parts of Ireland: they also releeued vs presently with fresh water, wine and other fresh meate.

Smerwick in the West of Ireland.

The 18 the Gouernour and the Master ryd to Dingen a Cushe, 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboate for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatswain, the Steward, and the Boatswains mate died aboord the Flieboat, and the 28 the Masters mate and two of our chiefe sailers were brought sicke to Dingen.

Nouember.

THe first the Gouernour shipped himselfe in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set sayle, and on the third day we fell with the North side of the lands end, and were shut vp the Seuerne, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Gouernour landed in England at Martasew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderstood that our consort the Admiral was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without any purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefest men, that they were scarce able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all haue perished there, if a small barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The names of all the men, women and children, which safely arriued in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ. 29.

IOhn White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Christopher Cooper.
Thomas Steuens.
Iohn Sampson.
Dyonis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Iohnson.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
Iohn Iones.
William Willes.
Iohn Brooke.
Cutbert White.
Iohn Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
Iohn Cotsmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
Iohn Gibbes.
Iohn Stilman.
Robert Wilkinson.
Iohn Tydway.
Ambrose Viccars.
Edmond English.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
Iohn Spendloue.
Iohn Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
Iohn Burden.
Iames Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Tauerner.
Iohn Earnest.
Henry Iohnson.
Iohn Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
Iohn Wright.
William Dutton.
Mauris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
Iohn Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Bishop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Paine.
Thomas Harris.
William Nichols.
Thomas Pheuens.
Iohn Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
Iohn Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenson.
Martin Sutton.
Iohn Farre.
Iohn Bridger.
Griffen Iones.
Richard Shabedge.
Iames Lasie.
Iohn Cheuen.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Haruie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Ioyce Archard.
Iane Iones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Iane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Ioan Warren.
Iane Mannering.
Rose Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Boyes and children.

Iohn Sampson.
Robert Ellis.
Ambrose Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.
George How.
Iohn Prat.
William Wythers.

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
Haruie.

Sauages.

Manteo.
Towaye.
That were in England and returned home into Virginia with them.

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord.

SIr, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made vnto you at my last being with you in England, I haue sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what euents happened vnto vs in this our iourney, you shall plainely perceiue by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. Iohn Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Ralegh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome vnto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in Virginia: so likewise, that by his endeuour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were Gods pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Maiestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound vnto Sir Walter Ralegh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, & transport a conuenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Neuerthelesse that order was not obserued, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to haue any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, sauing only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend vpō me, although I made great sute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and vnkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarsity of time was such, that I could haue no opportunity to go vnto Sir Walter Ralegh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne. Thus both Gouernors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countreymen in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselues to seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arriued at Virginia. And when we were come thither, the season was so vnfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, hauing not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboord. Which euils & vnfortunate euents (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Ralegh had bene obserued, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might haue taken any place. Thus may you plainely perceiue the successe of my fift & last voiage to Virginia, which was no lesse vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as ioyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leaue off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the mercifull help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy will & their good desire, I take my leaue: from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.

Your most welwishing friend,

IOHN WHITE.

The fift voyage of M. Iohn White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.

THe 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell, the Iohn Euangelist, and the little Iohn, put to sea from Plymmouth with two small Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships stearnes by the Boatswaines negligence.

On the 30 we saw a head vs that part of the coast of Barbary, lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.

Aprill.

ON the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shalops.

On the 2 we set sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.

May.

THe first of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboord our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with vs; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboord without any resistance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Viceadmirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwardes bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three smal Ilands called Los Santos, leauing Guadalupe and them on our starboord.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeast and by East off vs.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the East ende of S. Iohns Iland: and the same day towards euening we landed vpon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed but three houres, & from thence stood into the shore Northwest, and hauing brought this Iland Southeast off vs, we put towards night thorow an opening or swatch, called The passage, lying betweene the Virgines, and the East end of S. Iohn: here the Pinnesse left vs and sayled on the South side of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the Northside of S. Iohn, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned vs to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a good riuer called Yaguana, and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state ranne from vs to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned & tooke from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawen a ground and sunke, and caried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other fiue daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangelist our Pinnesse staying for vs: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starued on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate and meere wildernessse, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at cape Tyburon. Here we vnderstood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinnesse; how he was set vpon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue ouer the fight & forsooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

M. William Lane.

The 26 the Iohn our Vizadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Euen at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from vs, and at ten dayes end returned to our ships almost starued for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of diuers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

Iune.

ON the 14 of Iune we tooke a smal Spanish frigat which fell amongst vs so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape vs. This frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but three men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Vintener, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

Spanish fugitiues.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigat to take a shippe, which was there taking in fraight, as we vnderstood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 21 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proued not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neuerthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copper-pannes, and Casaui.

Iuly.

THe second of Iuly Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gaue chase, but they vpon the first sight of vs fled, and separating themselues scattered here and

Edward Spicer.

there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our selues and so made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the same night at the fetching vp of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

This fight was in sight of the Iland of Nauaza.

The 3 of Iuly we spent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be sayled with vs.

The 6 of Iuly we saw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord.

Vpon the 8 of Iuly we saw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh vnto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gaue chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we vnderstood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Hauana: from this 11 of Iuly vntill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very scarse, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards sauing three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere vnto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof called the Martires.

The 25 being S. Iames day in the morning, we fell with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Hauana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying too and fro betweene the Matanças and Hauana, we were espied of three small Pinnasses of S. Iohn de Vllua bound for Hauana, which were exceeding richly loaden. These 3 Pinnasses came very boldly vp vnto vs, and so continued vntill they came within musket shot of vs. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps pinnesse, and two small Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently vpon the sight of it turned about & made all the saile they could from vs toward the shore, & kept thēselues in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of shot & pouder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, we might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had bene in our hands. This chase brought vs so far to leeward as Hauana: wherfore not finding any of our consorts at ẏ Matanças, we put ouer again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the channel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West of vs.

The state of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearely disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

August.

On the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowle weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ships.

The 3 we stoode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were

The

within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of August.

Sandie Ilãds West of Wokokon.

On Munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: & came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Island, being one of the Ilandes, West of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

They land in 35 degrees.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night.

A breach 2 or 3 leagues into Sea.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound ouer this breach: our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, & then 8, next cast 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the last, 2 leagues off frõ the shore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, whereas goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.

Great diuersity of soũdings.

The 15 of August towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in fiue fadom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first cõming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put vs in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

Hatorask in 36 degr. & a terce.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a shore, & Captaine Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their cõpany with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countreymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene euery shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put off vnto the shore, in the Admirals boat we sounded all the way and found from our shippe vntill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seuen fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieued vs more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in safety.

They land.

Fresh water found in sandy hilles.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake into our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, sauing onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing vp, and was halfe passed ouer, but by the rash and vndiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and ouerset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore; but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twise or thrise was turned the keele vpward, whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung vntill they sunke, & were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselues in deeper water and were saued by Captaine Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their ouersetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, & with all haste possible rowed vnto them, & saued foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we ouershot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North end of the Iland yͤ light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when wee came right ouer against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwardes many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and cōming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Island directly ouer against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden yͤ night, and as we entered vp the sandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carued these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed vpon betweene them & me at my last departure frō them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carue on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my cōming alway they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carue ouer the letters or name, a Crosse + in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And hauing well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heauie things, throwen here and there, almost ouergrowen with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnesse, but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting vs, tolde vs that they had found where diuers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged vp againe and

Captaine Spicer drowned.

broken vp, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Sauages knew any vse of, vndefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found fiue Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed digged vp euery place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much, grieued me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly ioyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our shippes, with as much speede as wee could: For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Euening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning: wherefore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned with fiue lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, vnpossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates: for this night prooued very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leaue that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capston, but when the anchor was almost apecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we droue so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor: which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that wee were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer haue gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse: for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarse, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint Iohn or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant Iohn, or Trynidad, that then wee should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countreymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alleaged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

They leaue the coast of Virginia.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather euery way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were driuen to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry all that day. At this time by account we iudged our selues to be about twentie leagues to the West of Cueruo and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seuenteenth wee saw Cueruo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cueruo, we escryed a sayle a head vs, to whom we gaue chase: but when wee came neere him, we knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him: but we vnderstood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnesse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselues aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee vnderstood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Hauana, with whom he fought: in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and sixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunke; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of siluer which sunke with her, besides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being pearced with nine shotte vnder water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue: but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw aboue water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to rescue the two Ships; Wherefore they gaue ouer their chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.

13. Pipes of siluer.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom wee vnderstood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these fiue was the Moonelight our consort, who vpon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leaue of vs.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of warre, as the Edward Bonauenture, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of sir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnesses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from vs, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratiosa, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselues on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conueniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.

The 26. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with some other of the fleete ankred, othersome plyed vp and downe betweene that and the Pico vntill midnight, at which time the Anthony shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboate stoode in againe with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S. George, we gaue ouer our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

October.

THe 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Vshant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.

CERTAINE VOYAGES

TO FLORIDA, AND THE LATER AND MORE PERFECT DISCOUERIES THEREOF, TO WIT, OF ALL THE SEACOASTS, RIUERS, BAYES, HAUENS, ISLES, AND MAINE LANDES FARRE VP INTO THE COUNTREY, AND A REPORT OF SOME COLONIES AND FORTES THERE PLANTED AND DISPLANTED, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE GOUERNMENT, DISPOSITION AND QUALITIE OF THE NATURALL INHABITANTS, AND A DECLARATION OF THE TEMPERATURE OF THE CLIMATE, AND OF THE MANIFOLDE GOOD COMMODITIES FOUND IN THOSE REGIONS.

To the most Christian King of France, Francis the first.

The relation of Iohn de Verrazzano a Florentine, of the land by him discouered in the name of his Maiestie. Written in Diepe the eight of Iuly, 1524.

I Wrote not to your Maiesty, most Christian king, since the time we suffered the tempest in the North partes, of the successe of the foure Shippes, which your Maiestie sent forth to discouer new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Maiestie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by these presents I will giue your Maiestie to vnderstand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with the two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin (in such euill case as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayred them in all poynts as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our course along by the coast of Spaine, which your Maiestie shall vnderstand by the profite that we receiued thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make discouerie of new Countries, to prosecute the nauigation we had already begun, which I purpose at this present to recount vnto your Maiestie to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter.

The 17. of Ianuary the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the dishabited rocke by the isle of Madêra, apperteining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other ship-munition very well prouided & furnished for 8. moneths: And sayling Westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were ouertaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as euer any saylers suffered: whereof with the diuine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we

The Isle of Madêra.

They discouer land.

we were deliuered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course West and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made aboue 400. leagues more, where we discouered a new land, neuer before seene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at the first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceiued by the great fires that we saw by the Sea coast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the lande stretched to the Southwards. In seeking some conuenient Harborough wherein to anchor and to haue knowledge of the place, we sayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and seeing the land to runne still to the Southwards, we resolued to returne backe againe towards the North, where wee found our selues troubled with the like difficultie. At length being in despaire to finde any Port, wee cast anchor vpon the coast, and sent our Boate to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the Sea side; and seeing vs approch, they fled away, and sometimes would stand still and looke backe, beholding vs with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and assured with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the Sea side, seeming to reioyce very much at the sight of vs, and marueiling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse, shewed vs by sundry signes where we might most commodiously come aland with our Boat, offering vs also of their victuals to eate. Now I wil briefly declare to your Maiestie their life and maners, as farre as we could haue notice thereof: These people goe altogether naked, except only that they couer their priuie parts with certaine skins of beasts like vnto Marterns, which they fasten vnto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of diuers other beastes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers. The people are of colour russet, and not much vnlike the Saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a litle taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane stature, and commonly somewhat bigger then we: broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, sauing that they haue somewhat broade visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them wel fauoured, hauing blacke and great eyes, with a cheerefull and steady looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the East partes of the world, and especially to them of the vttermost parts of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of liuing, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from these wee found another people, whose liuing wee thinke to be like vnto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare vnto your Maiestie) shewing at this present the situation and nature of the foresayd land. The shoare is all couered with small sand, and so ascendeth vpwards for the space of 15. foote, rising in forme of litle hils about 50. paces broad. And sayling forwards, we found certaine small Riuers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, washing the shoare on both sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open Countrey rising in height aboue the sandie shoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mightie great woods, some very thicke, and some thinne, replenished with diuers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Maiesty may not thinke that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deserts of Tartary, and the Northerne coasts full of fruitlesse trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypresse trees, and many other sortes of trees vnknowen in Europe, which yeeld most sweete sauours farre from the shoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne for the cause aforesaid, and not for any difficulty to passe through the woods, seeing they are not so thicke but that a man may passe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the East world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs or spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it. And the land is full of many beastes, as Stags, Deere and Hares, and likewise of Lakes and Pooles of fresh water, with great plentie of Fowles, conuenient for all kinde of pleasant game. This land is in latitude

34. Degrees.

34. degrees, with good and wholesome ayre, temperate, betweene hot and colde, no vehe-

ment windes doe blowe in those Regions, and those that doe commonly reigne in those coasts, are the Northwest and West windes in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the skie cleere and faire with very litle raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and mistie with the Southerne winde, immediatly it is dissolued and waxeth cleere and fayre againe. The Sea is calme, not boysterous, the waues gentle: and although all the shore be somewhat sholde and without harborough, yet is it not dangerous to the saylers, being free from rocks and deepe, so that within 4 or 5. foote of the shore, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth still increasing in such vniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ship being shaken in a tempest, can neuer perish there by breaking of her cables, which we haue proued by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is vsuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppressed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth fayled or mooued at all. We departed from this place, stil running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the East, & we saw euery where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashoare with 25. men: where by reason of great and continuall waues that beat against the shoare, being an open Coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly goe ashoare without loosing our boate. Wee saw there many people which came vnto the shoare, making diuers signes of friendship, and shewing that they were content we should come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Maiestie shal vnderstand by the successe. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteeme, as sheetes of paper, glasses, bels, and such like trifles; we sent a young man one of our Mariners ashoare, who swimming towards them, & being within 3. or 4. yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things vpon the shoare: but seeking afterwards to returne, he was with such violence of the waues beaten vpon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiuing, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they caried him a litle way off from the sea. The yong man perceiuing they caried him, being at the first dismaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to giue him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marueiling at the whitenesse of his flesh: And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would haue rosted him at that fire, and haue eaten him. The young man hauing recouered his strength, and hauing stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that he was desirous to returne to the ship: and they with great loue clapping him fast about with many imbracings, accompanying him vnto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leauing him alone, went vnto a high ground and stood there, beholding him vntill he was entred into the boate. This yong man obserued, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of meane stature, handsome visage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle strength, but of prompt wit: farther we obserued not.

The coast trendeth to the East in 34 degrees of latitude.

Courteous and gentle people.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat toward the North, in 50. leagues space we came to another land which shewed much more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker: and that we might haue some knowledge thereof, wee sent 20. men aland, which entred into the countrey about 2 leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They saw onely one olde woman with a young maide of 18. or 20. yeeres old, which seeing our company, hid themselues in the grasse for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her shoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres old. The young woman was laden likewise with as many: but when our men came vnto them, the women cried out: the olde woman made signes that the men were fledde vnto the woods. Assoone as they saw vs to quiet them and to winne their fauour, our men gaue them such victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the old woman receiued thankfully: but the yong woman disdained them all, & threw them

They run 50 leagues farther.

Wilde Hempe.

disdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea: and especially hauing great woods to passe thorow, and being farre from the ship, we purposed to leaue her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found those folkes to be more white then those that we found before, being clad with certaine leaues that hang on boughs of trees, which they sewe together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were trussed vpafter the same maner as the former were: their ordinary foode is of pulse, whereof they haue great store, differing in colour and taste from ours; of good and pleasant taste. Moreouer they liue by fishing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fish, & other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted. We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or stone, or any other kind of metall (because that in all this countrey for the space of 200. leagues which we ranne, we neuer saw one stone of any sort:) they helpe themselues with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollownesse of the boat; the like they doe in making the sterne & the forepart, vntill it be fit to saile vpon the sea. The land is in situation goodnes and fairenesse like the other: it hath woods like the other, thinne and full of diuers sorts of trees: but not so sweete, because the country is more Northerly and colde.

They ran along the coast 200. leagues. They make hollow their Canoas with fire.

Vines like those of Lombardie.

We saw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing vp, tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lombardie, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for hauing oftentimes seene the fruit thereof dryed, which was sweete and pleasant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe esteeme the same, because that in euery place where they growe, they take away the vnder branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

We found also roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of herbes, and sweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their dwellings, because they were farre vp in the land, and we iudge by many signes that we saw, that they are of wood & of trees framed together.

100 Leagues sayling.

A mighty riuer.

We doe beleeue also by many coniectures and signes, that many of them sleeping in the fields, haue no other couert then the open sky. Further knowledge haue we not of them: we thinke that all the rest whose countreys we passed, liue all after one maner. Hauing made our aboade three dayes in this country, and ryding on the coast for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore betweene the North and the East, sayling onely in the day-time, and riding at anker by night. In the space of 100. leagues sayling we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certaine litle steepe hils: from amidst the which hils there ran downe into the sea an exceeding great streme of water, which ŵin the mouth was very deepe, & from the sea to the mouth of the same with ẏ tide which we found to rise 8. foote, any great ship laden may passe vp.

People clad with feathers of diuers colours.

The pleasantness and riches of the land.

But because we rode at anker in a place well fenced from the wind, we would not venture ourselues without knowledge of the place: and we passed vp with our boat onely into the sayd Riuer, and saw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almost like vnto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of diuers colours: they came towards vs very cheerefully, making great showts of admiration; shewing vs where we might come to land most safely with our boat. We entered vp the said riuer into the land about halfe a league, where it made a most pleasant lake about 3. leagues in compasse: on the which they rowed from the one side to the other to the number of 30. of their small boats, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see vs. And behold vpon the sudden (as it is woont to fall out in sayling) a contrary flaw of wind comming from the sea, we were inforced to returne to our ship, leauing this lande to our great discontentment, for the great commodity and pleasantnesse thereof, which we suppose is not without some riches, all the hils shewing minerall matters in them. We weyed anker, and sayled toward the East, for so the coast trended, and so alwayes for 50. leagues being in the sight thereof, we discoured an Iland in forme of a triangle, distant from the maine land 10. leagues, about the bignesse of the Iland of the Rhodes: it was full of hils couered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast: wee gaue it the name of your Maiesties mother, not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.

The coast trendeth to the East.

The description of Claudia Iland, tenne leagues from the mayne.

Claudia was mother of king Francis.

And we came to another land being 15. leagues distant from the Iland, where we found a passing good hauen, wherein being entred, we found about 20. small boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our ship, comming no neerer then 50. paces towards vs: they stayed and beheld the artificialnesse of our ship, our shape & apparel: then they all made a loud showt together, declaring that they reioyced. When we had something animated them, vsing their gestures, they came so neere vs, that we cast them certaine bels and glasses, and many toyes, which when they had receiued, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboord our ship. There were amongst these people 2. kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare: the eldest was about 40. yeeres of age, the second was a young man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had vpon his naked body a Harts skin wrought artificially with diuers branches like damaske: his head was bare with the hayre tyed vp behind with diuers knots: about his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with diuers stones of sundry colours: the yong man was almost apparelled after ẏ same maner. This is the goodliest people, & of the fairest conditions that we haue found in this our voyage. They exceed vs in bignes: they are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whitenesse: others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke vp: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to your Maiestie of the other parts of their body, hauing al such proportion as apperteineth to any handsome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handsome and well fauoured, of pleasant countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good education: they are all naked saue their priuy partes, which they couer with a Deeres skin branched or embrodered as the men vse: there are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skinnes of Luzernes: they adorne their heads with diuers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both sides their brestes: others vse other kinde of dressing themselues like vnto the women of Egypt and Syria, these are of the elder sort: and when they are maried, they weare diuers toyes, according to the vsage of the people of the East, aswell men as women.

A passing good hauen.

Among whom we saw many plates of wrought copper, which they esteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of, for that among all other it is counted the basest: they make most account of Azure and Red. The things that they esteeme most of all those which we gaue them, were bels, christal of Azure colour, and other toyes to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not desire cloth of silke or of golde, much lesse of any other sort, neither cared they for things made of steele and yron, which wee often shewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them: the like they did at our glasses, which when they beheld, they suddenly laught and gaue them vs againe. They are very liberall, for they giue that which they haue: wee became great friends with these, and one day we entred into the Hauen with our ship, whereas before we rode a league off at Sea by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats vnto the ship with their faces all be painted with diuers colours, shewing vs that it was a signe of ioy, bringing vs of their victuals, they made signes vnto vs where we might safest ride in the Hauen for the safegard of our ship keeping still our company: and after we were come to an anker, wee bestowed 15 dayes in prouiding our selues many necessary things, whither euery day the people repaired to see our ship bringing their wiues with them, whereof they were very ielous: and they themselues entring abord the ship & staying there a good space, caused their wiues to stay in their boats, and for

Copper more esteemed then golde.

for all the intreatie we could make, offring to giue them diuers things, we could neuer obtaine that they would suffer them to come abord our ship. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see vs, they all stayed on the shore 200 paces from vs, sending a small boat to giue vs intelligence of their comming, saying they would come to see our ship: this they did in token of safety, and assoone as they had answere from vs, they came immediatly, and hauing staied a while to behold it, they wondred at hearing the cries and noyses of the mariners. The queene and her maids stayed in a very light boat, at an Iland a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship vttering diuers conceits with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of euery thing particularly. He tooke likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparell, and in tasting our meats, & so courteously taking his leaue departed. And sometimes our men staying 2 or 3 daies on a litle Iland neere the ship for diuers necessaries (as it is the vse of seamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to see what we did, & asked of vs oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offring vs of their prouision: then the king drawing his bow and running vp and down with his gentlemen, made much sport to gratifie our men: we were oftentimes within the land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleasant as is possible to declare, very apt for any kind of husbandry of corne, wine and oyle: for that there are plaines 25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of such fruitfulnesse, that any seed being sowen therein, wil bring forth most excellent fruit. We entred afterwards into the woods, which we found so great and thicke, that any army were it neuer so great might haue hid it selfe therein, the trees whereof are okes, cipresse trees, and other sortes vnknowen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damson trees, and nut trees, and many other sorts of fruit differing from ours: there are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzerns, & other kinds which they take with their nets & bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they vse are made with great cunning, and in stead of yron, they head them with flint, with iasper stone & hard marble & other sharp stones which they vse in stead of yron to cut trees, & to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10. or 12. men may sit commodiously: their oares are short and broad at the end, and they vse them in the sea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great speedines as they list themselues. We saw their houses made in circular or round forme 10 or 12 paces in compasse, made with halfe circles of timber, separate one from another without any order of building, couered with mattes of straw wrought cunningly together, which saue them from the wind and raine: and if they had the order of building and perfect skil of workmanship as we haue, there were no doubt but that they would also make eftsoones great & stately buildings. For all the sea coasts are ful of cleare and glistering stones, & alablaster, and therefore it is full of good hauens and harboroughs for ships. They mooue the foresaid houses from one place to another according to the commodity of the place & season wherin they wil make their abode, and only taking off the mattes, they haue other houses builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number: in some of them we saw 25 or 30 persons. They feed as the other doe aforesaid of pulse which grow in that Countrey with better order of husbandry then in the others. They obserue in their sowing the course of the Moone and the rising of certaine starres, and diuers other customes spoken of by antiquity. Moreouer they liue by hunting and fishing. They liue long, & are seldome sicke, and if they chance to fall sicke at any time, they heale themselues with fire without any phisitian, and they say that they die for very age. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their aduersitie: and in their miserie, the kinred reckon vp all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they vse mourning mixt with singing, which continueth for a long space. This is asmuch as we could learne of them. This land is situated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2. terces: but somewhat more colde by accidentall causes and not of nature, (as I will declare vnto your highnesse elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid Countrey, which lieth East and West, I

Most pleasant and fruitful lands.

The fashion of their houses.

The coast full of good hauens.

Their curing with Tobacco and perfumes.

41. degrees & 2. tierces.

say that the mouth of the Hauen lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the East and the North, it stretcheth twelue leagues: where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are fiue small Islands very fruitfull and pleasant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Islandes any great Nauie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring into the Hauen on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many riuers of most cleare water falling into the Sea.

The description of a notable hauen in 41. deg. and 2. tierces.

In the middest of this entrance there is a rocke of free stone growing by nature apt to build any Castle or Fortresse there, for the keeping of the hauen. The fift of May being furnished with all things necessarie, we departed from the said coast keeping along in the sight thereof, and wee sailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner: but the land somewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a shew of minerall matter, wee sought not to land there in any place, because the weather serued our turne for sailing: but wee suppose that it was like the former, the coast ranne Eastward for the space of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cipresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle: so much were these full of rudenesse and ill maners, and so barbarous that by no signes that euer we could make, we could haue any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themselues with Beares skinnes and Luzernes and Seales and other beasts skinnes. Their food, as farre as we coulde perceiue, repairing often vnto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting & fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They haue no graine, neither saw we any kind or signe of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrennesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to haue any of their cōmodities, they vsed to come to the sea shore vpon certaine craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to giue vs, crying continually that we should not approch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but kniues, fishookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to inuent. We were in despight of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of vs: And when we went on shore they shot at vs with their bowes making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land any thing notable, or of importance, sauing very great woods and certaine hilles, they may haue some minerall matter in them, because wee saw many of them haue beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from thence keeping our course Northeast along the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coast for the space of fiftie leagues, we discouered 32 Islands lying al neere the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high and hauing many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harboroughs and chanels as they doe in the gulfe of Venice in Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same maners and nature as the others are. Sayling Northeast for the space of 150. leagues we approched to the land that in times past was discouered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Hauing now spent all our prouision and victuals, and hauing discouered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

150. leagues.

A shew of minerall.

The coast running Eastward 50. leagues.

Here the people begin to be more sauage.

Beades of copper.

32 pleasant Islands.

They ran almost to 50. degrees.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee haue found, for want of their language wee could not vnderstand neither by signes nor gesture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or moouer, neither that they worship the heauen or stars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much lesse whither they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whither that they vsed any kind of sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they haue no religion at all, and that they liue at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to be perswaded: and all that they see vs Christians doe in our diuine seruice, they did the same with the like imitation as they saw vs to doe it.

A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulnesse of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, sauing the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter:

Translated out of French into English
by M. RICHARD HAKLVYT.

To the right honourable Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Captaine of her Maiesties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the County of Cornewall, R. H. wisheth true felicitie.

SIr, after that this historie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France vnder your Name by my learned friend M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easily enduced to turne it into English, vnderstanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie persons there. And no maruaile though it were very welcome vnto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginia, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeeres in France then I, and vnderstand the French better then my selfe, I forthwith perceiued that you approoued mine endeuour, not for any priuate ease or commoditie that thereby might redound vnto you, but that it argued a singular and especiall care you had of those which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would haue forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the grosse negligence in prouiding of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconueniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as also might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large described and so neere neighbours vnto our Colonies, that they might generally bee awaked and stirred vp vnto the diligent obseruation of euery thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, wherinto they are so cheerefully entred. Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of these partes, the accidents of the French mens gouernment therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I haue annexed to the ende of the worke, it shall be needlesse to recken vp againe. And that the rather, because the same with diuers other things of chiefest importance are liuely drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillfull painter Iames Morgues, sometime liuing in the Black-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillion then Admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnesse and fertility of those regions, and hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which since he hath published together with the purtratures. These foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, and that for diuers iust considerations. First, for that as I haue sayd before, they were dedicated vnto you in French: secondly because now foure times also you haue attempted the like vpon the selfe same coast neere adioyning: thirdly in that you haue persed as farre vp into the maine and discouered no lesse secrets in the partes of your aboad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting;

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

The chiefe things worthie obseruation in Florida are drawen in colours by Iames Morgues painter sometime liuing in the Black fryers in London.

ing: lastly considering yon are now also ready (vpon the late returne of Captaine Stafford and good newes which he brought you of the safe arriual of your last Colony in their wished hauen) to prosecute this action more throughly then euer. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined. The particular cōmodities whereof are wel knowen vnto your selfe and some few others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement cōmitted to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained there about a tweluemonth with your worshipful Lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those Countreys. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wote well it would demaund a princes purse to haue it throughly followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful aswel to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine secret commodities already discouered by your seruants, & partly by breeding of diuers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warme climat as wil best prosper there, and our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to haue bin the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoueries & conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola foūd neither suger-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel: But finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine & buls and sundry sorts of other profitable beasts thither, & transported the plants of suger-canes, and set the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandise of that Island. The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as Iohn Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Island by that name. Howbeit the climate being fauourable, they inriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they vsed in the Isles of the Açores by sowing therin great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctial, and in Brasil, and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit. Moreouer there is none other likelihood but that her Maiesty, which hath Christned, and giuen the name to your Virginia, if need require, will deale after the maner of honorable godmothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring vp their children themselues, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnesse in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon, after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdome of Granada and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spaine, was neuerthelesse so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the sonne of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the history of the deedes of his father) she layd part of her owne iewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father foorth vpon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discouered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of England, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forwardnesse and bounty in aduancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant nowe in English, the maine land, where your last Colonie meane to seate themselues, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath bene found by those that haue had some triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will seeke to fill his bellie

with

A collection of the commodities of Virginia.

Meanes to raise benefit in new discoueries vsed by the Spaniards & Portugals.

Kine, sugar-canes and ginger transported into Hispaniola and Madera, &c.

Woad and vines planted in the Azores.

The great zeale of Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon in aduancing of new discoueries tending to Gods glory.

The aptnesse of the people in the maine of Virginia to embrace Christianitie.

Seneca.

with grasse, if a Storke bee cast in shee will seeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will seeke to start an Hare: So sundry men entring into these discoueries propose vnto themselues seuerall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the sauing of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely say with the Apostle to the Sauages, wee seeke not yours but you: I conceiue great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weakenesse, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde sayd vnto Iosue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember that priuate men haue happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed vpon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our Common wealth wherein you liue. Hereof we haue examples domesticall and forreigne. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Ireland newly dedicated vnto your selfe. Read you not that Richard Strangbow the decayed earle of Chepstow in Monmuthshire, being in no great fauour of his soueraigne, passed ouer into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied only with certain of his priuate friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for king Henry the second to the speedy subiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugall was first begun by meane and priuate men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme, and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoueries, assured me in this city in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginia, and the large extension thereof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficulty then the conquest of Ireland, first I answere, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine M. Iohn Dauis to the Northwest (toward which his discouery your selfe haue thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be maine sea, where before was thought to be maine land, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culuacan and the gulfe of California, that the land on the backe part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the Maps of those parts. Moreouer it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and vnarmed people in Virginia, then one thousand were able then to do in Ireland against that armed and warlike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeres last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare 10000. able men without any misse. And these are as many as the kingdome of Portugal had euer in all their garrisons of the Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao vpon the coast of China. Yea this I say by the cōfession of singuler expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppresse for certain causes) which haue bene personally in the East Indies, & haue assured me that their kings had neuer aboue ten thousand natural borne Portugals (their slaues expected) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present yeere I saw confirmed in a secrete extract of the particular estate of that kingdome and of euery gouernement and office subiect to the same, with the seueral pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreys they go idle vp and downe in swarms for lack of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained vp thus long in seruice, then in the inward partes of the firme of Virginia against such stubborne Sauages as shal refuse obedience to her Maiestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shal vnderstand the fertilitie and

2. Cor. 12. 14.

Iosue 1. 6.

The good successe in Ireland of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow.

The happy late discouerie to the Northwest of Captaine Dauis.

The kings of Portugal had neuer aboue ten thousand of their naturall subiects in all their new conquered dominions.

riches of the regions confining so neere vpon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse whereof you haue bin contented to suffer to come to light. In the meane season I humbly commend my selfe and this my translation vnto you, and your selfe, and all those which vnder you haue taken this enterprise in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endeuour. From London the 1. of May 1587.

Your L. humble at commandement. R. HAKLVYT.

The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere.

THere are two things, which according to mine opinion haue bene the principall causes, in consideration whereof aswell they of ancient times, as those of our age haue bene induced to trauell into farre and remote regions. The first hath beene the naturall desire which wee haue to search out the commodities to liue happily, plentifully, and at ease: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to search out and bring from thence such things as are there to be found, and are in greatest estimation and in most request in our Countreys. The second cause hath bene the multitude of people too fruitefull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their natiue soyles, haue entred vpon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes passing further haue pearced euen vnto the vttermost regions. After this sort the North climate, a fruitfull father of so many nations hath oftentimes sent foorth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys: so that most of the nations of Europe drawe their originall from these parts. Contrariwise the more Southerne regions, because they bee too barren by reason of their insupportable heate which raineth in them, neede not any such sending forth of their inhabitants, and haue bene oftentimes constrained to receiue other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All Afrike, Spaine, and Italie can also testifie the same, which neuer so abounded with people that they had neede to send them abroad to inhabite elsewhere: as on the contrary Scythia, Norway, Gotland and France haue done. The posterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in Italy, Spaine & Afrike but also in fruitful and faire Asia. Neuerthelesse I find that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding vnto these two chiefe causes aforesaid, (as being most curious to plant not onely their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, & religion in those prouinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their soueraigne Senate sent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) euen to the vnfurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should haue preserued the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then aduanced them to the possession of the vniuersal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aspire. For it came to passe that their Colonies here and there being miserably sacked by strange people did vtterly ruin and ouerthrow their Empire. The brinks of the riuer of Rhene are yet red, those of Danubius are no lesse bloody, and our France became fat with their blood which they lost. These are the effects and rewards of al such as being pricked forward with this Romane and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to subdue strange people: effects, I say, contrary to the profit which those shall receiue, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to say, to the generall policie of all men, and endeuour to vnite them one with another as well by trafficke and ciuill conuersations, as also by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Sauages will not yeeld vnto their endeuours so much tending vnto their profit.

Planting of Colonies.

When force of armes is to be vsed.

For this cause princes haue sent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good actiuity to plant themselues in strange Countreys, there to make their profite to bring the Countrey to ciuilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God: an end so much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannical and cruel gouernement: and so they haue alwayes thriued in their enterprises, and by little and little gained

Two conditions required in conquests of Countreys newly discouered.
Nota.

the heartes of them which they haue conquered or wonne vnto them by any meanes. Hereof wee may gather that sometimes it is good, yea very expedient to send forth men to discouer the pleasure and commoditie of strange Countreys: But so, that the Countrey out of which these companies are to passe remaine not weakned, nor depriued of her forces: And againe in such sort that the company sent forth be of so iust & sufficient number, that it may not be defeited by strangers, which euery foote endeuour nothing else but to surprise the same vpon the sudden. As within these few daies past the French haue proued to my great griefe, being able by no means possible to withstand the same, considering that the elements, men, and all the fauours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Christian alliance fought against vs: which thing I purpose to discouer in this present historie with so euident trueth, that the Kings Maiesty my soueraigne prince shall in part be satisfied of the diligence which I haue vsed in his seruice, and mine aduersaries shall find themselues so discouered in their false reports, that they shall haue no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefly set downe the situation and description of the land whereunto we haue sailed and where we haue inhabited from the yeere 1561. vnto sixty fiue, to the ende that those things may the more easily be borne away, which I meane to describe in this discourse.

The description of the West Indies in generall, but chiefly and particularly of Florida.

America, vnknowen to all antiquity.

THat part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or America, or rather the West India, was vnknowen vnto our ancestours by reason of the great distance thereof. In like maner all the Westerne Islands and fortunate Isles were not discouered but by those of our age. Howbeit there haue bin some which haue said that they were discouered in the time of Augustus Cæsar, and that Virgil hath made mention thereof in the sixt booke of his Æneidos, when he saith, There is a land beyond the starres, and the course of the yeere and of the Sunne, where Atlas the Porter of Heauen sustaineth the pole vpon his shoulders: neuerthelesse it is easie to iudge that hee meaneth not to speake of this land, whereof no man is found to haue written before his time, neither yet aboue a thousand yeeres after. Christopher Colon did first light vpon this land in the yeere 1592. And fiue yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Castile, and gaue vnto it his owne name, whereupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well seene in the Arte of Nauigation and in Astronomie: whereby hee discouered in his time many lands vnknowen vnto the ancient Geographers. This countrey is named by some, the land of Bresil, and the lande of Parots. It stretcheth it selfe, according vnto Postell, from the one Pole to the other, sauing at the streight of Magelan, whereunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will diuide it for the better vnderstanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Arcticke on the North is called new France, because that in the yeere 1524. Iohn Verrazzano a Florentine was sent by King Francis the first, and by Madam the Regent his mother vnto these newe Regions, where he went on land, and discouered all the coast which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth vnto the fiftieth degree, and farther vnto the North. Hee planted in this Countrey the Ensignes and Armes of the king of France: so that the Spaniardes themselues which were there afterwarde, haue named this Countrey Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the 25. degree vnto the 54. toward the North: and in Longitude from 210. vnto 330. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the Bay of Gama, which separateth it from the Isle of Canada whither Iaques Carthier sayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador stretching towarde Groenland. In the Westerne part there are many knowen countreys, as the Regions of Quiuira, Ciuola, Astatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, because it was discouered on Palme-sunday, which the Spaniardes call Pascha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether vnknowen.

Christopher Colon or Columbe.
Americus Vespucius of whō America tooke the name.
The first generall part of America.
Cabota in the yeere 1597 had discouered all this tract for the crowne of England.

The second generall part of America.

The second part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, vnto the ninth degree. In the same is situated and the Citie of Themistitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adioyning vnto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renoumed are Hispaniola and Isabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforesayd, haue not in Longitude past seuentie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, vnto three hundreth and ten: it is also long and narrowe as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the tenth degree vnto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I haue sayde before, vnto the streight of Magelan. It is made in fashion like to an egge, and is very well knowen vpon all sides. The part where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, because it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

The third generall part of America.

Villegaignon.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the most knowen and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen haue made diuers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that nowe it is the best knowen Countrey which is in all this part of newe France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of lande stretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly towarde the South: it hath right ouer against it fiue and twentie leagues distant the Isle of Cuba otherwise called Isabella, toward the East the Isles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the West the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and diuided with diuers riuers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea shore. There groweth in those partes great quantitie of Pinetrees, which haue no kernels in the apples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentiskes, and Chestnut trees, which are more wilde then those in France. There is great store of Cedars, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe vp along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Medlers, the fruite whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are also Plumtrees, which beare very faire fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspasses, and a little berrie which we call among vs Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Hasez, whereof in necessitie they make bread. There is also there the tree called Esquine, which is very good against the Pockes and other contagious diseases. The Beastes best knowen in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards, Ounces, Luserns, diuers sortes of Wolues, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beast that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pigions, Ringdoues, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geese, Malards, Cormorants, Hernshawes, white, red, blacke and gray, and an infinite sort of all wilde foule. There is such abundance of Crocodiles, that oftentimes in swimming men are assayled by them; of Serpents there are many sorts. There is found among the Sauages good quantitie of Gold and Siluer, which is gotten out of the shippes that are lost vpon the coast, as I haue vnderstood by the Sauages themselues. They vse traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleeue it, is, that on the coast towarde the Cape, where commonly the shippes are cast away, there is more store of Siluer then toward the North. Neuerthelesse they say, that in the Mountaines of Appalatcy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is also in this Countrey great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to vse the same. The men are of an Oliue colour, of great stature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They couer their priuities with the skinne of a Stagge well dressed. The most part of them haue their bodies, armes, and thighes painted with very faire deuises: the painting whereof can neuer bee taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke and reacheth euen downe to their hips, howbeit they trusse it vp after a fashion that becommeth them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitours, valiant of their persons & fight very well. They haue none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gut of

Florida with an ample description thereof.

The trees of Florida.

These are perhaps those which the Sauages call Tunas.

The beasts of Florida.

The foule of Florida.

Crocodiles.

Gold and siluer.

The mountaines of Apalatcy.

Store of dyes and colours.

The disposition and maners of the Floridians.

The wearing of their haire.

Their exercise and pastime.
Running for games.
Shooting.
Playing at the Ball.
Hunting.
Fishing.
Their forme of warre.
Their triumphes after the victorie.
They worship the Sunne and Moone.
Their Priests are both Magicians and Physitions.
Their marriages.
The painefulnesse of the women.
Many Hermaphrodites which haue the nature of both sexes.
Their foode and prouision for warre.
Their dressing their flesh and fish ouer the smoke.
Their order in marching to the warre.
Their consultations.
Their saluting of their kings.
The drinking of Cassine before they goe to battell.
The honor exhibited vnto men of valure aboue other.

of a Stag, or of a Stags skin, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they worke very finely and handsomly. They exercise their yong men to runne well, and they make a game among themselues, which he winneth that has the longest breath. They also exercise themselues much in shooting. They play at the ball in this maner: they set vp a tree in the middest of a place which is eight or nine fathom high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whosoeuer hitteth in playing thereat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut of their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They saue the women and children and nourish them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they assemble all their subiects, and for ioy three days and three nights they make good cheare, they daunce & sing, likewise they make the most ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haires of their enemies in their hands: and in dauncing they sing praises to the Sunne, ascribing vnto him the honour of the victory. They haue no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, sauing of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone. They haue their Priests to whom they giue great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers, and callers vpon diuels. These Priests serue them in stead of Physitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sick of the pocks, for they loue women & maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and some of them are Sodomites. They marry, and euery one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to haue two or three: yet none but the first is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and authoritie of the father. The women doe all the businesse at home. They keepe not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they haue their flowers. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and sticke their haire full of feathers or downe, that they may seeme more terrible. The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carry also sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessitie they eat a thousand rifraffes, euen to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with this meale. When they goe to warre, their King marcheth first, with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiuer full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which haue likewise their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterprise in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their Councell together, and they take very good aduisement before they growe to a resolution. They meete together euery morning in a great common house, whither their King repaireth, and setteth him downe vpon a seate which is higher then the seates of the other: where all of them one after another come and salute him: and the most ancient begin their salutations, lifting vp both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, ha, he, ya, and the rest answer ha, ha. Assoone as they haue done their salutation, euery man sitteth him downe vpon the seates which are round about in the house. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Iawas, that is to say their Priestes, and the most ancient men, and asketh them their aduise. Afterward he commaundeth Cassine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaues of a certaine tree: They drinke this Cassine very hotte: he drinketh first, then he causeth to be giuen thereof to all of them one after another in the same boule, which holdeth well a quart measure of Paris. They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assembly, vnlesse hee hath made proofe of his valure in the warre. Moreouer this drinke hath such a vertue, that assoone as they haue drunke it, they become all in a sweate, which sweate being past, it taketh away hunger and thirst for foure and twenty houres after.

When a King dyeth, they burie him very solemnly, and vpon his graue they set the cuppe wherein he was woont to drinke: and round about the sayde graue they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast three dayes together without ceassing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the loue which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the space of sixe Moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thrise a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Euening. All the goods of this King are put into his house, and afterward they set it on fire, so that nothing is euer more after to be seene. The like is done with the goods of the Priestes, and besides they burie the bodies of the Priests in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sowe their Maiz twise a yere, to wit, in March and in Iune, and all in one and the same soyle. The sayd Maiz from the time that it is sowed vntill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth rest. They haue also faire Pumpions, & very good Beanes. They neuer dung their land, onely when they would sowe, they set the weedes on fire, which grewe vp the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be sowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subiects euery day to labour, during which labour the King causeth store of that drinke to be made for them, whereof we haue spoken. At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to euery man according to his qualitie. They sowe no more but that which they thinke will serue their turnes for sixe moneths, & that very scarcely. For during the Winter they retire themselues for three or foure moneths, in the yeere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and liue there of Maste, of fish which they take, of Oisters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beastes which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dressed in the smoake, which in their language they call Boucaned. They eate willingly the flesh of the Crocodile: and in deede it is faire and white: and where it not that it sauoureth too much like Muske we would oftentimes haue eaten thereof. They haue a custome among them, that when they finde themselues sicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cause our selues to be let blood, their Physitions sucke them vntill they make the blood follow.

The excellencie of Cassine.

Their maner of the buriall of Kings.

Their cutting of more then halfe their haire.

The buriall of their Priests.

Sowing twise in 6 moneths.

Faire pumpions.

Goodly beanes.

Instruments wherewith they till their ground.

The bringing of all the crop into a commõ house.

Their prouision of corne for 6 moneths onely.

Their maner of liuing in the Winter.

The dressing of their meate in the smoake.

Their maner of curing diseases.

The women are likewise of good proportion and tall, and of the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an Oliue colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annointings of oyle which they vse among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and because of the Sunne which shineth hote vpon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is so great, that they can swimme ouer the great Riuers bearing their children vpon one of their armes. They climbe vp also very nimbly vpon the highest trees in the Countrey.

Their womens dispositions and maners.

Oile in Florida.

Women great swimmers.

Beholde in briefe the description of the Countrey, with the nature and customes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the discourse of my historie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to vnderstand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

MY Lord Admirall of Chastillon, a noble man more desirous of the publique then of his priuate benefite, vnderstanding the pleasure of the King his prince, which was to discouer new and strange Countreys, caused vessels fit for this purpose to be made ready with all diligence, and men to bee leuied meete for such an enterprise: Among whom hee chose Captaine Iohn Ribault, a man in trueth expert in sea causes: which hauing receiued his charge, set himselfe to Sea the yeere 1562. the eighteenth of Februarie, accompanied onely with two of the kings shippes, but so well furnished with Gentlemen, (of whose number I myselfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieue some notable thing and worthy of

The first voyage of Iohn Ribault to Florida 1562.

The course of the Spaniards not altogether necessary.
Cape Franzois in 30. degrees.
A pillar set vp.
Prayer and thankes to God.
Presents giuen to Ribault.
Their fish weares like those of Virginia.

eternall memorie. Hauing therefore sayled two moneths, neuer holding the usuall course of the Spaniards, hee arriued in Florida, landing neere a Cape or Promontorie, which is no high lande, because the coast is all flatte, but onely rising by reason of the high woods, which at his arriuall he called Cape François in honour of our France. This Cape is distant from the Equator about thirtie degrees. Coasting from this place towards the North, he discouered a very faire and great Riuer, which gaue him occasion to cast anker that hee might search the same the next day very early in the morning: which being done by the breake of day, accompanied with Captaine Fiquinuille and diuers other souldiers of his shippe, he was no sooner arriued on the brinke of the shoare, but straight hee perceiued many Indians men and women, which came of purpose to that place to receiue the Frenchmen with all gentlenesse and amitie, as they well declared by the Oration which their king made, and the presents of Chamois skinnes wherewith he honoured our Captaine, which the day following caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the sayde Riuer, and not farre from the mouth of the same vpon a little sandie knappe, in which pillar the Armes of France were carued and engraued. This being done hee embarked himselfe againe, to the ende alwayes to discouer the coast toward the North which was his chiefe desire. After he had sayled a certaine time he crossed ouer to the other side of the riuer, and then in the presence of certaine Indians, which of purpose did attend him, hee commaunded his men to make their prayers, to giue thankes to GOD, for that of his grace hee had conducted the French nation vnto these strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentiue to hearken vnto them, thinking in my iudgement, that wee worshipped the Sunne, because wee alwayes had our eyes lifted vp toward heauen, rose all vp and came to salute the Captaine Iohn Ribault, promising to shew him their King, which rose not vp as they did, but remained still sitting vpon greene leaues of Bayes and Palmetrees: toward whom the Captaine went and sate downe by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because hee could not vnderstand his language, and much lesse his meaning. The King gaue our Captaine at his departure a plume or fanne of Hernshawes feathers died in red, and a basket made of Palme-boughes after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of diuers wilde beasts so liuely drawen and pourtrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The Captaine to shew himselfe not vnthankfull, gaue him pretie tinne bracelets, a cutting hooke, a looking glasse, and certaine kniues: whereupon the King shewed himselfe to be very glad and fully contented. Hauing spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the Captaine imbarked himselfe to passe ouer to the other side of the Riuer, whereat the king seemed to be every sorie. Neuerthelesse being not able to stay vs, hee commaunded that with all diligence they should take fish for vs: which they did with all speede. For being entred into their Weares or inclosures made of reedes and framed in the fashion of a Labirynth or Mase, they loaded vs with Troutes, great Mullets, Plaise, Turbuts, and marueilous store of other sortes of fishes altogether different from ours.

They passe ouer the riuer.
Goodly mulberries white and red.

This done, we entred into our Boates and went toward the other shore. But before we came to the shore, we were saluted with a number of other Indians, which entring into the water to their armepits, brought vs many litle baskets full of Maiz, and goodly Mulberries both red and white: Others offered themselues to beare vs on shoare, where being landed we perceiued their King sitting vpon a place dressed with boughes, and vnder a little Arbour of Cedars and Bay trees somewhat distant from the waters side. He was accompanied with two of his sonnes which were exceeding faire and strong, and with a troope of Indians who had all their bowes and arrowes in marueilous good order. His two sonnes receiued our Captaine very graciously: but the king their father, representing I wot not what kinde of grauitie, did nothing but shake his head a little: then the Captaine went forward to salute him, and without any other mouing of himselfe he reteined so constant a kind of grauitie, that hee made it seeme vnto vs that by good and lawfull right hee bare the title of a King. Our Captaine knowing not what to iudge of this mans behauiour, thought he was ielous because wee went first vnto the other king, or else that he was not well pleased with the

Pillar or Columne which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to thinke, our Captaine shewed him by signes, that he was come from a farre Countrey to seeke him, to let him vnderstand the amitie which he was desirous to haue with him: for the better confirmation whereof, hee drewe out of a budget certaine trifles, as certaine bracelets couered as it were with siluer and guilt, which hee presented him withall, and gaue his sonnes certaine other trifles. Whereupon the King beganne very louingly to intreate both our Captaine and vs. And after these gentle intertainments, wee went our selues into the woods, hoping there to discouer some singularities: where were great store of Mulberrie trees white and red, on the toppes whereof there was an infinite number of silkewormes. Following our way wee discouered a faire and great medowe, diuided notwithstanding with diuers Marishes, which constrained vs by reason of the water, which enuironed it about, to returne backe againe towarde the Riuers side. Finding not the King there, which by this time was gone home to his house, wee entred into our Boates and sayled towarde our shippes: where after we arriued, we called this Riuer The Riuer of May, because we discouered it the first day of the sayde moneth.

Great store of silkewormes.

The riuer of May.

Soone after we returned to our shippes, wee weighed our ankers and hoysed our sailes to discouer the coast farther forward, along the which wee discouered another faire Riuer, which the Captaine himselfe was minded to search out, and hauing searched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, hee named it Seine, because it is very like vnto the Riuer of Seine in France. From this Riuer wee retired toward our shippes, where being arriued, we trimmed our sailes to saile further toward the North, and to descry the singularities of the coast. But wee had not sayled any great way before wee discouered another very faire Riuer, which caused vs to cast anker ouer against it, and to trimme out two Boates to goe to search it out. Wee found there an Ile and a king no lesse affable then the rest, afterwarde we named this Riuer Somme. From thence wee sayled about sixe leagues, after wee discouered another Riuer, which after wee had viewed was named by vs by the name of Loyre. And consequently we there discouered fiue others: whereof the first was named Charente, the second Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fift Grande: which being very well discouered with such things as were in them, by this time in lesse then the space of threescore leagues wee had found out many singularities along nine Riuers. Neuerthelesse not fully satisfied wee sayled yet further towarde the North, following the course that might bring vs to the Riuer of Iordan one of the fairest Riuers of the North, and holding our wonted course, great fogges and tempests came vpon vs, which constrained vs to leaue the coast to beare toward the maine Sea, which was the cause that we lost the sight of our Pinnesses a whole day and a night vntill the next day in the morning, what time the weather waxing faire and the Sea calme, wee discouered a Riuer which wee called Belle a veoir. After wee had sayled three or foure leagues, wee began to espie our Pinnesses which came straight toward vs, and at their arriuall they reported to the Captaine, that while the foule weather and fogges endured, they harboured themselues in a mightie Riuer which in bignesse and beautie exceeded the former: wherewithall the Captaine was exceeding ioyfull, for his chiefe desire was to finde out an Hauen to harbour his shippes, and there to refresh our selues for a while. Thus making thitherward wee arriued athwart the sayde Riuer, (which because of the fairenesse and largenesse thereof wee named Port Royall) wee strooke our sailes and cast anker at ten fathom of water: for the depth is such, namely when the Sea beginneth to flowe, that the greatest shippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Hauing cast anker, the Captaine with his Souldiers went on shoare, and hee himself went first on land: where we found the place as pleasaunt as was possible, for it was all couered ouer with mightie high Oakes and infinite store of Cedars, and with Lentiskes growing vnderneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seeme exceeding pleasant. As we passed thorow these woods we saw nothing but Turkeycocks flying in the Forrests, Partridges gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bignesse. Wee heard also within the woods the voyces of Stagges, of Beares, of Lusernes, of Leopards, & diuers other sortes of Beastes vnknowen vnto vs. Being delighted with this place, we set our selues to

The riuer of Seine.

The Riuer of Somme.

The Riuer of Loyre.

The Riuers of Cherente, Garonne, Gironde, Belle, Grande.

The riuer Belle a veoir.

The Riuer of Port Royall in 32. degrees of latitude.

Turkeycocks.

Partridges gray and red.

fishing with nets, & we caught such a number of fish, that it was wonderfull. And amongst other wee tooke a certaine kind of fish which we call Salicoques, which were no lesse then Creuises, so that two draughts of the net were sufficient to feede all the companie of our two ships for a whole day. The Riuer at the mouth thereof from Cape to Cape is no lesse then 3. French leagues broad; it is diuided into two great armes whereof the one runneth toward the West, the other towards the North: And I beleeue in my iudgement that the arme which stretcheth towarde the North runneth vp into the Countrey as farre as the Riuer Iordan, the the other arme runneth into the Sea, as it was knowen and vnderstoode by those of our company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two armes are two great leagues broad: and in the middest of them there is an Ile, which is poynted towardes the opening of the great Riuer, in which Iland there are infinite numbers of all sortes of strange beasts. There are Simples growing there of so rare properties, and in so great quantitie, that is an excellent thing to behold them. On euery side there is nothing to be seene but Palmetrees, and other sorts of trees bearing blossoms and fruite of very rare shape and very good smell. But seeing the euening approch, and that the Captaine determined to returne vnto the shippes, wee prayed him to suffer vs to passe the night in this place. In our absence the Pilots and chiefe Mariners aduertised the Captaine that it was needefull to bring the shippes further vp within the Riuer, to auoyde the dangers of the windes which might annoy vs, by reason of our being so neere to the mouth of the Riuer: and for this cause the Captaine sent for vs. Being come to our shippes, wee sayled three leagues further vp within the Riuer, and there we cast anker. A little while after, Iohn Ribault accompanied with a good number of souldiers imbarked himselfe, desirous to sayle further vp into the arme that runneth toward the West, and to search the commodities of the place. Hauing sayled twelue leagues at the least, we perceiued a troope of Indians, which assoone as euer they espied the Pinnesses, were so afrayd that they fled into the woods leauing behind them a yong Lucerne which they were a turning vpon a spit: for which cause the place was called Cape Lucerne: proceeding foorth on our way, we found another arme of the Riuer, which ranne toward the East, vp which the Captaine determined to sayle and to leaue the great current. A little while after they began to espie diuers other Indians both men and women halfe hidden within the woods: who knowing not that wee were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at the first, but soone after were emboldened, for the Captaine caused store of marchandise to bee shewed them openly whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well vnto them; and then they made a signe that he should come on lande, which wee would not refuse. At our comming on shoare diuers of them came to salute our Generall according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gaue him skins of Chamois, others little baskets made of Palme leaues, some presented him with Pearles, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbour to defend vs in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne. But wee would not stay as then. Wherefore the Captaine thanked them much for their good will, and gaue presents to each of them: wherewith hee pleased them so well before hee went thence, that his suddaine departure was nothing pleasant vnto them. For knowing him to bee so liberall, they would haue wished him to haue stayed a little longer, seeking by all meanes to giue him occasion to stay, shewing him by signes that he should stay but that day onely, and that they desired to aduertise a great Indian Lorde which had Pearles in great abundance, and Siluer also, all which things should bee giuen vnto him at the Kings arriuall: saying further that in the meane time while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and shewe him there a thousand pleasures in shooting, and seeing the Stagge killed, therefore they prayed him not to denie them their request. Notwithstanding wee returned to our shippes, where after wee had bene but one night, the Captaine in the morning commanded to put into the Pinnesse a pillar of hard stone fashioned like a columne, wherein the Armes of the king of France were grauen, to plant the same in the fairest place that he could finde. This done, wee imbarked our selues, and sayled three leagues towards the West: where we discouered a little riuer, vp which we sayled so long, that in the ende we found it

Fish in abundance.

The Riuer 3. leagues at the mouth.

A passage by a riuer into the Sea.

Store of rare simples.

Ribault saileth 12. leagues vp the Riuer.

Cape Lucerne.

Chamoise. Pearles.

Store of pearles and siluer.

returned into the great current, and in his returne to make a litle Iland separated from the firme land, where wee went on shore: and by commandement of the Captaine, because it was exceeding faire and pleasant, there wee planted the Pillar vpon a hillock open round about to the view, and inuironed with a lake halfe a fathom deepe of very good and sweete water. In which Iland wee sawe two Stagges of exceeding bignesse, in respect of those which we had seene before, which we might easily haue killed with our harguebuzes, if the Captaine had not forbidden vs, mooued with the singular fairenesse and bignesse of them. But before our departure we named the little riuer which enuironed this Ile, The Riuer of Liborne. Afterward we imbarked our selues to search another Ile not farre distant from the former: wherein after wee had gone a land, wee found nothing but tall Cedars, the fairest that were seene in this Countrey. For this cause wee called it The Ile of Cedars: so wee returned into our Pinnesse to go towards our shippes.

A Pillar of free stone wherein the Armes of France were grauen, set vp in an Iland in the riuer of Port Royal.

The riuer of Liborne.

The Ile of Cedars.

A few dayes afterward Iohn Ribault determined to returne once againe toward the Indians which inhabited that arme of the Riuer which runneth toward the West, and to carrie with him good store of souldiers. For his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queene had commaunded him. With this deliberation againe wee tooke our former course so farre foorth, that at the last wee came to the selfe same place where at the first we found the Indians, from thence we tooke two Indians by the permission of the king, which thinking that they were more fauoured thē the rest, thought themselues very happy to stay with vs. But these two Indians seeing we made no shew at all that we would goe on land, but rather that wee followed the middest of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would by force haue lept into the water, for they are so good swimmers that immediatly they would haue gotten into the forestes. Neuerthelesse being acquainted with their humour, wee watched them narrowly and sought by all meanes to appease them: which we could not by any meanes do for that time, though we offered them things which they much esteemed, which things they disdained to take, and gaue backe againe whatsoeuer was giuen them, thinking that such giftes should haue altogether bound them, and that in restoring them they should be restored vnto their libertie. In fine, perceiuing that all that they did auayled them nothing, they prayed vs to giue them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent: then they approched one toward the other and began to sing, agreeing so sweetely together, that in hearing their song it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friendes. They continued their songs all night without ceasing: all which time we were constrained to ly at anker by reason of the tyde that was against vs, but we hoysed sayle the next day very earely in the morning, and returned to our ships. Assoone as we were come to our ships, euery one sought to gratifie these 2 Indians, & to shew them the best countenance that was possible: to the intent that by such courtesies they might perceiue the good desire and affection which we had to remaine their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meate to eate, but they refused it, and made vs vnderstand that they were accustomed to wash their face and to stay vntill the Sunne were set before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France. Neuerthelesse in the end they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselues to our nature, which was somewhat strange vnto them at the first. They became therefore more iocunde, euery houre made vs a 1000 discourses, being merueilous sory that we could not vnderstand them. A few daies after they began to beare so good wil towards mee, that, as I thinke, they would rather haue perished with hunger & thirst, then haue taken their refection at any mans hand but mine. Seeing this their good wil, I sought to learne some Indian words, & began to aske them questions, shewing thē the thing whereof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me, and knowing the desire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aske them euery thing. So that putting downe in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to vnderstand the greatest part of their discourses. Euery day they did nothing but speak vnto me of the desire that they had to vse me wel, if we returned vnto their houses, and cause me to receiue all the pleasures that they could deuise, aswell in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious cere-

Two Indians taken away.

The dolefull songs of the Indians.

The Indians eat not before the sun be set.

Laudonniers putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indians speech.

monies

The feast of Toya.

This seemeth to be La grand Copal.

The 2 Indians escape away.

The benefite of planting.

monies at a certaine feast which they call Toya. Which feast they obserue as straightly as we obserue the Sunday. They gaue me to vnderstand, that they would bring me to see the greatest Lord of this countrey which they called Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they tolde me) a good foote and a halfe. They said vnto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and inclosed exceeding high, but I could not learne wherewith. And as farre as I can iudge, this place whereof they spake vnto me, was a very faire citie. For they said vnto me that within the inclosure there was great store of houses which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like vnto themselues, which made none account of gold, of siluer, nor of pearles, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to shew thē al the parts of heauē, to the intent to learne in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway one of them stretching out his hand shewed me ẏ they dwelt toward the North, which makes me thinke that it was the riuer of Iordan. And now I remember, that in the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift, certaine Spaniards inhabitants of S. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certaine slaues to work in their mines) stole away by subtilty the inhabitants of this riuer, to the number of 40, thinking to cary thē into their New Spaine. But they lost their labour: for in despite they died al for hunger, sauing one that was brought to the Emperor, which a litle while after he caused to be baptised, and gaue him his own name & called him Charles of Chiquola, because he spake so much of this Lorde of Chiquola whose subiect hee was. Also, he reported continually, that Chiquola made his abode within a very great inclosed citie. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage haue certified me, that the Indians shewed thē by euident signes, that farther within the land toward the North, there was a great inclosure or city, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had staied a while in our ships, they began to be sory, and stil demanded of me whē they should returne. I made them vnderstand that the Captaines will was to send them home againe, but that first he would bestow apparell of them, which fewe dayes after was deliuered vnto them. But seeing he would not giue them licence to depart, they resolued with themselues to steale away by night, and to get a litle boat which we had, and by the help of the tyde to saile home toward their dwellings, and by this meanes to saue themselues. Which thing they failed not to doe, and put their enterprize in execution, yet leauing behinde them the apparel which the Captaine had giuen them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their owne, shewing well hereby that they were not void of reason. The Captaine cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not bene vsed otherwise then well: and that therefore they woulde not estrange themselues from the Frenchmen. Captaine Ribault therefore knowing the singular fairenes of this riuer, desired by all meanes to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the Kings seruice, and the reliefe of the Common wealth of France. Therfore proceeding on with his intent, he commanded the ankers to bee weighed and to set things in order to returne vnto the opening of the riuer, to the ende that if the winde came faire he might passe out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the riuer, he made them cast anker, whereupon we stayed without discouering any thing all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come vp vpon the decke, saying that he had somewhat to say vnto them. They all came vp, and immediatly the Captaine began to speake vnto them in this maner.

The Oration of Iohn Ribault to his companie.

I thinke there is none of you that is ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprize is, and also how acceptable it is vnto our yong King. Therefore my friendes (as one desiring your honour and benefite) I would not faile to aduertise you all of the exceeding good happe which should fall to them, which, as men of valure and worthy courage, would make tryall in this our first discouerie of the benefits and commodities of this new land: which should be, as I assure my selfe, the greatest occasion that euer could happen vnto them, to arise vnto the title and degree of honour. And for this cause I was desirous to propose vnto you and set downe before your eyes the eternall memorie which of right they deserue, which forgetting both their parents and their countrey haue had the courage to enterprize a thing of such importance, which euen kings themselues vnderstanding to be men aspiring to so high degree of magnanimitie and increase of their maiesties, doe not disdaine so wel to regard, that afterwards imploying them in maters of weight & of high enterprize, they make their names immortall for euer. Howbeit, I would not haue you perswade your selues, as many doe, that you shall neuer haue such good fortune, as not being knowen neither to the king nor the Princes of the Realme, and besides descending of so poore a stocke, that few or none of your parents, hauing euer made profession of armes, haue bene knowen vnto the great estates. For albeit that from my tender yeeres I my selfe haue applyed all my industry to follow them, and haue hazarded my life in so many dangers for the seruice of my prince, yet could I neuer attaine therunto (not that I did not deserue this title and degree of gouernment) as I haue seene it happen to many others, onely because they descende of a noble race, since more regard is had of their birth then of their vertue. For wel I know that if vertue were regarded, ther would more be found worthy to deserue the title, & by good right to be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make sufficient answere to such propositions and such things as you may obiect against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we haue of the Romans; which concerning the point of honour were the first that triumphed ouer the world. For how many finde we among them, which for their so valiant enterprizes, not for the greatnesse of their parentage, haue obtained the honour to tryumph? If we haue recourse vnto their ancesters, wee shall finde that their parents were of so meane condition, that by labouring with their hands they liued very basely. As the father of Ælius Pertinax, which was a poore artisan, his Grandfather likewise was a bond man, as the historiographers do witnes: and neuerthelesse, being moued with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire vnto high things, he began with a braue stomacke to learne feates of armes, and profited so wel therein, that from step to step he became at length to be Emperour of the Romans. For all this dignitie he despised not his parents: but contrariwise, & in remembrance of them, he caused his fathers shop to be couered with a fine wrought marble, to serue for an example to mē descended of base & poore linages, to giue them occasion to aspire vnto high things notwithstanding the meannesse of their ancesters. I wil not passe ouer in silence the excellencie & prowesse of the valiant and renowned Agathocles the sonne of a simple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himselfe to vertue in his tender yeeres, that by the fauour of armes he came to be king of Sicilie: and for all this title he refused not to be counted the sonne of a Potter. But the more to eternize the memorie of his parentes and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be serued at the Table in vessels of gold and siluer and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignitie wherein hee was placed came not vnto him by his parents, but by his owne vertue onely. If I shal speake of our time, I will lay before you onely Rusten Bassha, which may be a sufficient example to all men: which though he were the sonne of a poore heard-man, did so apply his youth in all vertue, that being brought vp in the seruice of the great Turke, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort that growing in yeres he increased also in courage, so far forth, that in fine for his excellent vertues he married the daughter of the great Turke his Prince. Howe much then ought so many worthy examples to moue you to plant here? Considering also that hereby you shalbe registred for euer as the first that inhabited this strang countrey. I pray you therfore all to aduise your selues thereof, and to declare your mindes freely vnto mee, protesting that I will so well imprint your names in the kings eares, and the other princes, that your renowme shall hereafter shine vnquenchable through our Realme of France. He had scarcely ended his Oration, but the greatest part of our souldiers replyed: that a greater pleasure could neuer betide them, perceiuing well the acceptable seruice which by this meanes they shoulde doe vnto their Prince: besides that this thing should be for the increase of their honours: therfore they besought the Captaine, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a Fort, which they hoped afterward to finish, and to leaue them munition necessarie for their defence, shewing as it seemed that they were displeased, that it was so long in doing. Wherevpon Iohn Ribault being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined the next day to search the most fit and conueient place to

Ælius Pertinax descending from base parentage became Emperour of Rome.

Agathocles a potters sonne became king of Sicilie.

Rusten Bassha of an heardmans sonne through his valure became the great Turkes sonne in law.

The souldiers answere to Ribaults Oration.

be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himselfe very earely in the morning and commanded them to followe him that were desirous to inhabite there, to the intent that they might like the beter of the place. Hauing sayled vp the great riuer on the North side, in coasting an Isle which ended with a sharpe point toward the mouth of the riuer, hauing sailed a while, he discouered a small riuer, which entred into the Islande, which hee would not faile to search out. Which done, & finding the same deep inough to harbour therein Gallies and Galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, ioyning vpon the brinke thereof, where he went on land, and seeing the place fit to build a Fortresse in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolued incontinent to cause the bignes of the fortification to be measured out. And considering that there stayed but sixe and twentie there, he caused the Fort to be made in length but sixteene fathome, and thirteene in breadth, with flankes according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captaine Salles, we sent vnto the shippes for men, and to bring shouels, pickaxes and other instruments necessarie to make the fortification. We trauailed so diligently, that in a short space the Fort was made in some sort defenciable. In which meane time Iohn Ribault caused victuals and warrelike munition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had neede of, he determined to take his leaue of them. But before his departure he vsed this speech vnto Captaine Albert, which he left in this place.

The length and bredth of the Fort taken by Laudonnier and Captaine Salles.

A Fort built in Port Roial by Ribault.

Ribaults speech to Captaine Albert.

His speech to the souldiers.

Captaine Albert, I haue to request you in the presence of al these men, that you would quit yourselfe so wisely in your charge, and gouerne so modestly your small companie which I leaue you, which with so good cheere remaineth vnder your obedience, that I neuer haue occasion but to commend you, and to recount vnto the king (as I am desirous) the faithfull seruice which before vs all you vndertake to doe him in his new France: And you companions, (quoth he to the Souldiers) I beseech you also to esteeme of Captaine Albert as if hee were myselfe that stayed here with you, yeelding him that obedience which a true souldier oweth vnto his Generall and Captaine, liuing as brethren one with another, without all dissention: and in so doing God wil assist you and blesse your enterprises. Hauing ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaues of each of them, and sayled toward our shippes, calling the Forte by the name of Charles-fort, and the Riuer by the name Chenonceau. The next day wee determined to depart from this place being as well contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our busines, with good hope, if occasion would permitte, to discouer perfectly the riuer of Iordan. For this cause we hoysed our sayles about ten of the clocke in the morning: after wee were ready to depart Captain Ribault commanded to shoote off our Ordinance to giue a farewel vnto our Frenchmen, which failed not to doe the like on their part. This being done wee sailed toward the North: and then we named this riuer Porte Royal, because of the largenes and excellent fairenes of the same. After that we had sailed about 15 leagues from thence, we espied a riuer, whereupon wee sent our pinnesse thither to discouer it. At their return they brought vs word that they found not past halfe a fathom water in the mouth thereof. Which whē we vnderstood, without doing any thing els, we continued our way, and called it the Base or Shallow riuer. As we stil went on sounding we found not past fiue or sixe fathome water, although we were sixe good leagues from the shoare: at length we found not past three fathomes, which gaue vs occasion greatly to muse. And without making any farther way we strook our sayles, partly because we wanted water, & partly because the night approched: during which time Captaine Iohn Ribault bethought with himselfe whether it were best for him to passe any farther, because of the eminent dangers which euery houre we saw before our eyes: or whither he should content himselfe with that which he had certainely discouered, & also left men to inhabite the countrey. Being not able for that time to resolue with himselfe, he referred it vntill the next day. The morning being come he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that with good aduisement euery man might deliuer his opinion. Some made answere that according to their iudgement he had occasion fully to content himselfe, considering that he could doe no more: laying before his eyes, that he had discouered more in sixe weekes, then

The aforesaide Fort was called Charles-fort.

Port Royall.

The riuer Base, 15 leagues Northwards of Port Royall.

Shallow water.

then the Spaniards had done in two yeres in the conquest of their New Spaine: and that he should do the king very great seruice, if he did bring him newes in so short a time of his happy discouerie. Other shewed vnto him the losse and spoile of his victuals, and on the other side the inconuenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated we resolued to leaue the coast forsaking the North, to take our way toward the East, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arriued the twentieth day of Iuly the yere 1562.

Their arriuall in France 1562. the 20 of Iuly.

The state and condition of those which were left behind in Charles-fort.

OUr men after our departure neuer rested, but night and day did fortifie themselues being in good hope that after their fort was finished, they would begin to discouer farther vp within the riuer. It happened one day, as certaine of them were in cutting of rootes in the groues, that they espied on the sudden an Indian that hunted the Deere, which finding himselfe so neere vpon them, was much dismayed, but our men began to draw neere vnto him, and to vse him so courteously, that he became assured and followed them to Charles-fort, where euery man sought to doe him pleasure. Captaine Albert was very ioyfull of his comming, which after he had giuen him a shirt and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling: the Indian answered him that it was farther vp within the riuer, and that he was vassal of king Audusta: he also shewed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talke the Indian desired leaue to depart, because it drew toward night, which Captaine Albert granted him very willingly. Certaine dayes after the Captaine determined to saile toward Audusta, where being arriued, by reason of the honest entertaynment which he had giuen to the Indian, he was so courteously receiued, that the king talked with him of nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his friend: giuing him besides to vnderstand that he being his friend and allie, he should haue the amitie of foure other kings, which in might & authoritie were able to do much for his sake: Besides all this, in his necessitie they might be able to succour him with victuals. One of these kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppa, and the fourth Stalame. He told him moreouer, that they would be very glad, when they should vnderstand the newes of his comming, and therefore he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The Captaine willingly consented vnto him, for the desire that he had to purchase friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very earely, and first arriued at the house of king Touppa, and afterward went into the other kings houses except the house of king Stalame. He receiued of each of them all the amiable courtesies that might be: they shewed themselues to be as affectioned friends vnto him as was possible, and offered vnto him a thousand small presents. After that he had remained by the space of certaine daies with these strange kings he determined to take his leaue: and being come backe to the house of Audusta, he commanded al his men to goe aboord their Pinnesse: for he was minded to goe towardes the countrey of king Stalame, which dwelt toward the North the distance of 15 great leagues from Charles-fort. Therefore as they sailed vp the riuer they entred into a great current, which they followed so farre till they came at the last to the house of Stalame: which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheere he could deuise. He presented immediatly vnto Captaine Albert his bow and arrowes, which is a signe and confirmation of alliance betweene them. He presented him with Chamoys skinnes. The Captaine seeing the best part of the day was now past, tooke his leaue of king Stalame to return to Charles-fort, where hee arriued the day following. By this time the friendship was growne so great betweene our men and king Audusta, that in a manner all things were common betweene him and them: in such sort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew neere of the celebrating their feasts of Toya, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent Ambassadours to our men to request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly for the desire that they had to vnderstand what this might be. They imbarked themselues therefore and sailed towards the kings house, which was already come forth on the way to-

King Audusta.

Note.

Mayon.
Hoya.
Touppa.
Stalame.

The countrey of king Stalame 15 leagues Northward of Charles fort.

Chamoys skinnes.

The feast of Toya largely described.

The Indians trimming of themselues with rich feathers.

Iawas are their Priestes.

Magicians.

Physitions.

Inuocations of the Iawas or Priests vnto Toya.

wards thē, to receiue them courteously, to bid them welcome & bring them to his house, where he sought to intreat them the best he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themselues to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept: where they saw many women round about, which laboured by al meanes to make the place cleane & neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of diuers colours, put themselues on the way to go frō the kings house toward the place of Toya: whereunto when they were come they set themselues in order, & followed three Indians, which in painting and in gesture were differing from the rest: each of them bare a Tabret in their hand, dancing & singing in a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the middest of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned 3 times, they fel on running like vnbridled horses, through the middest of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in teares as sad & woful as was possible: & in such rage they cut the armes of the yong girles, which they lanced so cruelly with sharpe shels of Muskles that the blood followed which they flang into the ayre, crying out three times, He Toya. The king Audusta had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seene in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding one of our men made such shift that by subtile meanes he gatte out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himselfe behinde a very thicke bush, where at his pleasure, he might easily discry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began the feast are named Iawas: and they are as it were three Priestes of the Indian law: to whom they giue credite and beliefe partly because that by kinred they are ordained to be ouer their Sacrifices, and partly also because they be so subtile magicians that any thing that is lost is straightway recouered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reuerenced for these things, but also because they heale diseases by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and skill they haue. Those that ran so through the woodes returned two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cherefull courage in the middest of the faire place, and to cheere vp their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reason of their too great age, or by reason of their naturall indisposition and feeblenesse were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell on eating with such a greedinesse, that they seemed rather to deuoure their meate then to eate it, for they had neither eaten nor drunke the day of the feast, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians sent for them all thither, shewing themselues very glad of their presence. While they remained certaine time with the Indians, a man of ours got a yong boy for certaine trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their absence: which boy made him vnderstand by signes, that the Iawas had made inuocations to Toya, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might speake with him and demand diuers strange things of him, which for feare of the Iawas he durst not vtter. They haue also many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse for feare of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance.

Their victuals fayle them.

The Indians manner of liuing in the Winter time of Mast and rootes.

King Couexis mightie and renowmed.

When the feast therefore was finished our men returned vnto Charles-fort: where hauing remained but a while their victualles beganne to waxe short, which forced them to haue recourse vnto their neighbours, and to pray them to succour them in their necessitie: which gaue them part of all the victualles which they had, and kept no more vnto themselues then would serue to sow their fieldes. They tolde them farther that for this cause it was needefull for them to retire themselues into the woods, to liue of Mast and rootes vntill the time of haruest, being as sory as might be that they were not able any farther to ayde them. They gaue them also counsell to goe toward the countreys of King Couexis a man of might and renowme in this prouince, which maketh his aboad toward the South abounding at all seasons and replenished with such quantitie of mill, corne, and beanes that by his onely succour they might be able to liue a very long time. But before they should come into his territories, they were to repayre vnto a king called Ouade the brother of Couexis, which in mill, beanes, and corne was no lesse wealthy, and withall is very liberall, and which would be very ioyfull if he might but once see them. Our men perceiuing the good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings resolued to go thither; for they felt already the necessity which oppressed them. Therefore they made request vnto king Maccou, that it would please him to giue them one of his subiects to guide thē the right way thither: wherupon he condescended very willingly, knowing that without his fauour they should haue much ado to bring their interprize to passe. Wherefore after they had giuen order for all things necessary for the voyage, they put themselues to Sea, and sayled so farre that in the end they came into the countrey of Ouade, which they found to be in the riuer Belle. Being there arriued they perceiued a company of Indians, which assoone as they knew of their being there came before them. Assoone as they were come neere them, their guides shewed them by signes that Ouade was in this company, wherefore our men set forward to salute him. And then two of his sonnes which were with him, being goodly and strong men saluted them againe in very good sort, and vsed very friendly entertainment on their part. The king immediatly began to make an Oration in his Indian language of the great pleasure and contentment which he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyall a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithfull defendour against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches he led them toward his house, where he sought to entreate them very courteously. His house was hanged about with Tapistrie of feathers of diuers colours the height of a pike. Moreouer the place where the king tooke his rest was couered with white Couerlettes embroydered with deuises of very wittie and fine workemanship, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of Skarlet. They aduertised the king by one of the guides which they brought with them, how that (hauing heard of his great liberalitie) they had put to the Sea to come to beseech him to succour them with victuals in their great want and necessitie: and that in so doing, he should binde them all hereafter to remaine his faithfull friends and loyall defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian assoone ready to doe them pleasure, as they were to demand it, commanded his subiects that they should fill our Pinnesse with mil and beanes. Afterward he caused them to bring him sixe pieces of his Tapistry made like litle couerlets, & gaue them to our men with so liberal a minde, as they easily perceiued the desire which he had to become their friend. In recompence of all these giftes our men gaue him two cutting hookes and certaine other trifles, wherewith he held himselfe greatly satisfied. This being done, our men tooke their leaue of the king, which for their farewell, sayd nothing els but that they should returne if they wanted victuals, & that they might assure themselues of him, that they should neuer want any thing that was in his power. Wherefore they imbarked themselues, and sayled towards Charles-fort, which from this place might be some fiue and twenty leagues distant. But as soone as our men thought themselues at their ease, & free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselues night and day in gathering together of victuals here and there: Lo, euen as they were asleepe, the fire caught in their lodgings with such furie, being increased by the winde, that the roome that was built for them before our mens departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to saue any thing, sauing a little of their victualles. Whereupon our men being farre from all succours, found themselues in such extremitie, that without the ayd of Almighty God, the onely searcher of the hearts and thoughts of men, which neuer forsaketh those that seeke him in their afflictions, they had bene quite and cleane out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audusta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing the misfortune, were very sory for it. And then they vttered vnto their subiects the speedy diligence which they were to vse in building another house, shewing vnto them that the Frenchmen were their louing friends, & that they had made it euident vnto them by the gifts and presents which they had receiued: protesting that whosoeuer

King Ouade.

King Maccou.

Ouades countrey in the riuer Belle.

Tapistrie of feathers.

White couerlets edged with red fringe.

The liberalitie of king Ouade.

Ouades countrey twenty-fiue leagues Southward from Charles fort.

The fort set on fire by casualtie.

The fort reedified by the Sauages in the space of 12 houres.

euer put not his helping hand vnto the worke with all his might, should be esteemed as vnprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Sauages feare aboue all things. This was the occasion that euery man began to endeuour himselfe in such sort, that in lesse then 12 houres, they had begun and finished a house which was very neere as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hookes, and hatchets, which they receiued of our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victuals began to waxe short: and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselues againe, they found that there was no better way for them then to returne againe to the king Ouade and Couexis his brother. Wherefore they resolued to send thither some of their company the next day following: which with an Indian Canoa sayled vp into the countrey about 10 leagues: afterward they found a very faire & great riuer of fresh water, which they failed not to search out: they found therein a great number of Crocodils, which in greatnes passe those of the riuer Nilus: moreouer, al along the bankes thereof, there grow mighty high Cypresses. After they had stayed a smal while in this place, they purposed to follow their iourney, helping thẽselues so wel with the tydes, that without putting themselues in danger of the continuall perill of the Sea, they came into the countrey of Ouade: of whom they were most courteously receiued. They aduertised him of the occasion wherefore they came againe to visite him, and told him of the mischance, which happened vnto them since their last voyages: how they had not onely lost their houshold stuffe by casualtie of fire, but also their victuals which he had giuen them so bountifully: that for this cause they were so bolde as to come once againe vnto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succour them in such neede and necessitie.

Crocodiles.
Cypresses.
Their second iourney to the countrey of Ouade.

After that the King had vnderstood their case, he sent messengers vnto his brother Couexis, to request him vpon his behalfe to send him some of his mill and beanes, which thing he did: and the next morning, they were come againe with victuals, which the king caused to be borne into their Canoa. Our men would haue taken their leaue of him, finding themselues more then satisfied with this liberalitie. But for that day hee would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheere hee could deuise. The next day very earely in the morning, he tooke them with him to shewe them the place where his corne grewe, and saide vnto them that they should not want as long as all that mil did last. Afterward he gaue them a certaine number of exceeding faire pearles, & two stones of fine Christal, and certaine siluer oare. Our men forgot not to giue him certaine trifles in recompence of these presentes, and required of him the place whence the siluer oare and the Christall came. He made them answere, that it came ten dayes iourney from his habitation vp within the countrey: and that the inhabitants of the countrey did dig the same at the foote of certaine high mountaines, where they found of it in very good quantitie. Being ioyfull to vnderstand so good newes, and to haue come to the knowledge of that which they most desired, they tooke their leaue of the king, and returned by the same saw, by which they came.

Exceeding faire pearles, fine Christall, siluer ore.
The place where christall groweth in very good quantitie ten dayes iourney from the riuer Belle.
Note.

Behold therefore how our men behaued themselues very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune or rather the iust iudgement of God would haue it, that those which could not bee ouercome by fire nor water, should be vndone by their owne selues. This is the common fashion of men, which cannot continue in one state, and had rather to ouerthrow themselues, then not to attempt some new thing dayly. We haue infinite examples in the ancient histories, especially of the Romanes, vnto which number this litle handfull of men, being farre from theyr countrey and absent from their countreymen, haue also added this present example. They entred therefore into partialities and dissentions, which began about a souldier named Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands: which, as it was told me, was very cruelly hanged by his owne captaine, and for a smal fault: which captaine also vsing to threaten the rest of his souldiers which staied behind vnder his obedience, and peraduenture (as it is to be presumed) were not so obedient to him as they should haue bene, was the cause that they fell into a mutinie, because that many times he put his threatnings in execution: whervpon they so chased him, that

Mutiny against the captaine, and the causes thereof.

at the last they put him to death. And the principall occasion that mooued them thereunto was, because he degraded another souldier named La Chere (which he had banished) and because he had not performed his promise: for hee had promised to send him victuals, from 8 dayes to 8 dayes, which thing he did not, but said on the contrary, that he would be glad to heare of his death. He said moreouer, that he would chastise others also, & vsed so euil sounding speeches, that honestie forbiddeth me to repeat thē. The souldiers seeing his madnes to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolued to kil him. Hauing executed their purpose, they went to seeke the souldier that was banished, which was in a small Island distant frō Charles-fort about 3 leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home againe, they assembled themselues together to choose one to be gouernour ouer them whose name was Nicolas Barre a man worthy of commendation, and one which knewe so well to quite himselfe of his charge, that all rancour and dissention ceased among them, and they liued peaceably one with another. During this time, they began to build a smal Pinnesse, with hope to return into France, if no succours came vnto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding necessitie, which is the maistresse of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished, they thought of nothing else sauing how to furnish it with all things necessarie to vndertake the voyage. But they wanted those things that of all other were most needefull, as cordage and sayles, without which the enterprise coulde not come to effect. Hauing no meanes to recouer these things, they were in worse case then at the first, and almost ready to fall into despayre. But that good God, which neuer forsaketh the afflicted, did succour them in their necessitie.

Captaine Albert slaine by his owne souldiers.

Nicolas Barre, chosen captain.

A new Brigandine built in Florida.

As they were in these perplexities, king Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and shewed the king in what neede of cordage they stood: who promised them to returne within two dayes, and to bring so much as should suffice to furnish the Pinnesse with tackling. Our men being pleased with these good newes & promises, bestowed vpon them certaine cutting hookes and shirtes. After their departure our men sought all meanes to recouer rosen in the woodes, wherein they cut the Pine trees round about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantitie to bray the vessell. Also they gathered a kind of mosse which groweth on the trees of this countrey, to serue to calke the same withall. There now wanted nothing but sayles, which they made of their owne shirtes and of their sheetes. Within few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small Pinnesse. Onr men as glad as might be, vsed great liberalitie towards them, and at their leauing of the countrey, left them all the marchandise that remained, leauing them thereby so fully satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation of the worlde. They went forward therefore to finish the Brigandine, & vsed so speedie diligence, that within a short time afterward they made it ready furnished with all things. In the meane season the winde came so fit for their purpose that it seemed to inuite them to put to the Sea: which they did without delay, after they had set all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillerie, their forge, and other munitions of warre which Captaine Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with the too excessiue ioy, which they had conceiued for their returning into France, or rather depriued of all foresight & consideration, without regarding the inconstancie of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themselues to sea, and with so slender victuals, that the end of their interprise became vnluckly and vnfortunate.

Rosen to bray ships.

Mosse to calke ships.

Cordage for tackle.

They put to the sea without sufficient victuals.

For after they had sayled the third part of their way, they were surprized with calmes which did so much hinder them, that in three weekes they sailed not aboue fiue and twentie leagues. During this time their victuals consumed, and became so short, that euery man was constrained to eate not past twelue graines of mill by the day, which may be in value

Their victuals vtterly consumed.

They drinke their vrine for want of fresh water.

Extreme famine.

as much as twelue peason. Yea, and this felicitie lasted not long: for their victuals failed them altogether at once: and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shooes and leather ierkins which they did eat. Touching their beuerage, some of them dranke the sea water, others did drink their owne vrine: and they remained in such desperate necessitie a very long space, during the which part of them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine, which did so grieuously oppresse them, they fell euery minute of an houre out of all hope euer to see France againe, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that on al sides entred into their Barke. And euery day they fared worse and worse: for after they had eaten vp their shooes and their leather ierkins, there arose so boystrous a winde and so contrary to their course, that in the turning of a hande, the waues filled their vessel halfe full of water and brused it vpon the one side. Being now more out of hope thē euer to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for casting out of the water which now was almost ready to drowne them. And as men resolued to die, euery one fell downe backewarde, and gaue themselues ouer altogether vnto the will of the waues. When as one of them a little hauing taken heart vnto him declared vnto them how litle way they had to sayle, assuring them, that if the winde held, they should see land within three dayes. This man did so encourage them, that after they had throwne the water out of the Pinnesse they remained three dayes without eating or drinking, except it were of the sea water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled then they were before, seeing they could not discry any land. Wherefore in this extreme dispaire certaine among them made this motion that it was better that one man should dye, then that so many men should perish: they agreed therefore that one should die to sustaine the others. Which thing was executed in the person of La Chere, of whom we haue spoken heretofore, whose flesh was diuided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitiful to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

The French succoured by an English Barke.

It seemeth hee meaneth the voyage intended by Stukely.

After so long time and tedious trauels, God of his goodnesse vsing his accustomed favour, changed their sorow into ioy, and shewed vnto them the sight of land. Whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remaine a long time as men without sence: whereby they let the Pinnesse flote this and that way without holding any right way or course. But a small English barke boarded the vessell, in the which there was a Frenchman which had bene in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew them, and spake vnto them, and afterward gaue them meat and drinke. Incontinently they recouered their naturall courages, and declared vnto him at large all their nauigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what were best to be done, and in fine they resolued to put on land those that were most feeble, and to cary the rest vnto the Queene of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus you see in briefe that which happened to them which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida. And now will I go forward with the discourse of mine owne voyage.

The second voyage vnto Florida, made and written by Captaine Laudonniere, which fortified and inhabited there two Summers and one whole Winter.

The ciuill warres the cause why the Frenchmen were not supplied, which were left behinde in their first voyage.

AFter our arriuall at Diepe, at our comming home, from our first voyage (which was the twentieth of Iuly 1562) we found the ciuil warres begun, which was in part the cause why our men were not succoured, as Captaine Iohn Ribault had promised them: whereof it followed that Captaine Albert was killed by his souldiers, and the country abandoned, as heretofore we haue sufficiently discoursed, and as it may more at large be vnderstood by those men which were there in person. After the peace was made in France, my Lord Admiral De Chastillon shewed vnto the king, that he heard no newes at all of the men which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida, & that it were pity to suffer them to perish. In which respect, the king was content he should cause 3 ships to be furnished, the one of sixe score tunnes, the other of 100, and the third of 60, to seeke them out, and to succour them.

My Lord Admirall therefore being well informed of the faithfull seruice which I had done, aswell vnto his Maiestie as to his predecessors kings of France, aduertised the king how able

I was to doe him seruice in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me chiefe Captaine ouer these 3 shippes, and charged me to depart with diligence to performe his commandement, which for mine owne part I would not gainesay, but rather thinking my selfe happy to haue bene chosen out among such an infinite number of others, which in my iudgement were very well able to haue quitted themselues in this charge, I embarked my selfe at New Hauen the 22 of Aprill 1564, and sayled so, that we fell neere vnto the coast of England: and then I turned towards the South, to sayle directly to the fortunate Islands, at this present called the Canaries, one of which called the Isle Saluage (because as I thinke it is altogether without inhabitants) was the first that our ships passed. Sayling therefore on forward, we landed the next day in the Isle of Teneriffa, otherwise called the Pike, because that in the middest thereof there is an exceeding high mountaine, neere as high as that of Etna, which riseth vp like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go vp but from the middest of May vntill the middest of August, by reason of the ouer great colde which is there all the yere: which is a wonderfull strange thing, considering that it is not past 27 degrees and an half distant from the Equator. We saw it all couered ouer with snow, although it were then but the fift of May. The inhabitants in this Isle being heretofore pursued by the Spaniards, retired themselues into this mountaine, where for a space they made warre with them, and would not submit themselues to their obedience, neither by foule nor faire meanes, they disdained so much the losse of their Island. For those which went thither on the Spaniards behalfe, left their carkases there, so that not so much as one of them returned home to bring newes. Notwithstanding in the ende, the inhabitants not able to liue in that place according to their nature, or for want of such things as were necessary for the commoditie of their liuelyhood, did all die there. After I had furnished my selfe with some fresh water, very good and excellent, which sprang out of a rocke at the foote of this mountaine, I continued my course toward the West, wherein the windes fauoured me so well, that 15 dayes after our ships arriued safe and sound at the Antilles: and going on land at the Isle of Martinino, one of the first of them, the next day we arriued at Dominica, twelue leagues distant from the former.

Laudonniers second voyage to Florida, with three ships the 22 of Aprill 1564.

The Isle of Teneriffa, or the Pike.

The Isle of Martinino.

Dominica an Island.

Dominica is one of the fayrest Islands of the West, full of hilles, and of very good smell. Whose singularities desiring to know as we passed, and seeking also to refresh our selues with fresh water, I made the Mariners cast anker, after wee had sayled about halfe along the coast thereof. As soone as we had cast anker, two Indians (inhabitants of that place) sayled toward vs in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call Ananas. As they approched vnto our Barke, there was one of them which being in some misdoubt of vs, went backe againe on land, and fled his way with as much speede as he could possibly. Which our men perceiued and entred with diligence into the other Canoa, wherein they caught the poore Indian, & brought him vnto me. But the poore fellow became so astonied in beholding vs, that he knew not which way to behaue himselfe, because that (as afterward I vnderstood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniards hands, of whom he had bene taken once before, and which, as he shewed vs, had cut of his stones. At length this poore Indian was secure of vs, and discoursed vnto vs of many things, wherof we receiued very small pleasure, because we vnderstood not his minde but by his signes. Then he desired me to giue him leaue to depart, and promised me that he would bring me a thousand presents, whereunto I agreed on condition that he would haue patience vntill the next day, when I purposed to goe on land, where I suffered him to depart, after I had giuen him a shirte, and certaine small trifles, wherwith he departed very well contented from vs.

Ananas a fruite of great excellencie.

The place where we went on shore was hard by a very high Rocke, out of which there ran a litle riuer of sweet and excellent good water: by which riuer we stayed certaine dayes to discouer the things which were worthy to be seene, and traffiqued dayly with the Indians: which aboue all things besought vs that none of our men should come neere their lodgings nor their gardens, otherwise that we should giue them great cause of ielousie, and that in so doing, wee should not want of their fruite which they call Ananas, whereof they offered vs very liberally, receiuing in recompence certaine things of small value. This notwithstanding, it happened on a day that certaine of our men desirous to see some new things in these strange countries, walked through the woods: and following still the litle riuers side, they spied two serpents of exceeding bignes, which went side by side ouerthwart the way. My souldiers went before them thinking to let them from going into the woods: but the serpents nothing at all astonied at these gestures glanced into the bushes with fearful hyssings: yet for all that, my men drew their swords and killed them, and found them afterward 9 great foote long, and as big as a mans leg. During this combate, certaine others more vndiscreete went and gathered their Ananas in the Indians gardens, trampling through them without any descretion: and not therewithall contented they wēt toward their dwellings; whereat the Indians were so much offended, that without regarding any thing they rushed vpon them and discharged their shot, so that they hit one of my men named Martine Chaueau, which remained behind. We could not know whether hee were killed on the place, or whether he were taken prisoner: for those of his company had inough to doe to saue themselues without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieuetenant being aduertised, sent vnto me to know whether I thought good that he should lay an ambush for the Indians which had either taken or killed our man, or whether hee should go directly to their dwellings to know the trueth. I sent vnto him after good deliberation herevpon, that he should not attempt any thing, and that for diuers occasions: but contrariwise that he should embarke himself with al diligence, & consequently al they that were on land: which he did with speed. But as he sayled towards our ships he perceiued along the shore a great number of Indians which began to charge them with their arrowes: hee for his part discharged store of shot against them, yet was not able to hurt them, or by any meanes to surprise them: for which cause he quite forsooke them, and came vnto our ship. Where staying vntill the next day morning we set sayle following our wonted course, and keeping the same, we discouered diuerse Isles conquered by the Spaniards, as the Isles of S. Christopher, and of the Saintes, of Monserrate, and La Redonda: Afterward we passed between Anguilla and Anegada, sayling toward New France. Where we arriued 15 dayes after, to witte, on Thurseday the 22 of Iune about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed neere a litle riuer which is 30 degrees distant from the Equator, and 10 lagues aboue Cape François drawing toward the South, and about thirtie leagues aboue the Riuer of May. After wee had strooken sayle and cast anker athwart the Riuer, I determined to goe on shore to discouer the same. Therefore being accompanied with Monsieur Ottigni, with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, & a certaine number of Gentlemen and souldiers, I embarked my selfe about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the euening. And being arriued at the mouth of the riuer, I caused the chanell to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although that farther within the same the water was there found reasonable deepe, which separateth it selfe into two great armes, whereof one runneth toward the South, and the other toward the North. Hauing thus searched the Riuer, I went on land to speake with the Indians which waited for vs vpon the shore, which at our comming on land, came before vs, crying with a loude voyce in their Indian language, Antipola Bonassou, which is as much to say, as brother, friend, or some such like thing. After they had made very much of vs, they shewed vs their Paracoussy, that is to say, their King and Gouernour, to whom I presented certaine toyes, wherewith he was well pleased. And for mine owne part, I prayse God continually, for the great loue which I haue found in these Sauages, which were sory for nothing, but that the night approched, and made vs retire vnto our ships.

His arriual in Florida the 22 of Iune 1564. Cape Francois being between the riuer of Dolphins and the riuer of May, maketh the distance 30 leagues about, which is but 10 leagues ouer land.

The great loue and courtesie of the Floridians.

For though they endeuoured by al meanes to make vs tary with them, and shewed by signes the desire that they had to present vs with some rare things, yet neuerthelesse for many iust and reasonable occasions I would not stay on shore all night: but excusing my selfe for all their offers, I embarked my selfe againe and returned toward my ships. Howbeit, before my departure, I named this Riuer, the riuer of Dolphines, because that at mine arriuall, I saw there a great number of Dolphines, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day the 23 of this moneth (because that toward the South I had not found any commodious place for vs to inhabit, and to build a fort) I gaue commandement to weigh anker, & to hoise our sailes to saile toward the riuer of May, where we arriued two dayes after, & cast anker. Afterward going on land, with some number of Gentlemen

The riuer of Dolphins, called Seloy by the Sauages.

Their ariuall at the riuer of May.

and Souldiers to know for a certaintie the singularities of this place, we espied the Paracoussy of the countrey, which came towards vs (this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Captaine Iohn Ribault) which hauing espied vs, cryed very far off, Antipola, Antipola: and being so ioyful that he could not containe himselfe, he came to meet vs, accompanied then with two of his sonnes, as faire and mightie persons as might be found in al the world, which had nothing in their mouthes but this word, Amy, Amy: that is to say, friend, friend: yea, and knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to vse this speech vnto them. There was in their trayne a great number of men and women, which stil made very much of vs, and by euident signes made vs vnderstand how glad they were of our arriuall. This good entertainment past, the Paracoussy prayed me to goe see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of Iohn Ribault (as we haue declared heretofore) as a thing which they made great account of.

Hauing yeelded vnto him and being come to the place where it was set vp, wee found the same crowned with crownes of Bay, and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of Mill which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola. Then when they came thither they kissed the same with great reuerence and besought vs to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendship with vs. This done, the Paracoussy tooke me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me vnderstand some great secret, & by signes shewed me very well vp within the riuer the limits of his dominion, and said that he was called Paracoussy Satourioua, which is as much as King Satourioua. His children haue the selfe same title of Paracoussy: The eldest is named Athore, a man, I dare say, perfect in beautie, wisedome, and honest sobrietie, shewing by his modest grauitie that he deserueth the name which he beareth, besids that he is gentle and tractable. After we had soiourned a certaine space with them, the Paracoussy prayed one of his sonnes to present vnto me a wedge of siluer, which hee did & that with a good wil: in recompence whereof I gaue him a cutting hooke and some other better present: wherewith he seemed to be very well pleased. Afterward we tooke our leaue of them, because the night approched, & then returned to lodge in our shippes. Being allured with this good entertainment I failed not the next day to imbarke my selfe againe with my Lieutenant Ottigni and a number of souldiers to returne toward the Paracoussy of the riuer of May, which of purpose waited for vs in the same place, where the day before we conferred with him. We found him vnder the shadow of an arbour accompanied with fourescore Indians at the least, and apparelled at that time after the Indian fashion, to wit, with a great Harts skinne dressed like Chamois, and painted with deuices of strange and diuers colours, but of so liuely a portrature, and representing antiquity, with rules so iustly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith: the naturall disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided that without any ayd and fauour of artes, they are able by the helpe of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea euen of those which by their industry are able to aspire vnto things most absolute.

The pillar set vp before by Ribault crowned with garlands of Laurell and inuironed with small paniers full of corne, worshipped by the Sauages.

Paracoussy Satourioua.

A wedge of siluer.

Then I aduertised Paracoussy Satourioua, that my desire was to discouer farther vp into the riuer, but that it should be with such diligence that I would come againe vnto him very speedily: wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was: and for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skinne, which I refused then, and promised to receiue it of him at my returne. For my part I gaue him certaine small trifles, to the intent to retaine him in our friendship.

Departing from thence, I had not sayled three leagues vp the riuer, still being followed by the Indians, which coasted me a long the riuer, crying still, Amy, Amy, that is to say friende, friende: but I discouered an hill of meane height, neere which I went on land, hard by the fieldes that were sowed with mil, at one corner whereof there was an house built for their lodging, which keepe and garde the mill: for there are such numbers of Cornish choughes in this Countrey, which continually deuoure and spoyle the mill, that

Grosses.

the Indians are constrained to keepe and watch it, otherwise they should be deceiued of their haruest. I rested my selfe in this place for certaine houres, & commanded Monsieur de Ottigni, and my Sergeant to enter into the woodes to search out the dwellings of the Indians: where after they had gone a while, they came vnto a Marish of Reeds, where finding their way to be stopped, they rested vnder the shadow of a mightie Bay tree to refresh themselues a little and to resolue which way to take. Then they discouered, as it were on the suddaine, fiue Indians halfe hidden in the woodes, which seemed somewhat to distrust our men, vntill they said vnto them in the Indian language Antipola Bonassou, to the end that vnderstanding their speech they might come vnto vs more boldely, which they did incontinently. But because they sawe, that the foure that went last, bare vp the traine of the skinne wherewith he that went foremost was apparelled our men imagined that the foremost must needes bee some man of greater qualitie then the rest, seeing that withal they called him Paracoussy, Paracoussy, wherfore, some of our company went towards him, and vsing him courteously shewed him, Monsieur de Ottigni, their Lieutenant, for whom they had made an harbour with Bay and Palme boughes after the Indian fashion, to the ende that by such signes the Sauages might thinke the Frenchmen had compained with such as they at other times.

Monsieur de Ottigni.

The curtesie of the Floridians to the French.

The Indian Paracoussy drew neere to the French, and began to make him a long Oration, which tended to no other end, but that he besought the Frenchmen very earnestly to come and see his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and straight for pledge of better amitie, he gaue vnto my Lieutenant Ottigni, the very skinne that he was clad with.

Then he tooke him by the hande, leading him right toward the Marishes, ouer which the Paracoussy, Monsieur Ottigni, and certaine other of our men were borne vpon the Indians shouldiers: and the rest which could not passe because of the myre and reedes, went through the woodes, and followed a narrow path which led them foorth vntill they came vnto the Paracoussyes dwelling; out of which there came about fiftie Indians to receiue our men gallantly, and to feast them after their manner. After which they brought at their entrance a great vessel of earth, made after a strange fashion full of fountaine water cleare and very excellent.

This vessell was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger which bare of this water in another little vessel of wood, and presented thereof to euery one to drinke, obseruing in doing the same, a certaine order and reuerence, which hee made to each of them, to whome hee gaue drinke. Our thirst well quenched by this meanes, and our men beeing sufficiently refreshed, the Paracoussy brought them to his fathers lodging, one of the oldest men that liued vpon the earth. Our men regarding his age, began to make much of him, vsing this speech, Amy, Amy, that is to say, friende, friende, whereat the olde sier shewed himselfe very glad.

Men of exceeding olde age.

Afterward they questioned with him concerning the course of his age: whereunto he made answere, shewing that he was the first liuing originall, from whence fiue generations were descended, as he shewed vnto them by another olde man that sate directly ouer against him, which farre exceeded him in age. And this man was his father, which seemed to be rather a dead carkeis then a liuing body: for his sinewes, his veines, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared so cleerely thorow his skinne, that a man might easily tell them, and discerne them one from another. Also his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could not speake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. Monsieur de Ottigni hauing seene so strange a thing, turned to the yoonger of these two olde men, praying him to vouchsafe to answere him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the olde man called a company of Indians, and striking twise vpon his thigh, and laying his hand vpon two of them, he shewed him by signes, that these two were his sonnes: againe smiting vpon their thighes, he shewed him others not so olde, which were the children of the two first, which he continued in the same maner vntill the fift generation. But though this olde man had his father aliue more olde then himselfe, and that both of them did weare their haire very long, and as white as was possible, yet it was tolde them, that they might yet liue thirtie or fortie yeeres more by the course of nature: although the younger of them both was not lesse then two hundred and fiftie yeeres olde. After he had ended his communication, hee commanded two young Egles to be giuen to our men, which he had bred vp for his pleasure in his house. Hee caused also little Paniers made of Palme leaues full of Gourds red and blew to bee deliuered vnto them. For recompence of which presents he was satisfied with French toyes.

Sauages in Florida of 250. yeres olde.

Egles in Florida.

These two olde men caused our men to bee guided backe againe to the place from whence they came, by the young Paracoussy which had brought them thither. And hauing taken leaue of the Paracoussy, theycame and sought me out in the place where I stayed, and rehearsed vnto mee all that they had seene, praying mee also that I would rewarde their guide, which so frankely and heartily had receiued them into his house, which I would not faile to doe by any meanes.

Nowe was I determined to search out the qualities of the hill. Therefore I went right to the toppe thereof, where we found nothing else but Cedars, Palme, and Baytrees of so soueraigne odour, that Baulme smelleth nothing like in comparison. The trees were enuironed rounde about with Vines bearing grapes in such quantitie, that the number would suffice to make the place habitable. Besides this fertilitie of the soyle for Vines, a man may see Esquine wreathed about the shrubs in great quantitie. Touching the pleasure of the place, the Sea may bee seene plaine and open from it, and more then sixe great leagues off, neere the Riuer Belle, a man may beholde the medowes diuided asunder into Iles and Islets enterlacing one another: Briefly the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholicke would be inforced to change their humour.

Cedars, Palmes, Bayes exceeding sweete.

Abundance of grapes.

Esquine a drugge excellent against the pockes.

After I had stayed there a while, I imbarked againe my people to sayle towards the mouth of the Riuer, where wee found the Paracoussy, which according to his promise waited for vs. Wherefore to content him, we went on shore, and did him that reuerence that on our part was requisite. Then hee gaue me the skinne so richly painted, and I recompensed him with somewhat of our marchandise. I forgat not to demaund of him the place whence the wedge of siluer came which he had giuen me before: whereunto he made me a very sudden answere, which notwithstanding I vnderstood not, which he well perceiued. And then he shewed me by euident signes that all of it came from a place more within the Riuer by certaine dayes iourneyes from this place, and declared vnto vs that all that which they had thereof, they gat it by force of armes of the inhabitants of this place, named by them Thimogoa, their most ancient and naturall enemies, as hee largely declared. Whereupon when I sawe with what affection hee spake when hee pronounced Thimogoa, I understoode what he would say. And to bring my selfe more into his fauour, I promised him to accompany him with all my force, if hee would fight against them: which thing pleased him in such sorte, that from thenceforth hee promised himselfe the victorie of them, and assured mee that hee would make a voyage thither within a short space, would cause store of Mill to be prepared, and would commaund his men to make ready their Bowes, and furnish themselues with such store of arrowes, that nothing should bee wanting to giue battaile to Thimogoa. In fine hee prayed mee very earnestly not to faile of my promise, and in so doing, hee hoped to procure mee Golde and Siluer in such good quantitie, that mine affaires shoulde take effect according to mine owne and his desire.

Siluer certain dayes iourney vp within the riuer of May.

Thimogoa mortall enemies to Satourioua.

The matter thus fully resolued vpon, I tooke my leaue of him to returne vnto my shippes, where after wee had rested our selues all the night following, we hoysed sayles the next day very earely in the morning, and sayled towarde the Riuer of Seine, distant from the Riuer of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our course towarde the North, we arriued at the mouth of Somme, which is not past sixe leagues distant from the Riuer of Seine: where wee cast Anker, and went on shoare to discouer that place as wee had done the rest. There wee were gratiously and courteously receiued of the Paracoussy of the Countrey, which is one of the tallest men and best proportioned that may bee founde. His wife sate by him, which besides her Indian beautie, wherewith shee was greatly endewed, had so vertuous a countenance and modest grauitie, that there was not one amongst vs but did greatly commend her; shee had in her traine fiue of her daughters of so good grace and so well brought

The riuer of Seine.

The riuer of Somme.

The courtesie of the Paracoussy of the riuer of Somme.

vp, that I easily perswaded my selfe that their mother was their Mistresse, and had taught them well and straightly to preserue their honestie. After that the Paracoussy had receiued vs as I haue sayde, hee commaunded his wife to present mee with a certaine number of bullets of siluer, for his owne part hee presented mee with his bowe and his arrowes, as hee had done vnto Captaine Iohn Ribault in our first voyage, which is a signe of a perpetuall amitie and alliance with those which they honour with such a kinde of present. In our discoursing with one another, wee entred into speach as touching the exercise of armes. Then the Paracoussy caused a corselet to be set on end, and prayed me to make a proofe of our Harguebuzes and their bowes: but this proofe pleased him very little; for assoone as he knew that our Harguebuzes did easily pearce that which all the force of their bowes could not hurt, he seemed to be sorie, musing with himselfe how this thing might bee done. Neuerthelesse going about to dissemble in his minde that which his countenance could not doe by any meanes, hee began to fall into another matter, and prayed vs very earnestly to stay with him that night in his house or lodging, affirming that no greater happinesse could come vnto him then our long abode, which he desired to recompence with a thousand presents.

Laudonniers consultation with his company where it might be best for them to plant.

Neuerthelesse wee could not grant him this poynt, but tooke our leaue of him to returne to our shippes: where soone after I caused all my companie to bee assembled, with the Masters and Pilots of my shippes, to consult together of the place whereof wee should make choice to plant our habitation. First I let them vnderstand, howe none of them were ignorant, that the part which was towarde the Cape of Florida, was altogether a marish Countrey, and therefore vnprofitable for our inhabitation: A thing which could yeelde neither profite to the King, nor any contentment or pleasure to vs, if peraduenture we would inhabite there. On the other side if wee passed further toward the North to seeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor conuenient: at the least if wee should giue credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the Hauen were one of the fairest of the West Indies: but that in this case the question was not so much of the beautie of the place, as of things necessary to sustaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was much more needefull for vs to plant in places plentifull of victuall, then in goodly Hauens, faire, deepe and pleasaunt to the view. In consideration whereof that I was of opinion, if it seemed good vnto them, to seate our selues about the Riuer of May: seeing also that in our first voyage wee found the same onely among all the rest to abounde in Maiz and corne, besides the Golde and Siluer that was found there: a thing that put me in hope of some happie discouerie in time to come.

Gold and siluer found at the riuer of May.

After I had proposed these things, euery one gaue his opinion thereof: and in fine all resolued, namely those which had beene with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seate themselues rather on the Riuer of May then on any other, vntill they might heare newes out of France. This point being thus agreed vpon, wee sayled toward the Riuer, and vsed such diligence, that with the fauor of the windes wee arriued there the morrow after about the breake of day, which was on Thursday the 29. of the moneth of Iune. Hauing cast anker, I embarked all my stuffe and the souldiers of my companie, to sayle right toward the opening of the Riuer: wherein we entred a good way vp and found a Creeke of a reasonable bignesse, which inuited vs to refresh our selues a little, while wee reposed our selues there. Afterward wee went on shoare to seeke out a place plaine without trees, which wee perceiued from the Creeke.

Iune the 29.

But because wee found it not very commodious for vs to inhabite there: wee determined to returne vnto the place which wee had discouered before, when wee had sayled vp the Riuer. This place is ioyning to a mountaine, and it seemed vnto vs more fit and commodious to build a fortresse, then that where we were last. Therefore we tooke our way towards the forests being guided therein by the young Paracoussy which had ledde vs before to his fathers lodging. Afterward we found a large plaine couered with high Pinetrees distant a a little from the other: vnder which wee perceiued an infinite number of Stagges which brayed amidst the plaine, athwart the which we passed: then wee discouered a little hill adioyning vnto a great vale very greene and in forme flat: wherein were the fairest medowes of the world, and grasse to feede cattel. Moreouer it is inuironed with a great number of brookes of fresh water, & high woodes, which make the vale more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the viewe thereof at mine ease, I named it at the request of our souldiers, The Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward. Anon hauing gone a little forward, we met an Indian woman of tall stature, which also was an Hermaphrodite, who came before vs with a great vessel full of cleere fountaine water, wherewith she greatly refreshed vs. For we were exceeding faint by reason of the ardent heate which molested vs as we passed through those high woods. And I beleeue that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not bene for the great desire which we had to make vs resolute of our selues, we had taken vp our lodging all night in the wood. Being therefore refreshed by this meane, wee gathered our spirits together, and marching with a cheerefull courage, wee came to the place which wee had chosen to make our habitation in: whereupon at that instant neere the riuers brinke we strowed a number of boughes and leaues, to take our rest on them the night following, which wee found exceeding sweete, because of the paine which before we had taken in our trauell.

The Vale of Laudonniere.

An Hermaphrodite.

On the morrow about the breake of day, I commaunded a trumpet to be sounded, that being assembled we might giue God thankes for our fauourable and happie arriuall. There wee sang a Psalme of thankesgiuing vnto God, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodnesse toward vs his poore seruants, and ayde vs in all our enterprises, that all might turne to his glory and the aduancement of our King. The prayer ended, euery man began to take courage.

They began their planting with prayer to God.

Afterward hauing measured out a piece of ground in forme of a triangle, wee indeuoured our selues of all sides, some to bring earth, some to cut fagots, and others to raise and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a shouell, or cutting hooke, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plaine by cutting downe the trees, as for the building of the Fort, which we did hasten wᵗ such cheerfulnesse, that within few dayes the effect of our diligence was apparant: in which meane space the Paracoussy Satourioua our neerest neighbour, & on whose ground wee built our Fort, came vsually accompanyed with his two sonnes and a great number of Indians to offer to doe vs all courtesie. And I likewise for my part bestowed diuers of our trifles frankely on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our friendship, in such sort, that as the dayes increased, so our amitie and friendship increased also.

After that our Fort was brought into forme, I began to build a Grange to retire my munition and things necessarie for the defence of our Fort: praying the Paracoussy to command his subiects to make vs a couering of Palme leaues, and this to the ende that when that was done, I might vnfraight my shippes, and put vnder couerture those things that were in them. Suddenly the Paracoussy commaunded in my presence all the Indians of his companie to dresse the next day morning so good a number of Palme leaues, that the Grange was couered in lesse then two dayes: so that businesse was finished. For in the space of those two dayes, the Indians neuer ceased from working, some in fetching Palme leaues, others in interlacing of them: in such sort that their Kings commandement was executed as he desired.

In Florida they couer their houses with Palme leaues.

Our Fort was built in forme of a triangle. The side toward the West, which was toward the lande, was inclosed with a little trench and raised with turues made in forme of a Battlement of nine foote high: the other side which was toward the Riuer, was inclosed with a Pallisado of plankes of timber after the maner that Gabions are made. On the South side there was a kinde of bastion within which I caused an house for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and sand, sauing about two or three foot high with turfes, whereof the battlements were made. In the middest I caused a great Court to be made of eighteene paces long and broad, in the middest whereof on the one side drawing toward the South I builded a Corps de gard, and an house on the other side toward the North, which I caused to bee raised somewhat too high: for within a short while after the wind beat it downe: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high stages in this Countrey, by

The forme of the Fort Caroline.

The West side.

The South side.

High building is not good for this Countrey.

Nota.

Caroline.

reason of the windes whereunto it is subiect. One of the sides that inclosed my Court, which I made very faire and large, reached vnto the Grange of my munitions: and on the other side towardes the Riuer was mine owne lodging, round about which were galleries all couered. The principall doore of my lodging was in the middest of the great place, and the other was towarde the Riuer. A good distance from the Fort I built an Ouen to auoyde the danger against fire, because the houses are of Palme leaues, which will soone be burnt after the fire catcheth holde of them, so that with much adoe a man shall haue leasure to quench them. Loe here in briefe the description of our Fourtresse, which I named Caroline in the honour of our Prince King Charles.

After wee were furnished with that which was most necessarie, I would not lose a minute of an houre, without imploying of the same in some vertuous exercise: therefore I charged Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant, a man in trueth worthy of all honour for his honestie and vertue, to search vp within the Riuer, what this Thimogoa might be, whereof the Paracoussy Satourioua had spoken to vs so often at our comming on shoare. For execution hereof the Paracoussy gaue him two Indians for his guides, which taking vpon them to lead him in this voyage, seemed to goe vnto a wedding, so desirous they were to fight with their enemies.

The first voyage twentie leagues.

Ten leagues further.

Mayrra a king rich in golde and siluer.

Being imbarked they hoised sayle, and hauing sayled about twentie leagues, the Indians which still looked on this side and that side to espie some of their enemies, discouered three Canoas. And immediatly they began to crie Thimogoa, Thimogoa, and spake nothing else but to hasten forward to goe fight with them: which the Captaine seemed to be willing to doe, to content them. When they came to boord them, one of the Indians gat holde of an Halbert, another of an Coutelas in such a rage, that hee would haue leapt into the water to haue fought with them alone. Neuerthelesse Ottigni would not let them doe it, for while hee deferred to boord them, he gaue the others respite to turne the prowes of their Canoas toward the shoare, and so to escape into the woods. Againe, the meaning of Ottigni was not to make warre vpon them of Thimogoa, but rather to make them friendes, and to make them thenceforth to liue in peace one with another if it were possible, hoping by this meane to discouer dayly some new thing, & especially the certaine course of the Riuer. For this purpose he caused the barke to retire, wherein were the two Indians his guides, and went with his men towarde the Canoas which were on the Riuers side. Being come vnto them, he put certaine trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing caused the Indians which were fled away to returne to their boats, and to vnderstand by this signe, that those of our Barke were none of their enemies, but rather come onely to traffique with them. Wherefore being thus assured of vs, they called to our men to come neere vnto them: which they did incontinently and set foote on lande, and spake freely vnto them, with diuers ceremonies ouer long to recount. In the ende Ottigni demaunded of them by signes if they had any Golde or Siluer among them. But they tolde him they had none as then: and that if he would send one of his men with them, they would bring him without danger into a place where they might haue some. Ottigni seeing them so willing, deliuered them one of his men which seemed very resolute, to vndertake this voyage: this fellow stayed with them vntill tenne of the clocke the next morning, so that Captaine Ottigny somewhat offended with his long stay, sayled ten great leagues further vp the Riuer: although he knew not which way he should goe, yet he went so farre vp that hee espied the Boate wherein his souldier was: which reported vnto him, that the Indians would haue carried him three great dayes iourney further, & told him that a King named Mayrra rich in Gold and Siluer, dwelt in those quarters, and that for small quantitie of marchandise enough might be had of him: yet that hee would not hazard himselfe without his leaue, and that he brought but a very little Golde. This being done, our men returned toward our Fort Caroline, after they had left the souldier with the Indians to enforme himselfe more and more of such things as he might discouer more at leasure.

The second voyage.

Fifteene dayes after this voyage to Thimogoa, I dispatched Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant also to returne againe into this Countrey, and to seeke out the souldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being therefore imbarked, they sayled two whole dayes: and before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the Riuers side, which were expresly sent vnto that place to descry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to surprise them, as they did vsually.

When they perceiued Captaine Vasseur, they knew incontinently that he was none of their enemies, and therefore made no difficultie to come neere vnto the Barke, and shewed him by signes that the Souldier which they sought was not in that place, but was at that present in the house of King Molloua which was vassall vnto another great King named by them Olata Ouae Vtina: and that if the Captaine would sayle thitherward, hee should come thither very quickly: wherewith he was content, and caused his men to rowe to that part which the Indians shewed him: whereat they were so glad, that they ranne quickly before by land to declare his arriuall, which was at the lodging of king Molloua, after he had rowed not past halfe a league. While king Molloua had ended intertaining Captaine Vasseur and his men, the souldier came in with fiue or sixe pounds weight of siluer which he had trucked and traffiqued with Indians.

King Molloua.

Olata Ouae Vtina a great king.

Fiue or sixe pound weight of siluer.

This King caused bread to bee made, and fish to bee dressed after the Indian fashion to feast our men: to whom, while they were at meate, hee made a discourse of diuers other Kings his friends & allies, reckoning vp to the number of nine of them by name, to wit, Cadecha, Chilili, Eclauou, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omittaqua, Aequara, Moquoso: all which with him to the number of more then fortie, hee assured vs to bee the vassals of the most renowmed Olata Ouae Vtina.

Fortie kings vassals to Vtina.

This done, hee went about likewise to discouer the enemies of Ouae Vtina, in which number hee placed as the first the Paracoussy Satourioua Monarch of the confines of the riuer of May, which hath vnder his obeysance thirtie other Paracoussies, whereof there were ten which were all his brethren, and that therefore hee was greatly esteemed in those partes: then hee named three others no lesse puissant then Satourioua, whereof the first dwelt two dayes iourney from his lord Olata Ouae Vtina, and ordinarily made warre vpon him, whose name was Potanou, a man cruell in warre, but pitifull in the execution of his furie. For hee tooke the prisoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like vnto a seale, and so imprinted as if it had bene touched with an hotte yron, then hee let them goe without any more hurt. The two others were named Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua, being great Lords, and abounding in riches, and principally Onatheaqua, which dwelt neere vnto the high mountaines, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, & infinite quantitie of a kinde of slate stone, wherewith they made wedges to cleaue their wood. The occasion which (as he sayd) mooued Pontanou to wage warre against Olata Ouae Vtina, was the feare that he had, lest he and his companions should get of that hard stone in his Countrey, wherewith they headed their arrowes, and could not get it in any neerer place.

King Potanou.

An exceeding rich place.

Besides all this, Molloua recited to Captaine Vasseur, that the kings allies the vassals of the great Olata, armed their brests, armes, thighes, legs & foreheads with large plates of gold and siluer: and that by this meanes the arrowes that were discharged vpon them could do them no maner of hurt at all, but rather were broken against them. Hereupon Captaine Vasseur inquired whether the Kings Onetheaqua and Houstaqua were like vnto vs. For by the description that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or no: but Molloua tolde him that they were not, but that they were Indians like the rest, sauing that they painted their faces with blacke, and that the rest as Molloua painted them with red. Then my Lieutenant Vasseur, and my Sergeant promised him that one day I should march with my forces into those Countreys, and that ioyning my selfe with his Lord Olata, I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountaines. Hee was very glad of this speach, and answered that the least of these Kings which hee had named should present vnto the Generall of these succours the height of two foot of gold and siluer, which by force of armes they had already gotten of those two Kings, Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua.

Large plates of gold and siluer.

Some paint their faces with blacke, and some with red.

The good cheere being done, and the discourses ended, my men imbarked themselues againe, with intention to bring mee those good newes vnto the Fort Caroline. But after they had sayled a very long while downe the Riuer, and were come within three leagues of vs, the tyde was so strong against them, that they were constrained to goe on lande, and to retire themselues because of the night, vnto the dwelling of a certaine Paracoussy named Molona, which shewed himselfe very glad of their arriuall: for hee desired to know some newes of Thimogoa, and thought that the French men went thither for none other occasion but for to inuade them. Which Captaine Vasseur perceiuing, dissembled so wel, that he made him beleeue that he went to Thimogoa with none other intention, but to subdue them, and to destroy them with the edge of the sworde without mercy, but that their purpose had not such successe as they desired, because that the people of Thimogoa being aduertised of this enterprise, retired into the woods, and saued themselues by flight: that neuerthelesse they had taken some as they were fleeing away, which carried no newes thereof vnto their fellowes.

The Paracoussy was so glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked Vasseur of the beginning and maner of his execution, and prayed him that hee would shew him by signes howe all things passed. Immediatly Francis la Caille the Sergeant of my band tooke his sword in his hand, saying, that with the point thereof he had thrust through two Indians which ranne into the woods, and that his companions had done no lesse for their partes. And that if fortune had so fauoured them, that they had not beene discouered by the men of Thimogoa, they had had a victorie most glorious and worthie of eternall memorie. Hereupon the Paracoussy shewed himselfe so well satisfied, that he could not deuise how to gratifie our men, which hee caused to come into his house to feast them more honourably: and hauing made Captaine Vasseur to sit next him, and in his owne chaire (which the Indians esteeme for the chiefest honour) and then vnderneath him two of his sonnes, goodly and mightie fellowes, hee commanded all the rest to place themselues as they thought good. This done, the Indians came according to their good custome, to present their drinke Cassine to the Paracoussy, and then to certaine of his chiefest friends, and the Frenchmen. Then hee which brought it set the cup aside, and drew out a little dagger stucke vp in the roofe of the house, and like a mad man he lift his head aloft, and ranne apace, and went and smote an Indian which sate alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying with a loud voyce, Hyou, the poore Indian stirring not at all for the blowe, which he seemed to endure patiently. He which held the dagger went quickly to put the same in his former place, and began againe to giue vs drinke as hee did before: but he had not long continued, and had scarce giuen three or foure thereof, but he left his bowle againe, tooke the dagger in his hand, and quickly returned vnto him which hee had strocken before, to whom he gaue a very sore blow on the side, crying Hyou, as he had done before: and then hee went to put the dagger in his place, and set himselfe downe among the rest. A little while after he that had bene stricken fell downe backwards, stretching out his armes and legs, as if hee had bene ready to yeeld vp the latter gaspe. And then the younger sonne of the Paracoussy apparelled in a long white skinne, fell downe at the feete of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly halfe a quarter of an houre: after, two other of his brethren clad in like apparell, came about him that was so stricken, and began to sigh pitifully. Their mother bearing a little infant in her armes came from another part, and going to the place where her sonnes were, at the first shee vsed infinite numbers of outcries, then one while lifting vp her eyes to heauen, another while falling downe vnto the ground, shee cryed so dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would haue moued the most hard and stony heart in the world with pitie. Yet this sufficed not, for there came in a companie of young gyrles, which did neuer leaue weeping for a long while in the place where the Indian was fallen downe, whom afterward they tooke, & with the saddest gestures they could deuise, carried him away into another house a little way off from the great hall of the Paracoussy, & continued their weepings and mournings by the space of two long houres: in which meane while the Indians ceassed not to drinke Cassine, but with such silence that one word was not heard in the parlour.

Vasseurbeing grieued that he vnderstood not these ceremonies, demanded of the Paracoussy what these things meant: which answered him slowly, Thimogoa, Thimogoa, without saying any more. Being more displeased then he was before with so sleight an answere, he turned vnto another Indian the Paracoussyes brother, who was a Paracoussy as well as his brother, called Malica, which made him a like answere as hee did at the first, praying him to aske no more of these matters, and to haue patience for that time. The subtil old Paracoussy prayed him within a while after to shew him his sword, which he would not denie him, thinking that hee would haue beheld the fashion of his weapons: but he soone perceiued that it was to another ende: for the old man holding it in his hand, behelde it a long while on euery place, to see if he could finde any blood vpon it, which might shew that any of their enemies had bene killed: for the Indians are woont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies haue beene defeated, with some blood vpon them, for a token of their victories. But seeing no signe thereof vpon it, he was vpon the point to say vnto him, that he had killed none of the men of Thimogoa: when as Vasseur preuenting that which hee might obiect, declared and shewed vnto him by signes, the maner of his enterprise, adding, that by reason of the two Indians which he had slaine, his sword was so bloudy, that hee was inforced to wash andmake it cleane a long while in the Riuer: which the olde man beleeued to be like to be true, and made no maner of replie thereunto.

King Malica.

Vasseur, La Caille, and their other companions went out of the hal to go into the roome whither they had carried the Indian: there they found the Paracoussy sitting vpon tapestries made of small reedes, which was at meate after the Indian fashion, and the Indian that was smitten hard by him, lying vpon the selfe same tapistry, about whom stoode the wife of the Paracoussy, with all the young damsels which before bewailed him in the hall; which did nothing else but warme a great deal of mosse instead of napkins to rub the Indians side. Hereupon our men asked the Paracoussy againe for what occasion the Indian was so persecuted in his presence: hee answered, that this was nothing else but a kinde of ceremonie, whereby they would call to minde the death and persecutions of the Paracoussies their ancestours executed by their enemie Thimogoa: alleaging moreouer, that as often as he himselfe, or any of his friends and allies returned from the Countrey, without they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home some prisoner, hee vsed for a perpetuall memorie of all his predecessors, to beate the best beloued of all his children with the selfe same weapons wherewith they had bene killed in times past: to the ende that by renewing of the wound their death should be lamented afresh. Now whē they were thus informed of those ceremonies, they thanked the Paracoussy for their good intertainement which they had receiued, & so setting saile came to me vnto the fort: where they declared all vnto me as I haue recited it heretofore. The eight and twentieth of Iuly our shippes departed to returne into France. And within a while, about two moneths after our arriuall in Florida, the Paracoussy Satourioua sent certaine Indians vnto mee to knowe whether I would stande to my promise which I had made him at my first arriuall in that Countrey, which was that I would shewe my selfe friend to his friendes, and enemie vnto his enemies, and also to accompany him with a good number of Harquebuzes, when he should see it expedient, and should finde a fit occasion to goe to warre. Now seeing he rested vpon this promise, he prayed mee not to deferre the same: seeing also that making accompt thereof, hee had taken such good order for the execution of his enterprise, that he was ready, and was furnished with all things that were necessary for the voyage: I made him answere, that for his amitie I would not purchase the enmitie of the other, and that albeit I would yet notwithstanding I wanted meanes to doe it. For it behoued mee at that present to make prouision of victuals and munition for the defence of my Fort. On the other side, that my Barkes were nothing ready, and that this enterprise would require time: Moreouer, that the Paracoussy Satourioua might holde himselfe ready to depart within two moneths, and that then I would thinke of fulfilling my promise to him.

Tapistry made of small reeds.

They lappe mosse about their woundes and vse it in stead of napkins. A ceremonie to call to mind the death of their ancesters slaine by their enemies.

The returne of their shippes toward France the 28. of Iuly.

The Indians caried this answere to their Paracoussy, which was litle pleased with it, because hee could not deferre his execution or expedition, aswell because all his victuals were ready, as also because tenne other Paracoussies were assembled with him for the performance of this enterprise. The ceremonie which this Sauage vsed before hee embarked his armie deserueth not to be forgotten. For when hee was set downe by the Riuers

The ceremonie which they vse before they goe to warre.

side, being compassed about with ten other Paracoussies, hee commaunded water to be brought him speedily. This done, looking vp into heauen, he fell to discourse of diuers things with gestures that shewed him to be in exceeding great choller, which made him one while shake his head hither and thither, and by and by with I wote not what furie to turne his face toward the Countrey of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. Hee oftentimes looked vpon the Sunne, praying him to graunt him a glorious victory of his enemies. Which when hee had done by the space of halfe an houre, hee sprinkled with his hand a little of the water which hee helde in a vessel vpon the heads of the Paracoussies, and cast the rest as it were in a rage and despite into a fire which was there prepared for the purpose. This done hee cried out thrise, He Thimogoa, and was followed with fiue hundreth Indians at the least, which were there assembled, which cried all with one voyce, He Thimogoa. This ceremonie, as a certaine Indian tolde mee familiarly, signified nothing else, but that Satourioua besought the Sunne to graunt vnto him so happy a victory, that hee might shed his enemies blood, as he had shed that water at his pleasure. Moreouer, that the Paracoussies which were sprinkled with a part of that water, might returne with the heads of their enemies, which is the onely and chiefe triumph of their victories.

Satourioua followed with fiue hundreth Indians.

The Paracoussy Satourioua had no sooner ended his ceremonies and had taken a viewe of all his company, but he embarked himselfe, and vsed such diligence with his Almadies or boates, that the next day two houres before the Sunnes set, he arriued on the territories of his enemies about eight or tenne leagues from their villages. Afterward causing them all to goe on land, hee assembled his counsell, wherein it was agreed that fiue of the Paracoussies should saile vp the Riuer with halfe of the troupes, and by the breake of the day should approche vnto the dwelling of their enemie: for his owne part, that hee would take his iourney through the woods and forrests as secretly as hee coulde: that when they were come thither, as well they that went by water as hee which went by land should not faile by the breake of the day to enter into the village, and cut them all in pieces, except the women and little children.

Consultation before they assault their enemies.

How they vse their enemies which they take in warre.

These things which were thus agreed vpon, were executed with as great fury as was possible: which when they had done, they tooke the heades of their enemies which they had slaine, and cut off their haire round about with a piece of their sculles: they tooke also foure and twentie prisoners, which they led away, and retired themselues immediatly vnto their Boates which wayted for them. Being come thither, they beganne to singe praises vnto the Sunne, to whom they attributed their victorie. And afterwards they put the skins of those heads on the end of their iauelings, and went altogether toward the territories of Paracoussy Omoloa, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they deuided their prisoners equally to each of the Paracoussies, and left thirteene of them to Satourioua, which straightway dispatched an Indian his subiect, to carry newes before of the victory to them which stayed at home to guard their houses, which immediatly beganne to weepe. But assoone as night was come, they neuer left dancing and playing a thousand gambols in honour of the feast.

King Omoloa.

Their maner of triumph.

The next day the Paracoussy Satourioua came home, who before hee entred into his lodging caused all the haire skuls of his enemies to bee set vp before his doore, and crowned them with branches of Lawrell, shewing by this glorious spectacle the triumph of the victory which hee had obtained. Straightway beganne lamentation and mournings, which assoone as the night beganne were turned into pleasures and dances.

After that I was aduertised of these things, I sent a Souldier vnto Satourioua, praying him to sende mee two of his prisoners: which hee denied mee, saying that hee was nothing beholding vnto mee, and that I had broken my promise, against the oath which I had sworne vnto him at my arriuall. Which when I vnderstoode by my Souldier, which was come backe with speede, I deuised howe I might be reuenged of this Sauage, and to make him know how dearely this bolde brauado of his should cost him: therefore I commanded my Sergeant to prouide mee twentie Souldiers to goe with mee to the house of Satourioua: Where after I was come and entered into the hall without any maner of salutation, I went and sate mee downe by him, and stayed a long while without speaking any woorde vnto him, or shewing him any signe of friendship, which thing put him deepely in his dumpes: besides that certaine Souldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had giuen expresse commaundement to suffer no Indian to goe foorth: hauing stoode still about halfe an houre with this countenance, at length I demaunded where the prisoners were which hee had taken at Thimogoa, and commaunded them presently to bee brought vnto me.

Whereunto the Paracoussy angry at the heart, and astonied wonderfully, stoode a long while without making any answere, notwithstanding at last hee answered me very stoutly, that being afraide to see vs comming thither in such warrelike maner they fled into the woods, and that not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any meanes to bring them againe; Then I seemed to make as though I vnderstood not what he saide, and asked for his prisoners againe, and for some of his principall allies. Then Satourioua commaunded his sonne Athore to seeke out the prisoners, and to cause them to be brought into that place, which thing he did within an houre after.

Athore.

After they were come to the lodging of the Paracoussy, they humbly saluted mee, and lifting vp their hands before me, they would haue fallen downe prostrate as it were at my feet: but I would not suffer them, and soone after ledde them away with me vnto my owne Fort. The Paracoussy being wonderfully offended with this brauado, bethought himselfe by all meanes how hee might be reuenged of vs. But to giue vs no suspition thereof, and the better to couer his intention, hee sent his messengers oftentimes vnto vs bringing alwayes with them some kinde of presents. Among others one day hee sent three Indians, which brought vs two baskets full of great Pompions, much more excellent then those which we haue in France, and promised me in their Kings behalfe, that during mine abode in that Countrey, I should neuer want victuals: I thanked them for their Kings good will, and signified vnto them the great desire which I had, aswell for the benefit of Satourioua, as for the quiet of his Subiects, to make a peace betweene him and those of Thimogoa: which thing coulde not choose but turne to their great benefite, seeing that being allied with the Kings of those parts, hee had an open passage against Onatheaqua his ancient enemie, which otherwise he could not set vpon. Moreouer that Olata Ouae Vtina was so mightie a Paracoussy, that Satourioua was not able to withstand his forces: but being agreed together they might easily ouerthrow all their enemies, and might passe the confines of the farthest Riuers that were towards the South. The messengers prayed mee to haue patience vntil the morowe, at what time they would come againe vnto me to certifie me of their Lords inclination: which they failed not to doe, aduertising me that Paracoussy Satourioua was the gladdest man in the world to treate of this accord (although indeed hee was quite contrary) and that he besought mee to be diligent therein, promising to obserue and performe whatsoeuer I should agree vpon with those of Thimogoa: which things the messengers also rehearsed vnto the prisoners which I had ledde away. After they were departed, I resolued within two dayes to sende backe againe the prisoners to Olata Ouae Vtina, whose subiects they were: but before I embarked them, I gaue them certaine small trifles, which were little kniues or tablets of glasse, wherein the image of King Charles the ninth was drawen very liuely, for which they gaue me very great thankes, as also for the honest entertainment which was giuen them at the Fort Caroline. After this they embarked themselues, with Captaine Vasseur, and with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, which I had sent of purpose to remaine a certaine time with Ouae Vtina, hoping that the fauour of this great Paracoussy would serue my turne greatly to make my discoueries in time to come. I sent with him also one of my Sergeants, and sixe gallant Souldiers.

Excellent Pumpions.

A wonderfull lightning the 29. of August.

Thus things passed on this maner, and the hatred of Paracoussy Satourioua against mee did still continue, vntill that on the nine and twentieth of August a lightning from heauen, fell within halfe a league of our Fort, more worthy I beleeue to be wondered at, and to bee put in writing, then all the strange signes which haue bene seene in times past, and where of the histories haue neuer written. For although the medowes were at that season all greene, and halfe couered ouer with water, neuerthelesse the lightning in one instant consumed aboue fiue hundred acres therewith, and burned with the ardent heate thereof all the foules which

King Sarrany. King Allimacany.

The Sauages thinke the lightning to be discharging of the Christians Ordinance.

tooke their pastime in the meddowes, which thing continued for three dayes space, which caused vs not a little to muse, not being able to iudge whereof this fire proceeded: for one while wee thought that the Indians had burnt their houses, and abandoned their places for feare of vs: another while wee thought that they had discouered some shippes in the Sea, and that according to their custome they had kindled many fires here and there, to signifie that their Countrey was inhabited: neuerthelesse being not assured, I determined to sende to Paracoussy Serrany to knowe the trueth thereof. But euen as I was vpon the point to sende one by boate to discouer the matter, sixe Indians came vnto mee from Paracoussy Allimacany, which at their first entrie made vnto mee a long discourse, and a very large and ample oration (after they had presented mee with certaine baskets full of Maiz, of Pompions and of Grapes) of the louing amity which Allimacany desired to continue with mee, and that hee looked from day to day when it would please mee to employ him in my seruice. Therefore considering the seruiceable affection that hee bare vnto mee, hee found it very strange, that I thus discharged mine Ordinance against his dwelling, which had burnt vp an infinite sight of greene medowes, and consumed euen downe vnto the bottome of the water, and came so neere vnto his mansion, that hee thought hee sawe the fire in his house: wherefore hee besought mee most humbly to commaund my men that they would not shoote any more towards his lodging, otherwise that hereafter he should be constrained to abandon his countrey, and to retire himselfe into some place further off from vs.

Laudonnier vsed the present occasion to his profite.

Hauing vnderstood the foolish opinion of this man, which notwithstanding coulde not choose but bee very profitable for vs, I dissembled what I thought thereof for that time, and answered the Indians with a cheerefull countenance, that the relation which they made vnto mee of the obedience of their Paracoussy did please mee right well, because that before hee had not behaued himselfe in such sort towards mee, especially when I summoned him to sende mee the prisoners of great Olata Ouae Vtina which he detained, whereof notwithstanding he made no great accompt, which was the principall cause whereof I had discharged mine Ordinance against him: not that I meant to reach vnto his house (as I might haue done easily, if it had pleased me) but that I was content to shoote the halfe way to make him knowe my force: assuring him furthermore, that on condition that he would continue in his good affection, no more Ordinance should be discharged against him hereafter: and besides that I would become his faithfull protectour against his greatest enemies.

A wonderfull heate.

Fiftie cart load of fish dead in the Riuer with this heat.

The Indians contented with mine answere returned to assure their Paracoussy, which notwithstanding the assurance withdrewe himselfe from his dwelling twentie or fiue and twentie leagues off and that for the space of more then two moneths. After that three dayes were expired, the fire was quite extinguished. But for two dayes after there followed such an excessiue heate in the aire, that the Riuer neere vnto which we planted our habitation, became so hoat, that I thinke it was almost ready to seeth. For there died so great abundance of fish, and that of so many diuers sorts, that in the mouth of the Riuer onely there were founde dead ynough to haue loaden fiftie Carts, whereof there issued a putrefaction in the aire, which bred many dangerous diseases amongst vs, insomuch that most of my men fell sicke, and almost ready to ende their dayes. Yet notwithstanding it pleased our mercifull God so to prouide by his prouidence, that all our men recouered their health without the losse of any one of them.

The thirde voyage the tenth of September.

Mayarqua a place 80. leagues vp the Riuer of May.

King Patanou.

Monsieur de Arlac, Captaine Vasseur, and one of my Sergeants being embarked with their tenne Souldiers about the tenth of September, to cary backe the prisoners vnto Vtina, sailed so farre vp the Riuer, that they discouered a place called Mayarqua distant from our Fort about fourescore leagues, where the Indians gaue them good entertainement, and in many other villages which they found. From this place they rowed to the dwelling of Paracoussy Vtina, which after hee had feasted them according to his abilitie and power, prayed Monsieur de Arlac and all his Souldiers to stay a while with him, to ayde and assist him in battaile against one of his enemies, called Potanou, whereunto Monsieur de Arlac consented willingly. And because hee knew not how long he might haue occasion to stay in these parts, hee sent mee Captaine Vasseur and the Barke backe againe, which brought home onely fiue Souldiers with him.

Now because the custome of the Indians is alwayes to wage war by surprise, Vtina resolued to take his enemie Potanou in the morning by the breake of the day: to bring this to passe, hee made his men to trauaile all the night, which might be in number two hundred persons, so well aduised, that they prayed our French-shot to be in the fore-front, to the ende (as they saide) that the noyse of their pieces might astonish their enemies: notwithstanding they coulde not march so secretly, but that those of the village of Potanou, distant from the dwelling of Vtina about fiue and twentie leagues, were ware of them: which suddenly employed and bestowed all their endeuour to defend their village enclosed all with trees, and issued out in great companies: but finding themselues charged with shotte, (a thing wherewith they neuer had bene acquainted) also beholding the Captaine of their bande fall downe dead in the beginning of their skirmish, with a shot of an Harquebuse which strooke him in the forehead, discharged by the hande of Monsieur de Arlac, they left the place: and the Indians of Vtina gate into the village, taking men, women, and children prisoners. Thus Paracoussy Vtina obtained the victory by the ayde of our men, which slew many of his enemies, and lost in this conflict one of their companions, wherewith Vtina was very much grieued. Eight or tenne dayes after, I sent Captaine Vasseur backe againe with a Barke to fetch home Monsieur de Arlac and his Souldiers, which at their returne brought mee certaine presents from Vtina, as some siluer, a small quantitie of golde, painted skinnes, and other things, with a thousand thankes, which the Paracoussy gaue me, which promised that if in any enterprise of importance I should haue neede of his men, he would furnish mee with three hundreth and aboue.

The Indians maner of war.

Two hundreth Indians.

A village inclosed with trees.

Vtina getteth the victory of Potanou by the helpe of the French.

Siluer, and gold, and painted skinnes.

While I thus trauailed to purchase friends, & to practise one while with one here, an other while with another there, certaine Souldiers of my company were suborned vnder hand by one named la Roquette of the Countrey of Perigort, which put in their heads that hee was a great Magician, and that by the secrets of Art-magicke he had discouered a Mine of golde and siluer farre vp within the Riuer, whereby (vpon the losse of his life,) euery Souldier should receiue in ready Bullion the value of tenne thousand Crownes, beside and aboue fifteene hundred thousand which should be reserued for the Kings Maiestie: wherefore they allied themselues with La Roquette and another of his confederates, whose name was Le Genre, in whom notwithstanding I had great affiance. This Genre exceeding desirous to enrich himselfe in those parts, and seeking to be reuenged, because I would not giue him the carriage of the Paquet into France, secretly enfourmed the Souldiers that were already suborned by La Roquette, that I would depriue them of this great gaine, in that I did set them dayly on worke, not sending them on euery side to discouer the Countreys: therefore that it were a good deede, after they had made mee vnderstand so much, to seeke meanes to dispatch mee out of the way, and to choose another Captaine in my place, if I would not giue them victuals according to their disordinate appetite. Hee also brought mee word hereof himselfe, making a large discourse vnto mee of the good affection of the Souldiers, which all besought mee that I would conduct them to the Countreys where the Mine was: I made him answere that all could not goe thither, and that it was necessary before their departure to settle our Fortresse in such estate, that those which were to stay at home behind should remaine in securitie against the Indians which might surprise them. Furthermore, that their maner of proceeding seemed strange vnto mee, for that they imagined, that the Kings Maiestie was at the charges of our voyage for none other ende, but onely to enrich them at their first arriuall, in as much as they shewed themselues much more giuen vnto couetousnesse, then vnto the seruice of their Prince: But seeing mine answere tended vnto none other ende but to make our Fortresse strong and defensible, they determined to trauaile in the worke, and made an ensigne of olde linnen, which ordinarily they bare vpon the rampart when they went to woorke, alwayes wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to incourage themselues to worke the better. But as I perceiued afterwards, and

La Roquettes conspiracie.

Monsieur de Genre.

Gieures message to Laudoniere in the Souldiers name.

His answere.

A dangerous practice against the Captaine and his Lieutenant.

and that by the confession of Genre sent mee in letters which he writ to mee of that matter, these gentle Souldiers did the same for none other ende, but to haue killed mee, and my Lieutenant also, if by chance I had giuen them any hard speeches.

Laudonniers sicknesse.

Laudonniers Apothecarie.

The Master of the fire-works.

About the twentieth of September, as I came home from the woods and coppises to finish the building of my Fort, (and that according to my vsual maner, I marched first to giue encouragement vnto my Souldiers) I chafed my selfe in such sort, that I fell into a sore and grieuous sicknesse, whereof I thought I should haue died: During which sicknesse, I called Le Genre often vnto mee, as one that I trusted aboue all others, and of whose conspiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this meane while assembling his complices, sometime in his chamber and sometime in the woods to consult with them, hee spake vnto them to choose another Captaine besides mee, to the intent to put mee to death: but being not able by open force to execute his mischieuous intention, hee gate him vnto mine Apothecarie praying him instantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receiue one or two dayes after, some drugge that should make mee pitch ouer the pearch, or at the least that hee would giue him a little Arsenike or quicke Siluer, which hee himselfe would put into my drinke. But the Apothecary denied him, as did in like maner master S. which was Master of the fire-workes. Thus wholly disappointed of both his meanes, hee with certaine others resolued to hide a little barrell of gunne-powder vnderneath my bed, and by a traine to set it on fire.

Captaine Bourdet arriued in Florida the 4. of September.

Vpon these practises a Gentleman which I had dispatched to returne into France, being about to take his leaue of me, aduertised me, that Gieure had giuen him a booke full of all kinde of lewde inuectiues and slanders against me, against Monsieur de Ottigny, and against the principal of my company: vpon which occasion I assembled all my Souldiers together, and Captaine Bourdet with all his, which on the fourth of September arriued in the roade, and were come into our Riuer. In their presence I caused the contents of the booke to bee read alowde, that they might beare record of the vntruths that were written against mee. Gieure, which had gotten him into the woods for feare of being taken, (where he liued for a while after with the Sauages by my permission,) writ vnto mee often, and in many of his letters confessed vnto mee, that hee had deserued death, condemning himselfe so farrefoorth, that he referred all to my mercie and pitie.

The 4. voyage the 7. of Nouember.

Hostaqua a village.

The seuenth or eighth day of Nouember, after I had caused sufficient prouision of such victuals as were needefull to bee made, I sent two of my men, to wit, La Roche Ferriere, and an other towarde King Vtina, to discouer euery day more and more of the Countrey: where hee was the space of fiue or sixe moneths, during which hee discouered many small villages, and among others one named Hostaqua, the King whereof being desirous of my friendship, sent vnto mee a quiuer made of a Luserns skinne full of arrowes, a couple of bowes, foure or fiue skinnes painted after their maner, and a cheine of Siluer weying about a pounde weight. In recompence of which presents I sent him two whole sutes of apparell, with certaine cutting hookes or hatchets.

After these things therefore in this sort passed, about the tenth of this moneth, Captaine Bourdet determined to leaue mee and to returne into France. Then I requested him, yea rather was exceeding importunate with him, to carry home with him some sixe or seuen Souldiers, whom I coulde not trust by any meanes: which hee did for my sake, and would not charge himselfe with Gieure, which offered him a great summe of money, if it would please him to carry him into France: hee transported him onely to the other side of the Riuer. Three dayes after his departure thirteene Mariners which I had brought out of France suborned by certaine other Mariners which Captaine Bourdet had left me, stole away my Barkes in maner following. These Mariners of Captaine Bourdet put mine in the head, that if they had such Barkes as mine were, they might gaine very much in the Isles of the Antilles, and make an exceeding profitable voyage. Hereupon they beganne to deuise howe they might steale away my Barkes, and consulted that when I should command them to goe vnto the village of Sarauahi distant about a league and a halfe from our Fort, and situated vpon an arme

One of his Barks stolne away by his Mariners.

The village of Sarauahi.

of

f the Riuer, (whither according to my maner I sent them dayly to seeke clay, to make bricke nd morter for our houses) they would returne no more, but would furnish themselues with ictuals as well as they might possibly: and then would embarke themselues all in one vesell, and would goe their way: as indeede they did. And that which was worse, two Flemish Carpenters, which the saide Bourdet had left mee, stole away the other Barke, and before their departure cut the cables of the Barke, and of the ship boate, that it might goe away with the tyde, that I might not pursue them: so that I remained without either Barke or boate, which fell out as vnluckily for mee as was possible. For I was ready to imbarke my selfe with all speede, to discouer as farre vp our Riuer, as I might by any meanes. Nowe my Mariners, (as I vnderstood afterwards) tooke a Barke that was a passenger of the Spaniards neere the Isle of Cuba, wherein they founde a certaine quantitie of golde and siluer, which they seazed vpon. And hauing this bootie they lay a while at Sea, vntill their victuals beganne to faile them: which was the cause, that oppressed with famine they came vnto Hauana the principall Towne of the Isle of Cuba: whereupon proceeded that mischiefe which hereafter I will declare more at large. When I saw my Barkes returned not at their wonted houre, and suspecting that which fell out in deed, I commanded my Carpenters with all diligence to make a little boat with a flat bottome, to search those Riuers for some newes of these Mariners. The boate dispatched within a day and a night, by reason that my Carpenters found planks and timber ready sawed to their hands, as commonly I caused my Sawyers to prouide it, I sent men to seeke some newes of my thieues: but all was in vaine. Therefore I determined to cause two great Barkes to be built, eche of which might be thirtie fiue, or thirtie sixe foote long in the keele.

Another of his Barks stolne away by two Carpenters.

One of these Mariners named Francis Iean betrayed his own countrey men to the Spaniards, and brought them into Florida.

A Saw-mill necessary here.

And now the worke was very well forwarde which I set my workemen about, when ambition and auarice, the mother of all mischiefe, tooke roote in the hearts of foure or fiue souldiers which could not away with the worke and paines taking: and which from henceforward (namely one Fourneaux, and one La Croix, and another called Steuen le Geneuois, the three principall authors of the sedition) beganne to practise with the best of my troupe, shewing them that it was a vile thing for men of honest parentage, as they were, to moyle themselues thus with abiect and base worke, seeing they had the best occasion of the worlde offered them to make themselues all riche: which was to arme the two Barkes which were in building, and to furnish them with good men: and then to saile vnto Peru, and the other Isles of the Antilles, where euery Souldier might easily enrich himselfe with tenne thousand Crownes. And if their enterprise should bee misliked withall in France, they should bee alwayes able, by reason of the great wealth that they should gaine, to retire themselues into Italy, vntill the heate were ouerpassed, and that in the meane season some warre would fall out, which would cause all this to be quite forgotten.

The thirde sedition.

By Peru the French meane the coast of Carthagena and Nombre de Dios.

This word of riches sounded so well in the eares of my Souldiers, that in fine, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affaires, they grew to the number of threescore and sixe: which to colour their great desire which they had to goe on stealing, they caused a request to bee presented vnto mee by Francis de la Caille Sergeant of my company, contayning in sum a declaration of the small store of victuals that was left to maintaine vs, vntil the time that shippes might returne from France: for remedy whereof they thought it necessary to sende to New Spaine, Peru, and all the Isles adioyning, which they besought mee to be content to graunt. But I made them answere, that when the Barkes were finished, I would take such good order in generall, that by meanes of the Kings marchandise, without sparing mine owne apparell, wee would get victuals of the inhabitants of the Countrey: seeing also that wee had ynough to serue vs for foure moneths to come. For I feared greatly, that vnder pretence of searching victuals, they would enterprise somewhat against the King of Spaines Subiects, which in time to come might iustly bee layde to my charge, considering that at our departure out of France, the Queene had charged me very expresly, to doe no kinde of wrong to the King of Spaines Subiects, nor any thing whereof he might conceiue any ielousie.

The captaines charge at his setting forth.

They made as though they were content with this answere. But eight dayes after, as I continued in working vpon our Fort, and on my Barkes, I fell sicke. Then my seditious companions forgetting all honour and duetie, supposing that they had found good occasion to execute their rebellious enterprise, beganne to practise afresh their former designes, handling their businesse so well, during my sicknesse, that they openly vowed that they would seaze on the Corps de gard, and on the Fort, yea, and force mee also, if I woulde not consent vnto their wicked desire. My Lieutenant being hereof aduertised, came and tolde mee that he suspected some euill practise: and the next day in the morning I was saluted at my gate with men in complet harnesse, what time my Souldiers were about to play mee a shrewde tricke: then I sent to seeke a couple of Gentlemen whom I most trusted, which brought mee word that the Souldiers were determined to come to me to make a request vnto me: But I tolde them that this was not the fashion to present a request vnto a Captaine in this maner, and therefore they should send some few vnto me to signifie vnto mee what they would haue. Hereupon the fiue chiefe authours of the sedition armed with Corslets, their Pistolles in their handes already bent, prest into my chamber, saying vnto mee, that they would goe to New Spaine to seeke their aduenture. Then I warned them to bee well aduised what they meant to doe: but they foorthwith replyed, that they were fully aduised already, and that I must graunt them this request. Seeing then (quoth I) that I am enforced to doe it, I will sende Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, which will make answere and giue mee an accompt of euery thing that shall be done in this voyage: And to content you, I thinke it good that you take one man out of euery chamber, that they may accompany Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant. Whereupon, blaspheming the Name of God, they answered that they must goe thither: and that there lacked nothing, but that I should deliuer them the armour which I had in my custodie, for feare least I might vse them to their disaduantage (being so villanously abused by them:) wherein notwithstanding I would not yeeld vnto them. But they tooke all by force, and caried it out of my house, yea and after they had hurt a Gentleman in my chamber, which spake against their doings, they layd hands on mee, and caried mee very sicke, as I was, prisoner into a shippe which rode at ancker in the middest of the Riuer, wherein I was the space of fifteene dayes attended vpon with one man onely without permission for any of my seruants to come to visite mee: from euery one of whom, as also from the rest that tooke my part, they tooke away their armour. And they sent mee a passeport to signe, telling me plainely after I had denied them, that if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the shippe. Thus was I constrained to signe their Passe-port, and forthwith to grant them certaine mariners, with Trenchant an honest and skilfull Pilot. When the barks were finished, they armed them with the kings munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, asmuch as they needed, and chose one of my Sergeants for their Captain, named Bertrand Conferrent, and for their Ensigne one named La Croix. They compelled Captaine Vasseur to deliuer them the flag of his ship. Then hauing determined to saile vnto a place of the Antilles called Leauguaue, belonging vnto the king of Spaine, and there to goe on land on Christmasse night, with intention to enter into the Church while the Masse was sayd after midnight, and to murder all those that they found there, they set saile the eight of December. But because the greatest part of them by this time repented them of their enterprise, and that now they began to fall into mutinies among themselues, when they came foorth of the mouth of the riuer, the two barks diuided themselues; the one kept along the coast vnto Cuba, to double the Cape more easily, and the other went right foorth to passe athwart the Isles of Lucaya: by reason whereof they mette not vntill sixe weeks after their departure. During which time the barke that tooke her way along the coast, wherein one of the chiefe conspiratours named De Orange was Captaine, and Trenchant his Pilot, neere vnto a place called Archaha, tooke a Brigantine laden with a certaine quantity of Cassaui, which is a kinde of bread made of roots, and yet neuerthelesse is very white, and good to eat, and some little wine, which was not without some losse of their men: for in one assault that the inhabitants of Archaha made vpon them, two of their men were taken, to wit, Steuen Gondeau, and one named Grand Pré, besides two more that were slaine in the place, namely Nicholas Master and Doublet: yet neuerthelesse they tooke the Brigantine, wherein they put all their stuffe that was in their owne Barke, because it was of greater burthen and better of saile then their owne. Afterward they sailed right vnto the Cape of

Laudonniere kept 15. dayes prisoner by his owne souldiers.

Trenchant a skilfull pilot.

Cassaui, bread made of roots.

of Santa Maria nere to Leauguaue, where they went on land to calke and bray their ship which had a great leake. In this meane while they resolued to saile to Baracou, which is a village of the Isle of Iamaica: where at their arriuall they found a carauel of fifty or three score tunnes burden, which they tooke without any body in it: and after they had made good cheere in the village the space of fiue or sixe dayes, they embarked themselues in it, leauing their second ship: then they returned to the Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a Patach, which they tooke by force after a long conflict. In this Patach the gouernour of Iamaica was taken, with great store of riches, aswell of golde and siluer as of merchandise and wine, and many other things; wherewith our seditious companions not content, determined to seeke more in their carauell, and their gouernour of Iamaica also. After they were come to Iamaica, they missed of another carauel which did saue it selfe in the hauen. The gouernour being fine and subtile, seeing himselfe brought vnto the place which he desired and where he commanded, obtained so much by his faire words, that they which had taken him let him put two little boyes which were taken with him into a little cocke boat, and send them to his wife into the village, to aduertise her that she should make prouision of victuals to send vnto him. But in stead of writing vnto his wife, he spake vnto the boyes secretly that with all diligence she should send the vessels that were in the hauens neere that place to succour and rescue him. Which she did so cunningly, that on a morning about the breake of the day, as our seditious companions were at the hauens mouth (which reacheth aboue two leagues vp within the land) there came out of the hauen a malgualire which maketh saile both forward and backward, and then two great shippes, which might be ech of them of fourescore or an hundred tunnes a piece, with good store of ordinance, and well furnished with men: at whose comming our mutinous fellowes were surprised, being not able to see them when they came, as well because of the darknesse of the weather, as also by reason of the length of the hauen, considering also they mistrusted nothing. True it is that fiue or six & twenty that were in the brigantine discouered these ships when they were nere them, which seeing themselues pressed for want of leasure to weigh their anker, cut their cable, and the trumpeter which was in it aduertised the rest: whereupon the Spanyards seeing themselues descried, discharged a volley of canon shot against the French men, which they followed by the space of three leagues, and recouered their own ships: the brigantine which escaped away, passed in the sight of the Cape des Aigrettes, and the Cape of S. Anthony situate in the Isle of Cuba, & from thence passed within the sight of Hauana; but Trenchant their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certaine other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elswhere we haue declared) desired nothing more then to returne to me: wherefore these men agreed together (if peraduenture the wind serued them well) to passe the chanell of Bahama, while their seditious companions were asleepe: which they did accomplish with such good successe, that in the morning toward the breake of the day about the fiue and twentieth of March they arriued vpon the coast of Florida: where knowing the fault which they had committed, in a kinde of mockery they counterfaited the Iudges: but they played not this pranke vntill they had tippled well of the Wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the Iudge, another presented my person: one other after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: Make you your causes as good as it pleaseth you, but if when you come to the fort Caroline the Captaine cause you not to be hanged, I will neuer take him for an honest man: others thought that my choler being passed, I would easily forget this matter. Their saile was no sooner descried vpon our coast, but the king of the place named Patica, dwelling eight leagues distant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, sent an Indian to aduertise me that he had descried a shippe vpon the coast, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon the brigantine oppressed with famine, came to an anker at the mouth of the riuer of May, when at the first blush we thought they had bene shippes come from France; which gaue vs occasion of great ioy: but after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was aduertised that they were our seditious companions that were returned. Therefore I sent them word by Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, that they should bring vp their brigantine before the fortresse: which they promised to doe. Now there was not aboue

Barscou a village in the Isle of Iamaica.

The cape of Tiburon.

The gouernor of Iamaica takē.

Malgualire a kinde of vessell that will saile forward and backward.

The Cape of S. Antony in Cuba. Hauana.

The chanell of Bahama.

King Patica.

The returne of part of Laudonnieres seditious souldiers.

aboue two leagues distance from the mouth of the riuer where they cast anker vnto the fortresse. The next day I sent the same Captaine and Sergeant with thirty souldiers, because I saw they much delayed their comming. Then they brought them: and because certaine of them had sworne at their departure, that they would neuer come againe within the fort, I was well pleased they should keepe their oth. For this purpose I waited for them at the riuers mouth, where I made my barks to be built, and commanded my Sergeant to bring the foure chiefe authours of the mutiny on shore: whom I caused immediatly to be put in fetters: for my meaning was not to punish the rest, considering that they were suborned, and because my councell expresly assembled for this purpose had concluded that these foure only should die, to serue for an example to the rest. In the same place I made an Oration vnto them in this maner.

Laudonnieres oration to his mutinous souldiers.

MY friends, you know the cause why our king sent vs vnto this countrey; you know that he is our naturall Prince, whom we are bound to obey according to the cōmandement of God, in such sort, that we ought neither to spare our goods nor liues to do those things that concerne his seruice: ye know, or at least you cannot be ignorant, that besides this general and naturall obligation, ye haue this also ioyned thereunto, that in receiuing of him reasonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow those whom he hath established ouer you to be your gouernours, and to command you in his name, hauing for this purpose giuen him an oth of fidelitie, which you cannot by any meanes reuoke for any faire apparance which you haue to doe the contrary: for this is reason, that seeing you liue vpon his charges on this condition (this is reason I say) that you should be faithfull vnto him. Notwithstanding you haue had more regard vnto your vnbridled affections then vnto vertue, which inuited you to the obseruance of your oth, in such sort that being become contemners of all honesty, you haue passed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawfull for you. Whereupon it is fallen out, that while you thought to escape the iustice of men, you could not auoid the iudgement of God, which as a thing by no meanes to be auoided hath led you, and in spight of you hath made you to arriue in this place, to make you confesse how true his iudgements are, and that he neuer suffereth so foule a fault to escape vnpunished.

The sentence of death.

Execution.

The continuation of the history.

New cōquests subiect to rebellions and mutinies.

After that I had vsed vnto them these or the like speeches, following that which wee had agreed vpon in councell, in respect of the crimes which they had committed, aswel against the kings Maiesty as against mee which was their Captaine, I commanded that they should be hanged. Seeing therefore that there was no starting hole, nor meanes at all to saue themselues from this arrest, they tooke themselues vnto their prayers: yet one of the foure, thinking to raise a mutiny among my souldiers, sayd thus vnto them: What, brethren and companions, will you suffer vs to die so shamefully? And taking the word out of his mouth, I sayd vnto him, that they were not companions of authours of sedition and rebels vnto the kings seruice. Heereupon the souldiers besought me not to hang them, but rather let them be shot thorow, & then afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged vpon certaine gibbets along the hauens mouth: which I caused presently to be put in execution. Loe here what was the end of my mutinous souldiers, without which I had alwayes liued peaceably, and enioyed the good desire which I had to make an happy and quiet voyage. But because I haue spoken of nothing but their accidentes and aduentures which happened vnto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will returne to the matters from which I digressed, to declare that which fell out after their departure. First, I began to consider to the end I might confirme and make myselfe more constant in mine affliction, that these murmurers could not ground their sedition vpon want of victuals: for from the time of our ariuall, euery souldier dayly vnto this day, and besides vntill the eight and twentieth day of February, had a loafe of bread weighing two and twenty ounces. Againe I recounted with my selfe that all new conquest by sea or by land are ordinarily troubled with rebellions, which are easie to be raised, as well in respect of the distance of place, as in respect of the hope that the souldiers haue to make their profit, as we may be well informed both by ancient histories and also by the troubles which lately happened vnto Christopher Columbus, after his first discouery, to Francis Pizarro, & Diego de Almagro in Peru, & to Fernando Cortes. An hundred thousand other things came vnto my minde, to incourage and confirme me. My Lieutenant Ortigny, and my Sergeant of my band came to seeke me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and caried me from thence in a barke assoone as our rebels were departed. After I was come vnto the fort, I caused all my company that remained, to be assembled in the midst of the place before the Corps de garde, and declared vnto them the faults which they that had forsaken vs had committed, praying them to beare them in memory, to beare witnesse thereof when need should require. Foorthwith I ordained new Captaines to command the troups; and prescribed them an order, according whereunto they were to gouerne themselues from thence forward, and to enter into their watch: for the greatest part of the souldiers, of whom I had the best opinion, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they promised mee all with one accord to obey mee most humbly, and to doe whatsoeuer I should command them, though it were to die at my feet for the Kings seruice; wherein assuredly they neuer after failed: so that I dare say, after the departure of my mutinous companions I was as well obeyed as euer was Captaine in place where he commanded. The next day after my returne vnto the fort, I assembled my men together againe, to declare vnto them that our fort was not yet finished, and that it was needfull that all of vs should put thereto our helping hands, to assure our selues against the Indians: wherein hauing willingly agreed vnto mee, they raised it all with turfes from the gate vnto the riuer which is on the West side. This done, I set my Carpenters on worke to make another barke of the same bignesse that the others were of: I commanded the Sawyers that they should prepare plancks, the Smithes to prepare yron and nailes, and certaine others to make coales: so that the barke was finished in eighteene dayes. Afterward I made another lesser then the first, the better to discouer vp the riuer. In this meane space the Indians visited me, and brought me dayly certaine presents, as Fish, Deere, Turki-cocks, Leopards, little Beares, and other things according to the place of their habitation. I recompensed them with certaine Hatchets, Kniues, Beads of glasse, Combes, and Looking-glasses. Two Indians came vnto me one day to salute me on the behalfe of their King, whose name was Marracou, dwelling from the place of our fort some forty leagues toward the South, and tolde mee that there was one in the house of King Onathaqua which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the house of King Mathiaca another man whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation: whereupon I conceiued that these might be some Christians. Wherefore I sent to all the kings my neighbours to pray them, that if there were any Christian dwelling in their countreys, they would finde meanes that he might be brought vnto mee, and that I would make them double recompense. They which loue rewards, tooke so much paine, that the two men, whereof we haue spoken, were brought vnto the fort vnto me. They were naked, wearing their haire long vnto their hammes as the Sauages vse to do, and were Spanyards borne, yet so well accustomed to the fashion of the countrey, that at the first sight they found our maner of apparell strange. After that I had questioned of certaine matters with them, I caused them to be apparelled, and to cut their haire; which they would not loose, but lapped it vp in a linnen cloth, saying that they would cary it into their countrey to be a testimony of the misery that they had indured in the Indies. In the haire of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to the value of fiue and twenty crownes, which he gaue vnto me. And examining them of the places where they had bene, and how they came thither, they answered me that fifteene yeeres past, three shippes, in one of which they were, were cast away ouer against a place named Calos vpon the Flats which are called The Martyres, and that the king of Calos recouered the greatest part of the riches which were in the sayd shippes, trauelling in such sort that the greatest part of the people was saued, and many women; among which number there were three or foure women maried, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this king of Calos. I desired to learne what this king was. They answered me, that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the countrey, a mighty man, a warrier, and hauing many subiects vnder his obedience. They tolde me moreouer, that he had great store of golde and siluer, so farre foorth that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man, and as large as a tunne: all which wealth the Spanyards fully per-

swaded

Laudonniere setteth things in order after his returne out of prison to the fort.

Reparation of the West side of the fort.

King Marracou.

King Onathaqua.

King Mathiaca.

Two Spanyards brought vnto Laudonniere by the Sauages.

Calos a place vpon yͤ Flats called The Martyres neere the Cape of Florida.

The King of Calos.

Great quãtitie of golde and siluer.

Plates of gold as broad as a sawcer.

One of these Spanyards names was Martin Gomes.

King Oathcaqua or Housthca.

Sarrope an Island.
Abundance of Dates.
A root of great price to make bread of.

The greatest victory among the Floridians.

The situation of Calos.

Cannaueral in 28 degrees.

swaded themselues that they could cause me to recouer, if I were able to march thither with an hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the countrey, which had also great store thereof. They further also aduertised me, that the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of golde as broad as a sawcer, and in such number; that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men ware the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they sayd, out of the Spanish shippes, which commonly were cast away in this straight; and the rest by the traffique which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the countrey: Finally, that he was had in great reuerence of his subiects; and that hee made them beleeue that his sorceries and charmes were the causes that made the earth bring foorth her fruit: and that hee might the easier perswade them that it was so, he retired himselfe once or twise a yeere to a certaine house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where hee vsed certaine inchantments; and if any man intruded himselfe to goe to see what they did in this place, the king immediatly caused him to be put to death. Moreouer, they tolde me, that euery yeere in the time of haruest, this Sauage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expresly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spanyards which by tempest were cast away vpon that coast. One of these two declared vnto me, that hee had serued him a long time for a messenger; and that oftentimes by his commandement he had visited a king named Oathcaque, distant from Calos foure or fiue dayes iourney, which alwayes remained his faithfull friend: but that in the midway there was an Island situate in a great lake of fresh water, named Sarrope, about fiue leagues in bignesse, abounding with many sorts of fruits, specially in Dates, which growe on the Palme trees, whereof they make a woonderfull traffique; yet not so great as of a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, so good to make bread of, that it is vnpossible to eate better, and that for fifteene leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith: which is the cause that the inhabitants of the Isle gaine of their neighbours great wealth and profit: for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that countrey, as they made good proofe when the king of Calos, hauing made alliance with Oathcaqua, was depriued of Oathcaquaes daughter, which he had promised to him in mariage. He tolde me the whole matter in this sort: As Oathcaqua well accompanied with his people caried one of his daughters, exceeding beautifull, according to the colour of the countrey, vnto king Calos, to giue her vnto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this Isle aduertised of the matter, layed an ambush for him in a place where he should passe, and so behaued themselues, that Oathcaqua was discomfited, the betrothed yoong spouse taken, and all the damosels that accompanied her; which they caried vnto their Isle; which thing in all the Indians countrey they esteeme to be the greatest victory: for afterward they marry these virgins, and loue them aboue all measure. The Spanyard that made this relation, tolde mee that after this defeat he went to dwell with Oathcaqua, and had bene with him full eight yeeres, euen vntill the time that he was sent vnto me. The place of Calos is situate vpon a riuer which is beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the Southwest: and the dwelling of Oathcaqua is on this side the Cape toward the North, in a place which we call in the Chart Cannaueral, which is in 28 degrees.

About the fiue and twentieth of Ianuary Paracoussy Satourioüa my neighbour sent me certaine presents by two of his subiects, to perswade me to ioyne with him, and to make warre vpon Ouae Vtina; which was my friend: and further besought me to retire certaine of my men which were with Vtina; for whom if it had not bene, he had oftentimes set vpon him, and defeited him. He besought me heerein by diuers other kings his allies, which for three weekes or a moneths space sent messengers vnto mee to this end and purpose: but I would not grant vnto them that they should make warre vpon him; yea rather contrariwise I endeuoured to make them friends; wherein they condescended vnto me, so farre foorth that they were content to allow of any thing that I would set downe: whereupon the two Spanyards which of long time knew well the nature of the Indians, warned me that in any case I should not trust vnto them, because that when they shewed good countenance and the best cheere vnto men, then was the time that they would surprise and betray them; and that of their nature they were the greatest traitours and most deepe dissemblers of the world. Besides I neuer trusted them but vpon good ground, as one that had discouered a thousand of their crafts and subtilties, aswell by experience as by reading of the histories of late yeres. Our two barks were not so soone finished, but I sent Captaine Vasseur to discouer along the coast lying toward the North, and commanded him to saile vnto a riuer, the king whereof was called Audusta, which was lord of that place, where those of the yere 1562 inhabited. I sent him two sutes of apparell, with certaine hatchets, kniues, and other small trifles, the better to insinuate my selfe into his friendship. And the better to win him, I sent in the barke with captaine Vasseur a souldier called Aimon, which was one of them which returned home in the first voyage, hoping that king Audusta might remember him. But before they were imbarked I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, which remained alone in those parts when Nicolas Masson and those of the first voyage imbarked themselues to returne into France. They vnderstood at their ariuall there, that a barke passing that way had caried away the same souldier: and afterward I knew for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had caried him to Hauana. The king Audusta sent me backe my barke full of mill, with a certaine quantity of beanes, two stags, some skinnes painted after their maner, and certaine pearles of small value, because they were burnt: and sent me word that if I would dwel in his quarters, he would giue me a great countrey: and that after he had gathered his mill, he would spare me as much as I would haue. In the meane while there came vnto our fort a flocke of stocke-doues in so great number, and that for the space of seuen weeks together, that euery day wee killed with harquebush shot two hundred in the woods about our fort. After that Captaine Vasseur was returned, I caused the two barks to be furnished againe with souldiers & mariners, and sent them to cary a present from me vnto the widow of king Hiocaia, whose dwelling was distant from our fort about twelue legues Northward. She courteously receiued our men, sent me backe my barks full of mill and acornes with certaine baskets full of the leaues of Cassine, wherwith they make their drinke. And the place where this widow dwelleth is the most plentifull of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant. It is thought that the queene is the most beautifull of all the Indians, and of whom they make most account: yea, and her subiects honour her so much, that almost continually they beare her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot. Within a few dayes after the returne of my barks, she sent to visit me by her Hiatiqui, which is as much to say, as her interpreter. Now while I thought I was furnished with victuals vntill the time that our ships might come out of France (for feare of keeping my people idle) I sent my two barks to discouer along the riuer, and vp toward the head thereof, which went so far vp that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place named Mathiaqua, and there they discouered the entrance of a lake, vpon the one side whereof no land can be seene, according to the report of the Indians, which had oftentimes climed on the highest trees in the countrey to see land, and notwithstanding could not discerne any: which was the cause that my men went no further, but returned backe; and in comming home went to see the Island of Edelano situated in the midst of the riuer, as faire a place as any that may be seene thorow the world: for in the space of some three leagues, that it may conteine in length and bredth, a man may see an exceeding rich countrey, and maruellously peopled. At the comming out of the village of Edelano to go vnto the riuers side a man must passe thorow an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad: on both sides wherof great tres are planted, the boughes whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together so artificially that a man would thinke it were an arbour made of purpose, as faire I say, as any in all christendome, although it be altogether natural. Our men departing from this place rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, & lastly they came vnto Coya: where leauing their barks in a litle creeke of the riuer with men to guard them, they went to visit Vtina, which receiued them very courteously: and when they departed from his house, he intreated them so earnestly, that sixe of my men remained with him; of which number there was one gentleman, named Groutald, which after he had abode there about two moneths, and taken great paines to discouer the countrey, with

The Floridians great traitours and dissemblers.

Nicolas Masson otherwise called Nicolas Barre.

King Audustas great humanity.

Pearles burned.

Peter Martyr writeth cap. 1. decad. 7. that the like flocks of pigeons are in the Isles of the Lucayos.

The widow of King Hioacaia, or Hihouhacara.

This queenes name was Nia Cubicani.

The fift voyage vp the riuer of May.

Mathiaqua.

The discouery of a mighty lake, on the one side whereof no land can be seene.

The Isle of Edelano.

An excellent worke of nature.

Eneguape.

Chilily.

Patica.

Coya.

with another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came vnto me to the fort, and tolde me that he neuer saw a fairer countrey. Among other things, he reported vnto me that he had seene a place named Hostaqua, and that the king thereof was so mighty, that he was able to bring three or foure thousand Sauages to the field; with whom if I would ioyne and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the rest of the inhabitants vnto our obedience: besides that this king knew the passages vnto the mountaine of Apalatci, which the French men desired so greatly to atteine vnto, and where the enemy of Hostaqua made his abode; which was easie to be subdued, if so be wee would enter into league together. This king sent me a plate of a minerall that came out of this mountaine, out of the foot whereof there runneth a streame of golde or copper, as the Sauages thinke, out of which they dig vp the sand with an hollow and drie cane of reed vntill the cane be full; afterward they shake it, and finde that there are many small graines of copper and siluer among this sand: which giueth them to vnderstand, that some rich mine must needs be in the mountaine. And because the mountaine was not past fiue or sixe dayes iourney from our fort, lying toward the Northwest, I determined assoone as our supply should come out of France, to remooue our habitation vnto some riuer more toward the North, that I might be nerer therevnto. One of my souldiers whose name was Peter Gamby, which had remained a long space before in this countrey to learne the languages and traffique with the Indians, at the last came to the village of Edelano, where hauing gotten together a certaine quantity of golde and siluer, and purposing to returne vnto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoa (which is a vessell made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians vse to fish withal, and to row vpon the riuers) which this lord of Edelano granted him. But being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoa, to murder him & bring him the merchandise and the gold which he had. Which the two traitours villanously executed: for they knockt him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing of the fire in the canoa to see the fish. The Paracoussy Vtina sent certeine dayes afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteene of my shot, to inuade his enemy Potanou, and sent me word, that this enemy once vanquished, he would make me passage, yea, and would conduct me vnto the mountaines in such sort, that no man should be able to hinder me. Then I assembled my men to demand their aduice, as I was woont to do in all mine enterprises. The greater part was of opinion, that I should do well to send succour vnto this Paracoussy, because it would be hard for me to discouer any further vp into the countrey without his helpe: and that the Spanyards when they were imployed in their conquests, did alwayes enter into alliance with some one king to ruine another. Notwithstanding, because I did alwayes mistrust the Indians, and that the more after the last aduertisement that the Spanyards had giuen me, I doubted lest the small number which Vtina demanded might incurre some danger; wherefore I sent him thirty shot vnder the charge of my Lieutenant Ottigny, which stayed not aboue two dayes with Vtina, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the custome of the countrey are caried by women and yoong boyes, and by hermaphrodites. Vtina setting forward with three hundred of his subiects, hauing ech of them their bowe and quiuer full of arrowes, caused our thirty shot to be placed in the foreward, and made them march all the day, vntill that the night approching, and hauing not gone past halfe the way, they were inforced to lie all night in the woods, nere a great lake, and there to incampe themselues: they separated themselues by sixe and sixe, making ech of them a fire about the place where their king lay, for whose guard they ordeined a certeine number of those archers, in whom he put most confidence. Assoone as day was come, the campe of the Indians marched within three leagues of Potanou: there king Vtina requested my Lieutenant to grant him foure or fiue of his men to go and discouer the countrey; which departed immediatly, and had not gone farre, but they perceiued vpon a lake, distant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians which fished in a canoa. Now the custome is that when they fish in this lake, they haue alwayes a company of watchmen, armed with bowes and arrowes to guard the fishers. Our men being hereof aduertised by those of the company, durst not passe

The king of Hostaqua or Oustaca able to bring three or foure thousād Sauages to the field.

The moūtaine of Apalatci.

There is a mine of golde or rich coper in the mountaine of Apalatci.

Peter Gamby slaine.

The village of Edelano.
Gold & siluer.

Vtina sendeth to Laudonniere for his helpe.

A good note.

Three hundred Indians.

A lake three leagues distāt from the village of Potanou.

passe any further, for feare of falling into some ambush: wherefore they returned towards Vtina, which suddenly sent them backe with a greater company to surprise the fishers, before they might retire and aduertise their king Potanou of the comming of his enemies. Which they could not execute so politikely, but that two of them escaped; the third also did the best he could to saue himselfe by swimming, in which meane while he was stayed with shot of arrowes, and they drew him starke dead vnto the banks side, where our Indians flayed off the skinne of his head, cut off both his armes in the high way, reseruing his haire for the triumph, which their king hoped to make for the defeat of his enemy. Vtina fearing least Potanou aduertised by the fishers which were escaped, should put himselfe in armes to withstand him valiantly, asked counsell of his Iawa, which is asmuch to say in their language as his Magician, whether it were best to goe any further. Then this Magician made certeine signes, hidious and fearefull to beholde, and vsed certeine words; which being ended, he sayd vnto his king, that it was not best to passe any further, and that Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians at the least stayed in such and such a place for him, to bidde him battell: and besides this, that all the sayd Indians were furnished with cords to binde the prisoners which they made full account to take.

Iawa signifieth their Priest or Magician.

Potanou accõpanied with two thousand Indians.

This relation caused Vtina to be vnwilling to passe any further: whereupon my Lieutenant being as angry as euer he might be, because hee had taken so great paines without doing of any thing of account, sayd vnto him, that hee would neuer thinke well of him nor of his people, if hee would not hazzard himselfe: and that if he would not doe it, at the least, that he would giue him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Heereupon Vtina was ashamed, and seeing the good affection of Monsieur de Ottigny determined to go forward: and he failed not to finde his enemies in the very place which the Magician had named: where the skirmish beganne, which lasted three long houres: wherein without doubt Vtina had beene defeated, vnlesse our harquebusiers had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battell, and slaine a great number of the souldiers of Potanou, vpon which occasion they were put to flight. Wherewithall Vtina being content for the present, caused his people to retire and returne homeward to the great discontentment of Monsieur de Ottigny, which desired nothing more, then to pursue his victorie. After he was come home to his house he sent messengers to eighteene or twentie villages of other kings his vassals, and summoned them to be present at the feasts and dances which he purposed to celebrate because of his victorie. In the meane while Monsieur de Ottigny refreshed himselfe for two dayes: and then taking his leaue of the Paracoussi, and leauing him twelue of his men to see that Potanou, bethinking himselfe of his late losse, should not come to burne the houses of Vtina, he set forward on his way to come vnto me vnto our Fort, where he vp and told me how euery thing had passed: and withall that he had promised the twelue souldiers, that he would come backe againe to fetch them. Then the kings my neighbours all enemies to Vtina, being aduertised of the returne of my Lieutenant, came to visite me with presents and to enquire how things had passed, praying me all to receiue them into my fauour, and to become enemie to Vtina, which notwithstanding I would not grant them for many reasons that mooued me.

The prediction of the Magician found true.

Vtina hath 18 or 20 kings to his Vassals.

The Indians are wont to leaue their houses and to retire themselues into the woods the space of three moneths, to wit Ianuary, February, and March: during which time by no meanes a man can see one Indian. For when they goe on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselues, liuing vpon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that during this time, we could get no victuals by their meanes: and had it not beene that I had made good prouision thereof, while my men had store, vntill the end of Aprill (which was the time when at the vttermost, we hoped to haue had succour out of France) I should haue beene greatly amazed. This hope was the cause that the souldiers tooke no great care to looke well vnto their victuals, although I deuided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the countrey, without reseruing vnto my selfe any more then the least souldier of al the company. The moneth of May approching and no manner of succour come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, constrained to eate the rootes of the

A custome of the Indians to leaue their houses for 3 or 4 moneths and to liue in the woods.

They looke for succour out of France by the end of Aprill at the vttermost.

Extreme famine for sixe weekes space.

Promise broken.

Two hogsheads of rosen.

The vile nature of the Indians.

the earth and certaine sorrell which we found in the fields. For although the Sauages were returned by this time vnto their villages, yet they succoured vs with nothing but certaine fish, without which assuredly wee had perished with famine. Besides they had giuen vs before the greatest part of their maiz and of their beanes for our marchandise. This famine held vs from the beginning of May vntill the middest of Iune. During which time the poore souldiers and handicraftsmen became as feeble as might be, and being not able to worke did nothing but goe one after nothing in Centinel vnto the clift of an hill, situate very neere vnto the Fort, to see if they might discouer any French ship. In fine being frustrated of their hope, they assembled altogether, & came to beseech me to take some order that they might returne into France, considering that if we let passe the season to embarke our selues, we were neuer like to see our countrey, where it could not be chosen but that some troubles were fallen out, seeing they had broken their promise made vnto vs, and that no succour was come from thence. Thereupon it was consulted and resolued by all the company, that the barke Breton should be trimmed vp, whereof Captaine Vasseur had charge. But because the ship was not bigge enough to receiue vs all, some thought good to build the Brigandine two deckes higher, which our mutinous souldiers had brought backe, and that 25 men should hazard themselues to passe therein into France. The rest being better aduised said that it should be farre better to build a faire ship vpon the keele of the Galiote which I had caused to be made, promising to labour couragiously therupon. Then I enquired of my shipwrights to knowe in what space they could make this shippe readie. They assured the whole company that being furnished with all things necessarie, they would make it readie by the 8. of August. Immediatly I disposed of the time to worke vpon it, I gaue charge to Monsieur de Ottigny my Lieutenant to cause timber necessary for the finishing of both the vessels to be brought, and to Monsieur de Arlac my Standart-bearer to goe with a barke a league off from the Fort to cut downe trees fit to make plankes, and to cause the sawiers which he carried with him to saw them: and to my Sergeant of the company to cause fifteene or sixteene men to labour in making coales: and to Master Hance keeper of the Artillery, & to the gunner to gather store of rosen to bray the vessels: wherein he vsed such diligence, that in lesse then 3 weekes he gathered 2 hogs-heads of the same together. There remained now but the principal, which was to recouer victuals to sustaine vs while our worke endured: which I vndertooke to doe with yͤ rest of my cōpany & the Mariners of the ship. To this end I embarked my selfe making vp the thirtieth in my great barke, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, hauing with vs no prouision at all of victuals: whereby it may easily be gathered how simply those of our Fort were prouided. True it is that certaine souldiers being better husbandes then the rest, and hauing made some prouision of mast, solde a little measure thereof for fifteene and twentie sous vnto their companions. During our voyage we liued of nothing else but raspices, of a certaine round graine little and blacke, and of the rootes of palmitos which we got by the riuer sides: wherein after we had sayled a long time in vaine, I was constrained to returne to the Fort: where the souldiers beginning to be wearie of working, because of the extreme famine which did consume them, assembled themselues and declared vnto me, that seeing we could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient for the sauing of their liues, to seaze vpon the person of one of the Kings of the Countrie: assuring thēselues that one being taken, the subiects would not suffer our men to want victuals. I made them answere that this enterprise was not rashly to be attempted: But that wee ought to haue good regarde vnto the consequence that might insue thereof. Hereupon they replyed vnto me, that seeing the time was past of our succour from France, & that we were resolued to abandon the Countrie, that there was no danger to constraine the Sauages to furnish vs with victuals: which for the present I would not grant vnto them, but promised them assuredly that I would send to aduertise the Indians that they should bring me victuals for exchange of marchandise and apparell: which they also did for the space of certaine daies, during which they brought of their mast and of their fish: which these Indians being traiterous, & mischieuous of nature and knowing our exceeding strange famine, sold vs at so deere a price, that for lesse then nothing they had gotten from vs al the rest of our marchandise which remained.

And which was worse, fearing to be forced by vs and seeing that they had gotten all from vs, they came no neerer to our Fort then the shot of an Harquebuze. Thither they brought their fish in their little boats, to which our poore souldiers were constrained to goe, and oftentimes (as I haue seene) to giue away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If at any time they shewed vnto the Sauages the excessiue price which they tooke, these villaines would answere them roughly & churlishly: if thou make so great account of thy marchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish: then fell they out a laughing aud mocked vs with open throat. Whereupon our souldiers vtterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their foolish arrogancie. Notwithstanding considering the importance hereof, I tooke paines to appease the impatient souldier: for I would not by any meanes enter into question with the Sauages, & it suffised me to delay the time. Wherefore I deuised to send vnto Vtina, to pray him to deale so farre foorth with his subiects, as to succour me with mast and maiz: which he did very sparingly, sending me 12 or 15 baskets of mast, and two of pinocks, which are a kind of little greene fruits which grow among the weedes in the riuer, and are as big as cheries: yea, & this was not but by giuing of them in exchange twise as much marchandise and apparell ar they were worth. For the subiectes of Vtina perceiued euidently the necessitie wherein we were, & began to vse the like speech vnto vs, as the others did: as it is commonly seene that neede altereth mens affections. While these things were in doing, a certain breathing space presented it selfe for Vtina gaue me to vnderstand that there was a king his subiect whose name was Astina, which he determined to take prisoner, and to chastise him for his disobedience: that for this cause, if I would giue him aide with a certaine number of my souldiers, he would bring them to the village of Astina, where there was meanes to recouer mast and maiz. In the meane season he excused himselfe vnto me because he had sent me no more maiz, and sent me word that the little store that he had left, was scarsely sufficient for his seede-corne. Now being somewhat relieued, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not faile to send him the men which he desired of me, which neuerthelesse were very euill intreated: for he deceiued them, and in stead of leading them against Astina, he caused them to march against his other enemies. My Lieutenant which had the charge of this enterprise with Captaine Vasseur, and my Sergeant was determined to be reuenged of Vtina and to cut him in pieces & his people: and had it not bene that they feared to do any thing against my wil, without all doubt they would haue put their enterprise in execution. Therefore they would not passe any further without aduertising me thereof. Wherefore being come backe againe vnto the Fort, angry & pricked deepely to the quicke for being so mocked, they made their cōplaints vnto me, declaring vnto me that they were almost dead for hunger. They told the whole matter to the rest of the souldiers, which were very glad that they had not entred into that action, & resolued, assembling themselues againe together, to let me vnderstand that they did persist in their first deliberation, which was, to punish the boldnesse and maliciousnes of the Sauages, which they could no longer endure, & were determined to take one of their kings prisoner: which thing I was enforced to grant vnto them to ẏ end to auoid a greater mischiefe, and the sedition which I foresaw would ensue, if I had made refusall thereof. For, sayd they, what occasion haue you to deny vs, considering the necessitie wherein we are, and the small account that they make of vs. Shall it not be lawfull for vs to punish them for the wrongs which they doe vnto vs, besides that we know apparently how little they respect vs? Is not this sufficient although there were no necessitie at all, since they thus delude vs, and haue broken promise with vs? After I had therefore resolued with them to seaze on the person of Vtina, which besides that he had giuen vs occasion hereof, was also most able to help vs to recouer victuals, I departed with fiftie of my best souldiers all embarked in two Barkes & we arriued in the dominions of Vtina, distant from our Fort about 40 or 50 leagues: then going on shore we drew towards his village situated 6 great leagues from the riuer, where we tooke him prisoner, howbeit not without great cries and alarmes, and led him away in our barkes, hauing first signified vnto his Father in law and his chiefe subiects, that in that I had taken him, it was not for any desire that I had to doe him

A cruell answere of the Sauages.

Pinocke a certaine kinde of fruit as bigge as cheries.

Astina a king.

Vtina taken prisoner in his village by Laudonniere and 50 of his soldiers.

any harme, but onely to relieue my necessitie and want of victuals which oppressed me, and that in case they would helpe me to some, I would find meanes to set him againe at libertie: that in the meane space I would retire myselfe into my Barkes (for I feared least they would there assemble themselues together, and that some mischiefe might thereof insue) where I would stay for him two dayes to receiue his answere; notwithstanding that my meaning was not to haue any thing without exchange of marchandise. This they promised they would doe. And in very deede the very same euening, his wife accompanied with all the women of the village came vnto the riuers brinke, and cryed vnto me to enter into the barke, to see her husband and her sonne, which I held both prisoners. I discouered the next day fiue or sixe hundred Indian archers, which drew neere vnto the riuer side, and came to me to signifie vnto me how that during the absence of their king, their enemie Potanou, being thereof aduertised, was entred into their village, and had set all on fire. They prayed me that I would succour them: neuerthelesse in the meane while they had one part of their troope in ambush, with intent to set vpon me if I had come on land, which was easie for mee to discerne. For seeing that I refused so to doe, they greatly doubted that they were discouered, and sought by all meanes to remooue out of my minde that euill opinion which I had conceiued of them. They brought mee therefore fish in their little boates and of their meale of Mast, they made also of their drinke which they call cassine, which they sent to Vtina and me.

Fiue or sixe hundred Indians.

The deepe dissembling of the Indians.

Now albeit I had gotten this point of them that I held their king prisoner, yet neuerthelesse I could not get any great quantitie of victuals for the present: the reason was, because they thought that after I had drawen victuals from them, I would put their king to death. For they measured my will according to their custome, whereby they put to death all the men prisoners that they take in warre. And thus being out of all hope of his libertie, they assembled themselues in the great house, and hauing called all the people together they proposed the election of a new King, at which time the Father in lawe of Vtina set one of the kings young sonnes vpon the Royall throne: and tooke such paynes that euery man did him homage by the maior part of the voyces. This election had like to haue bene the cause of great troubles among them. For there was a kinsman of the kings neere adioyning, which pretended a Title to the kingdome, and in deede he had gotten one part of the subiects: notwithstanding this enterprise could not take effect, forasmuch as by a common consent of the chiefe, it was consulted and concluded, that the sonne was more meete to succeede the Father then any other. Now all this while I kept Vtina with me, to whom I had giuen some of mine apparell to cloth him, as I had likewise done vnto his sonne. But his subiects which before had an opinion that I would haue killed him, being aduertised of the good entertainment which I vsed towards him, sent two men which walked along the riuer, and came to visite him, and brought vs some victuals. These two men at their comming were receiued by me with all courtesie, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While these things thus passed, there arriued from all quarters many Sauages of the countries adioyning, which came to see Vtina, and sought by all meanes to perswade me to put him to death, offering that if I would do so, they would take order that I should want no victuals. There was also a King my neighbour whose name was Saturioüa, a subtill and craftie man, and one that shewed by proofe that he was greatly practised in affaires. This King sent ordinarily messengers vnto me, to pray me to deliuer Vtina vnto him: and to win me the more easily, he sent twise seuen or eight baskets of Maiz or of Mast, thinking by this way to allure me, & to make me come to cõposition with him: in the end notwithstanding when he saw he lost his time, he ceased to visite me with ambassages & victuals: & in the meane while I was not able with ẏ same store of victuals which I had, so well to proportion out the trauaile vpon the ships which we built to returne into France, but that in the end we were constrained to indure extreme famine, which continued among vs all the moneth of May: for in this latter season, neither Maiz nor Beanes, nor Mast was to be found in the villages, because they had employed all for to sowe their fields, insomuch that we were constrayned to eate rootes, which the most part of our men punned in the morters which I had brought with me to beate

The Indians kill all the men prisoners that they take in warre.

The election of a new king.

The hatred among the Sauage kings of Florida.

Note.

Note.

Rootes.

gunnepowder in, and the graine which came to vs from other places: some tooke the wood of Esquine, beate it, and made meale thereof, which they boyled with water, and eate it: others went with their harquebusies to seeke to kill some foule. Yea this miserie was so great, that one was found that gathered vp among the filth of my house, all the fish bones that he could finde, which he dried and beate into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among vs, for our bones eftsoones beganne to cleaue so neere vnto the skinne, that the most part of the souldiers had their skinnes pierced thorow with them in many partes of their bodies: in such sort that my greatest feare was, least the Indians would rise vp against vs, considering that it would haue bene very hard for vs to haue defended our selues in such extreme decay of all our forces, besides the scarsitie of all victuals, which fayled vs all at once. For the very riuer had not such plentie of fish as it was wont, and it seemed that the land and water did fight against vs. Now as we were thus vpon termes of dispayre, about the end of the moneth of May, and the beginning of Iune, I was aduertised by certaine Indians that were my neighbours, that in the high Countrey vp aboue the riuer, there was new Maiz, and that that countrey was most forward of all. This caused me to take vpon me to go thither with a certaine number of my men, and I went vp the riuer to a place called Enecaque: where I met the sister of Vtina in a village where she made vs very good cheere and sent vs fish. We found that which was tolde vs to be true: for the maiz was now ripe: but by this good lucke one shrewde turne happened vnto me. For the most part of my souldiers fell sicke with eating more of it then their weakened stomackes could digest. We had also beene the space of foure dayes since we departed from our Fort, without eating any thing, sauing little pinockes, and a little fish, which we got of the fishers which wee met sometimes along the riuer. And yet this was so little that certaine souldiers eate priuily little whelpes which were newly whelped. The next day I purposed to go into ẏ Ile of Edelano to take the king which had caused one of my men to be slaine, as I haue mentioned before: but being aduertised of my departing out of my Fort, and of the way which I tooke vp the riuer, he feared that I went foorth with a purpose to be reuenged of the euill turne which he played: so that when I came thither, I found the houses emptie, for he was retyred a little before with all his people: & I could not by any meanes keepe my souldiers, being angry because they had lost one of their companions, from setting the village on fire. At my departure from thence I passed backe againe by Enecaque, where I gathered as much maiz as I could possibly: which with great diligence I conueied to our Fort to succour my poore men, which I had left in great necessitie. They therefore seeing me a farre off comming, ranne to that side of the riuer where they thought I would come on land: for hunger so pinched them to the heart, that they could not stay vntill the victuals were brought them to the Fort. And that they well shewed assoone as I was come, and that I had distributed that little maiz among them, which I had giuen to ech man, before I came out of the barke: for they eate it before they had taken it out of the huske. But seeing my selfe in this extreme nede, I tooke paines day by day to seeke some villages where there was some food. And as I trauailed this way and that way, it happened that two of my Carpenters were killed by the two sonnes of king Emola, and by one whose name was Casti, as they went on walking to the village called Athore. The cause of this murder was, because they could not refraine thēselues as they walked through the fields from gathering a little maiz, which as they were doing, they were taken in the maner: wherof I was presently aduertised by an Indian which a little before had brought me a present frō Nia Cubacani Queene of a village, and neighbour to our Fort. Vpon receipt of this aduertisement, I sent my Sergeant with a number of souldiers which found nothing else but the 2 dead corpses, which they buried and returned without doing any other exploit, because the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they should be punished for such a foule fact. As these things thus passed, & that by this time we had almost driuen out the moneth of May, two subiects of king Vtina came vnto me with an Hermaphrodite, which shewed mee that by this time the maiz was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Whereupon Vtina signified vnto me that in case I would carrie him home to his house, he would

Esquine.

New corne by the end of May in Florida.

The village of Enecaque.

A little greene fruite that groweth in the riuers as big as cheries.

The Ile of Edelano.

Two Carpenters killed for gathering the Indians maiz.

The village Athore.

Nia Cubicani a Queene.

Patica a village.

Desire of reuenge rooted in the sauages.

A necessarie admonition.

would take such good order that I should haue plentie of maiz & beanes: and withall, that the field which he had caused to be sowen for me, should be reserued to my vse. I consulted with my men concerning this matter, and found by the aduice of all my company, that it was best to grant him his request, saying, that he had meanes to succour vs with food sufficient to serue our turnes for our embarkement, and that therefore I might do well to carry him home. Wherefore I caused the two barks forthwith to be made readie, wherein I sailed to Patica, a place distant from his village 8 or 9 leagues, where I found no bodie, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not shew themselues, albeit Vtina shewed himselfe vnto them, for as much as they imagined that I should be constrained to let him go. But seeing no body to shew themselues, I was constrained to hazard one of my men which had bene acquainted with the state of the countrie, to whom I deliuered the young sonne of Vtina, and commanded him to goe with diligence to the village of Vtina, vnto his father in law and his wife, to aduertise them that if they would haue their king againe, they should bring me victuals vnto the side of the little riuer whither I was gone. At my mans comming euery one made much of the little childe, neither was there a man that thought not himselfe well appaide to touch him. His father in law and his wife hearing of these newes came presently towards our barkes, and brought bread which they gaue vnto my souldiers, they held me there three dayes, and in the meane while did all that they could to take me: which presently I discouered, and therefore stood diligently vpon my gard. Wherefore perceiuing they could not haue their purpose, and that they were already discouered, they sent to aduertise me that as yet they could not helpe me to victuals, and that the corne was not yet ripe. Thus I was constrained to returne and to carry backe Vtina home, where I had much adoe to saue him from the rage of my souldiers: which perceiuing the maliciousnes of the Indians, went about to haue murdered him. Moreouer it seemed they were content that they had gotten the sonne, & that they cared not greatly for the father. Now my hope fayling me on this side, I deuised to send my men to the villages where I thought the maiz was by this time ripe; I went to diuers places, and cõtinued so doing 15 daies after, when as Vtina besought me again to send him vnto his village, assuring himselfe that his subiects would not sticke to giue me victuals: and that in case they refused so to do, he was content that I should do what I thought good with him. I vndertooke this voyage the second time, the two barkes furnished as before. At my comming vnto the little riuer, we found his subiects there, which failed not to come thither with some quantitie of bread, beanes, and fish, to giue my souldiers. Neuerthelesse returning againe to their former practise they sought all meanes to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the imprisonment of their king, if they might haue gotten the victorie of me. But after that they sawe the small meanes, which they had to annoy me, they returned to intreaties, and prayed that if I would giue them their king with certaine of my souldiers, they would conduct them vnto the village, and that the subiects seeing him, would be more willing to giue vs victuals. Which thing notwithstanding I would not grant vnto them (mistrusting their subtilitie, which was not so couert, but that one might espie day at a little hole) vntill they had first giuen me two men in pledge with charge that by the next day they should bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gaue mee two men which I put in chaines for feare they should escape away, as I knew well they were instructed to doe. Foure dayes were spent in these conferences, at the end whereof they declared vnto me, that they could not fully and wholly performe their promise: and that the vttermost that they could doe for the present, was to cause ech subiect to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to doe so on condition that I would send them their two pledges within ten dayes. As my Lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him aboue all things to take heede he fell not into the Indians hands: because I knew them to be very subtill and craftie to enterprize and execute any thing to our disaduantage. He departed therefore with his troope, and came to the small riuer whereinto we were accustomed to enter to approch as neere as we could vnto the village of Vtina, being sixe French leagues distant from thence. There he went on shore, put his men in good array, and drew streight towards

wards the great house that was the kings, where the chiefe men of the countrey were assembled, which caused very great store of victuals to be brought now one and then another, in doing whereof they spent notwithstanding three or foure dayes: in which meane while they gathered men together, to set vpon vs in our retreit. They vsed therefore many meanes to holde vs still in breath. For one while they demanded their pledges, another while (seeing my Lieutenant would not yeeld to them, vntill such time as they had brought the victuals vnto the boats; according to the agreement passed betwene vs) they signified vnto him that the women and young children were affraide out of all measure to see fire in their matches so neere their harquebuses: and that therefore they most earnestly besought them to put them out, that they might more easily get people ynough to carry the victuals, and that they for their partes would leaue their bowes and arrowes, and would be contented that their seruants should carrie them. This second request was as flatly denied them as the former: For it was an easie matter to smel out their intention. But while these things were thus in handling, Vtina by no meanes was to be seene, but hid and kept himselfe secret in a little house apart, where certaine chosen men of mine went to see him shewing themselues agreeued with him for the long delayes of his subiects: whereunto he answered, that his subiects were so much incensed against vs, that by no meanes possible he was able to keepe them in such obedience as he willingly would haue done, and that he could not hold them from waging of warre against Monsieur de Ottigny. That he also called to minde, that euen while he was prisoner, at what time our men ledde him into his Country to obtaine some victuals, he saw along the high wayes arrowes stucke vp, at the endes whereof long haires were fastened, which was a certaine signe of open warre proclaimed, which arrowes the Captaine also carried with him to the fort. He said further that in respect of the good will he bare to the Captaine, he forewarned his Lieutenant that his subiects were determined to cut downe the trees, and cause them to fall a thwart the little riuer where the boates were, to keepe them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their ease, and that if it thus fell out, he assured him for his part he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the suspition of warre was, that as my messengers departed from Vtina, they heard the the voyce of one of my men, which during the voyage had alwayes beene among the Indians, and whom as yet they would neuer render, vntill they had gotten their pledges home. This poore fellow cryed out a maine because two Indians would haue carried him into the woods to haue cut his throat: whereupon he was succoured and deliuered. These admonitions being well vnderstoode, after ripe deliberation thereof Monsieur de Ottigny resolued to retire himselfe the seuen and twentieth of Iuly. Wherefore he set his souldiers in order, and deliuered to ech of them a sacke full of mill: and afterward hee marched toward his barkes, thinking to preuent the enterprise of the sauages. There is at the comming forth of the village a great alley about three or foure hundred paces long, which is couered on both sides with great trees. My Lieutenant disposed his men in this alley and set them in such order as they desired to march: for he was well assured that if there were any ambush, it would be at the comming out of the trees. Therefore he caused Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne to march some what before with 8 harquebusiers to discouer whether there were any danger; besides he commanded one of my Sergeants & Corporals to march on the out side of the alley with foure harquebusiers while he himselfe conducted the rest of his company through it. Now as he suspected, so it fell out: for Monsieur de Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which saluted him with an infinite number of their arrowes, & with such furie that it was easie to see with what desire they sought to charge vs. Howbeit they were so well sustained in the first assault which mine Ensigne gaue them, that they which fell downe dead, did somewhat abate the choler of those which remained aliue. This done my Lieutenant hasted to gaine ground in such sort as I haue already said. After he had marched about foure hundred paces, he was charged afresh whith a newe troope of Sauages which were in number about 300, which assayled him before, while the rest of the former set vpon him behind. This second assault

The Floridians subtilities.

A certaine signe of warre.

An alley of 3 or 4 hundred paces long.

A skirmish betwene the Sauages and the French.

A second fresh charge of Sauages.

was so valiantly sustained, that I may iustly say that Monsieur de Ottigny so well discharged his dutie, as was possible for a good Captaine to doe. And so it stood them vpon: for he had to deale with such kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knewe so well to behaue themselues in this conflict, as if Ottigny had not preuented their practise, he had beene in danger to haue bene defeated. Their maner in this fight was, that when two hundred had shot, they retyred themselues and gaue place to the rest that were behind, and all the while had their eye and foot so quicke and readie, that assoone as euer they saw the harquebuze laide to the cheeke, so soone were they on the ground, and eftsoone vp to answere with their bowes and to flie their way, if by chance they perceiued we went about to take them: for there is nothing that they feare so much, because of our swords and daggers. This conflict continued and lasted from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntill the night departed them. And if Ottigny had not bethought himselfe to cause his men to breake the arrowes which they found in the way, & so to depriue the Sauages of the means to beginne againe, without all doubt he should haue had very much to do: for by this meane they lacked arrowes, and so were constrained to retire themselues. During the time of the conflict they cryed and made signes that they were the Captaines and Lieutenants friends: and that they fought for none other cause but to be reuenged on the souldiers, which were their mortall enemies. My Lieutenant being come vnto his boates tooke a reuiew of his companie, and found two men wanting which were killed, of whom the one was called Iames Sale, and the others name was Mesureur. He found moreouer 22 of them wounded, which with much adoe he caused to be brought vnto the boates. All the mill that he found among his company came but to two mens burdens, which he deuided equally among them. For assoone as the conflict began, euery man was constrained to leaue his sacke to put his hand to his weapon. In this meane while I remained at the Forte, and caused euery man diligently to trauell, hoping that my Lieutenant would bring vs victuals. But seeing the time consume away, I began to suspect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was assured immediately after at their returne. Seeing therefore mine hope frustrate on that side, I made my prayer vnto God, and thanked him of his grace which hee had shewed vnto my poore souldiers which were escaped: Afterward I thought vpon new meanes to obtaine victuals, aswell for our returne into France, as to driue out the time vntill our embarking. I was aduertised by certaine of our company, which vsually went on hunting into the woods and through the villages, that in the village Sarauahi situated on the other side of the riuer, and two leagues distant from the Forte, and in the village Emoloa there were fields wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was thereof in those partes in great abundance. Wherefore I caused my boates to be made ready, and sent my Sergeant thither with certaine souldiours, which vsed such diligence, that wee had good store of mill. I sent also to the riuer which the Sauages call Iracana, named by Captaine Ribault the Riuer of Somme, where Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant arriued with two boates and their ordinary furniture, and found there a great assembly of the Lords of the countrey, among whome was Athore the sonne of Satourioua, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, which were there assembled to make merrie: because that in this place are the fairest maids and women of all the countrey. Captaine Vasseur in my name gaue certaine small trifles to all the Lords, to the Queene, to the maids and women of the villages. Wherevpon the boates were foorthwith laden with mill, after they had made our men as good cheere as they could deuise. The Queene sent me two small Mats so artificially wrought as it was vnpossible to make better. Nowe finding our selues by this meane sufficiently furnished with victuals, we began each of vs in his place, to trauaile and vse such diligence, as the desire to see our natiue countrey might mooue vs. But because two of our Carpenters were slaine by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned) Iohn de Hais, master Carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired vnto me, and tolde me that by reason of want of men hee was not able to make me vp the ship against the time that he had promised me: which speech caused such a mutinie among the souldiers that very hardly he escaped killing: howbeit I appeased them aswell as I

could,

The Floridians maner of fight.

The Floridians chiefe feare.

Two slaine.

Two & twenty wounded.

Prayer and thanks vnto God for their deliuerance.

The village Serauahi.

The village Emoloa.

The riuer of Iracana called by Ribault y^{e} riuer of Somme.

Courtesie and liberalitie the best meanes to deale with the sauages.

Most artificiall mattes.

could, and determined to worke no more from thencefoorth vpon the shippe, but to content our selues to repaire the Brigandine which I had. So we began to beate downe all the houses that were without the Fort, and caused coles to be made of the timber thereof: likewise the souldiers beate downe the pallisade which was toward the waters side, neither was I euer able to keepe them from doing it. I had also determined to beat downe the Fort before my departure and to set it on fire, for feare least some new-come guest should haue enioyed and possessed it. In the meane while there was none of vs to whom it was not an extreme griefe to leaue a countrey, wherein wee had endured so great trauailes and necessities, to discouer that which we must forsake through our owne countreymens default. For if wee had bene succoured in time & place, & according to the promise that was made vnto vs, the warre which was between vs and Vtina, had not fallen out, neither should wee haue had occasion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie, aswell with merchandise and apparel, as with promise of greater matters, and with whom I so behaued myself, that although sometimes I was constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not the alliance of eight Kings and Lords my neighbours, which continually succoured and ayded me with whatsoeuer they were able to afford. Yea this was the principall scope of all my purposes, to winne and entertaine them, knowing how greatly their amitie might aduance our enterprise, and principally while I discouered the commodities of the countrey, and sought to strengthen my selfe therein. I leaue it to your cogitation to thinke how neere it went to our hearts, to leaue a place abounding in riches (as we were throughly enformed thereof) in comming whereunto, and doing seruice vnto our Prince, we left our owne countrey, wiues, children, parents, and friends, and passed the perils of the sea, and were therein arriued, as in a plentifull treasure of all our hearts desire. As ech of vs were much tormented in minde with these or such like cogitations, the third of August I descried foure sayles in the sea, as I walked vpon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apaid: I sent immediately one of them which were with me to aduertise those of the Fort thereof, which were so glad of those newes, that one would haue thought them to bee out of their wittes to see them laugh and leape for ioy. After these ships had cast anker, we descried that they sent one of their ship boates to land: whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed with diligence to send to meete them, and to know who they were. In the meane while, fearing lest they were Spaniards, I set my souldiers in order and in readinesse, attending the returne of Captaine Vasseur and my Lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, which brought me word that they were Englishmen: and in trueth they had in their company one whose name was Martine Atinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their seruice, which on the behalfe of Master Iohn Hawkins their Generall came to request mee that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in great neede, signifying vnto me that they had bene aboue fifteene dayes on the coast to get some. Hee brought vnto mee from the Generall two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheate: which greatly refreshed me, forasmuch as for seuen moneths space I neuer tasted a drop of wine: neuerthelesse it was all diuided among the greatest part of my souldiers. This Martine Atinas had guided the Englishmen vnto our coast, wherewith he was acquainted: for in the yeere 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore the Generall sent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his request, hee signified the same vnto the Generall, which the next day following caused one of his small shippes to enter into the riuer, and came to see me in a great shipboate, accompanied with gentlemen honourably apparelled, yet vnarmed. He sent for great store of bread and wine, to distribute thereof to euery one: On my part I made him the best cheere I could possibly, and caused certaine sheepe and poultry to be killed, which vntill this present I had carefully preserued hoping to store the countrey withall. For notwithstanding all the necessities and sicknesse that happened vnto me, I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed: by which meanes in a short time I had gathered together aboue an hundred pullets. Nowe three dayes passed, while the English General remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see him, and asked me whether he were my brother: I tolde them he was so, and signified vnto them, that he was come to see me and ayde me with

The beating downe of the houses without the fort, & the Palisade.

The cause why the French lost Florida.

Eight kings Laudonniers friends and allies.

The principall scope of planters in strange countreys.

Florida a rich countrey.

Aug. 1565.

M. Iohn Hawkins yᵉ English Generall.

Sheepe and poulterie caried into Florida.

An aduantage wisely taken.

so great store of victuals, that from thence forward I should haue no neede to take any thing of them. The bruite hereof incontinently was spread ouer all the countrey, in such sort as Ambassadours came vnto me from all parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their masters desired to make alliance with me: and euen they, which before sought to make warre against me, came to offer their friendship and seruice vnto me: Whereupon I receiued them and gratified them with certaine presents. The General immediately vnderstood the desire & vrgent occasion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offred to transport me and all my company home: whereunto notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occasion he made so large an offer. For I knewe not how the case stood betweene the French and the English: and although hee promised me on his faith to put mee on land in France, before hee would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt least he would attempt somewhat in Florida in the name of his mistresse. Wherfore I flatly refused his offer: whereupon there arose a great mutinie among my souldiers, which sayd that I sought to destroy them all, and that the Brigandine, wherof I spake before, was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the yeere wherein wee were. The bruite and mutiny increased more and more: for after that the Generall was returned to his ships, he told certaine gentlemen and souldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheere with him, hee declared, I say vnto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we should be able to passe safely in those vessels which we had: and that in case we should enterprise the same, we should no doubt be in great ieopardy: notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leaue me a small ship to transport the rest. The souldiers were no sooner come home, but they signified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently consented together that in case I would not accept the same, they would embarke themselues with him and forsake mee, so that he would receiue them according to his promise. They therefore assembled themselues all together and came to seeke me in my chamber, and signified vnto me their intention, wherunto I promised to answere within one houre after. In which meane space I gathered together the principall members of my company, which after I had broken the matter with them, answered me all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuse this offer, nor contemne the occasion which presented it selfe, and that they could not thinke euill of it in France, if being forsaken, as we were, we aided our selues with such means as God had sent vs. After sundry debatings of this matter, in conclusion I gaue mine aduise, that wee ought to deliuer him the price of the ship which he was to leaue vs, and that for my part I was content to giue him the best of my stuffe, and the siluer which I had gathered in the countrey. Wherupon notwithstanding it was determined that I should keepe the siluer, for feare lest the Queene of England seeing the same, should the rather bee encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired: that it was far better to carie it into France to giue encouragement vnto our Princes not to leaue off an enterprise of so great importance for our commonwealth, and that seeing wee were resolued to depart, it was farre better to giue him our Artillerie, which otherwise we should be constrained to leaue behind vs, or to hide it in the ground by reason of the weakenesse of our men, being not able to embarke the same. This point being thus concluded and resolued on, I went myselfe vnto the English Generall, accompanied with my Lieutenant, and Captaine Vasseur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the Pilot, and my Sergeant, all men of experience in such affaires and knowing sufficiently how to driue such a bargaine. We therefore tooke a view of the ship which the Generall would sell, whom me drew to such reason, that he was content to stand to mine owne mens iudgement, who esteemed it to be worth seuen hundreth crowns, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I deliuered him in earnest of the summe, two bastards, two mynions, one thousand of iron, & one thousand of powder. This bargaine thus made, he considered the necessity wherin we were, hauing for all our sustenance but mill and water: wherupon being moued with pitie, he offered to relieue me with 20 barels of meale, sixe pipes of beanes, one hogshead of salt, and a hundred of waxe to make candels. Moreouer forasmuch as he sawe my souldiers goe bare foote, hee offered me besides fifty paires of shoes, which I accepted and

The French mistrusted that the Englishmen would plant in Florida.

Siluer found in Florida.

Note.

The great importance of this enterprise.

The great humanitie and bounty of Master Iohn Hawkins to the French.

and agreed of a price with him, and gaue him a bill of mine hand for the same, for which vntill this present I am indebted to him. He did more then this: for particularly he bestowed vpon my selfe a great iarre of oyle, a iarre of vineger, a barell of Oliues, and a great quantitie of Rice, and a barell of white Biscuit. Besides he gaue diuers presents to the principall Officers of my company according to their qualities: so that I may say that we receiued as many courtesies of the Generall, as it was possible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtlesse he hath wonne the reputation of a good and charitable man, deseruing to be esteemed asmuch of vs all as if he had saued all our liues. Incontinent after his departure I spared no paine to hasten my men to make biscuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hoope my caske to take in water needfull for the voyage. A man may well thinke what diligence we vsed, in respect of the great desire we had to depart, wherein we continued so well, that the fifteenth day of August the biscuit, the greatest part of our water, & all the souldiers stuffe was brought aboord: so that from that day forward wee did nothing but stay for good windes to driue vs into France: which had freed vs from an infinite number of mischiefes which afterward wee suffred, if they had come as we desired: but it was not Gods good pleasure, as shall appeare hereafter. Being thus in a readinesse to set sayle, we bethought our selues that it would doe well to bring certaine men and women of the countrey into France, to the end that if this voyage should be taken in hand againe they might declare vnto their Kings the greatnesse of our King, the excellencie of our Princes, the goodnesse of our Countrey, and the maner of liuing of the Frenchmen: and that they might also learne our language, to serue our turnes thereby in time to come. Wherein I tooke so good order, that I found meanes to bring away with me the goodliest persons of all the countrey, if our intentions had succeeded as I hoped they would haue done. In the meane season the Kings my neighbours came often to see and visite me: which, after that they vnderstood that I would returne into France, demanded of mee whether I meant to returne againe or no, and whether it should be in short time. I signified vnto them that within tenne Moones (so they call their Moneths) I would visite them againe with such force, that I would be able to make them Conquerors ouer all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leaue them my house, that I would forbid my souldiers to beate downe the Fort and their lodgings, and that I would leaue them a boate to ayde them withall in their warre against their enemies. Which I made as though I would grant vnto them, to the end I might alwaies remaine their friend vntil my last departure.

The departure of the English Generall.

August 15

The Floridians measure their moneths by the reuolutions of the Moone.

The third voyage of the Frenshmen made by Captaine Iohn Ribault vnto Florida.

AS I was thus occupied in these conferences, the winde and the tide serued well to set sayle, which was the eight and twentieth of August, at which instant Captaine Vasseur which commanded in one of my shippes, and Captaine Verdier which was chiefe in the other, now ready to goe foorth, began to descry certaine sayles at sea, whereof they aduertised mee with diligence: whereupon I appointed to arme foorth a boate in good order to goe to discrie and know what they were. I sent also to the Centinels, which I caused to be kept on a little knappe, to cause certaine men to climbe vp to the toppe of the highest trees the better to discouer them. They descried the great boate of the shippes, which as yet they could not perfectly discerne, which as farre as they could iudge, seemed to chase my boate, which by this time was passed the barre of the riuer: so that we could not possibly iudge whether they were enemies which would haue caried her away with them: for it was too great a ken to iudge the trueth thereof. Vpon this doubt I put my men in order and in such array as though they had beene enemies: and in deede I had great occasion to mistrust the same: for my boate came vnto their ship about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and sent me no newes all that day long to put me out of doubt who they should be. The next day in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke I saw seuen boates (among which mine owne was one) full of souldiers enter into the riuer, hauing euery man his harquebuze and morion on his head, which marched all in battaile along the cliffes where my centinels were, to whom they would make no kind of answere, notwithstanding all the demandes that were made vnto them, insomuch as one of my souldiers was constrained to

The arriual of Captaine Iohn Ribault at the Fort the 28 of August 1565.

Note.

bestowe a shot at them without doing hurt neuerthelesse to any of them, by reason of the distance between him and the boates. The report hereof being made vnto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend ourselues, if they had bene enemies, as in trueth wee thought them to haue bene: likewise I caused the two small field-pieces which I had left me, to be trimmed in such sort, as if in approching to the Fort they had not cryed that it was Captaine Ribault, I had not failed to haue discharged the same vpon them. Afterward I vnderstood that the cause why they entred in this maner, proceeded of the false reports which had bene made vnto my Lord Admirall by those which were returned into France in the first shippes. For they had put in his head, that I played the Lord and the King, and that I would hardly suffer that any other saue my selfe should enter in thither to gouerne there. Thus we see how the good name of the most honest is oftentimes assayled by such, as hauing no meanes to win themselues credit by vertuous and laudable endeauours, thinke by debasing of other mens vertues to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which neuerthelesse is one of the most notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of warre which are placed in gouernment. For it is very hard, yea vtterly vnpossible, that in gouerning of a company of men gathered out of diuers places and sundry Nations, and namely such as we know them to be in our warres, it is, I say, vnpossible, but there will be alwayes some of euill conditions and hard to be ruled, which easily conceiue an hatred against him, which by admonitions and light corrections eudeuoureth to reduce them to the discipline of warre. For they seeke nothing else, but for a small occasion grounded vpon a light pretext to sound into the eares of great Lords that which mischieuously they haue contriued against those, whose execution of iustice is odious vnto them. And albeit I will not place my selfe in the ranke of great and renowmed Captaines, such as liued in times passed, yet we may iudge by their examples, how hurtfull backbiters haue beene vnto commonwealths. I will onely take Alcibiades for witnesse in the commonwealth of the Athenians, which by this meane was cast into banishment, whereupon his citizens felt the smart of an infinite number of mischiefes: insomuch as in the end they were constrained to call him home againe, and acknowledge at length the fault they had committed in forgetting his good seruices, and rather beleeuing a false report, then hauing had regard vnto so many notable exploits which in former time hee had atchieued. But that I loose not myselfe in digressing so farre in this my iustification, I will returne againe to my first course. Being therfore aduertised that it was Captaine Ribault, I went foorth of the Fort to goe to meete him, and to do him all the honour I could by any meanes, I caused him to be welcommed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my shot, whereunto he answered with his. Afterward being come on shore and receiued honourably with ioy, I brought him to my lodging, reioycing not a little because that in this company I knew a good number of my friends, which I intreated in the best sorte that I was able, with such victuals as I could get in the countrey, and that small store which I had left me, with that which I had of the English General. Howbeit I marueiled not a little when as all of them with one voice began to vtter vnto me these or the like speeches. My Captaine, we praise God that we haue found you aliue, and chiefly because we know that the reports which haue bene made of you are false. These speeches mooued me in such sort, that I would needes out of hand know more, mistrusting some euill. Wherefore hauing accosted Captaine Iohn Ribault, & going both of vs aside together out of the Fort, he signified vnto me the charge which he had, praying mee not to returne into France, but to stay with him my selfe and my company, and assured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replyed that out of this place I would do him all seruice: that for the present I could not nor ought not accept this offer, since he was come for no other intent then to occupie the place which I before possessed, that I could haue no credite to be there commanded: that my friends would neuer like of it, and that he would hardly giue me that counsaile, if in good earnest I should demand his aduise therein. He made me answere that he would not command me, that we should be companions, & that he would build another fortresse & that he would leaue mine owne vnto me. This notwithstanding I fully aduertised him that I could not receiue a greater comfort then the newes which he brought me to returne into France:

False reports of Laudonniere to the Admiral of France.

The danger of back-biting.

Alcibiades banished by back-biters.

Laudonnieres receiuing of Captaine Ribault.

and farther that though I should stay there, yet it must needes be that one of vs both was to command with title of the Kings Lieutenant, that this could not well agree together: that I had rather haue it cast in my teeth to be the poorest begger in the world, then to be commanded in that place, where I had endured so much to inhabite and plant there, if it were not by some great Lord or Knight of the order: and that in these respects I prayed him very hartily to deliuer me the letters which my Lord Admirall had written vnto me, which he performed.

The contents of those letters were these.

Letters of the Lord Admirall vnto Laudonniere.

CAptaine Laudonniere, because some of them which are returned from Florida speake indifferently of the Countrey, the King desireth your presence, to the end, that according to your tryall, he may resolue to bestow great cost thereon, or wholly to leaue it: and therfore I send Captaine Iohn Ribault to bee gouernour there, to whom you shall deliuer whatsoeuer you haue in charge, and informe him of all things you haue discouered. And in a postscript of the letter was thus written. Thinke not, that whereas I send for you, it is for any euill opinion or mistrust that I haue of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit, and assure your selfe that during my life you shall find me your good Master,

CHASTILLON.

Accusations against him.

Laudonnieres answere thereunto.

Now after I had long discoursed with Captaine Ribault, Captaine la Grange accosted mee,
and told me of an infinite number of false reports which had bene made of mee to my great
hinderance: and among other things he informed me, that my Lord Admirall tooke it very 1.
euill that I had caried a woman with mee: likewise that some bodie had tolde him that I 2.
went about to counterfeit the King, and to play the tyrant: that I was too cruell vnto the 3. 4.
men that went with mee: that I sought to be aduanced by other meanes then by my Lord 5.
Admirall: and that I had written to many Lords of the Court, which I ought not to haue
done. Whereunto I answered, that the woman was a poore chambermayd, which I had taken 1.
vp in an Inne, to oversee my houshold businesse, to looke to an infinite sort of diuers beasts,
as sheepe and poultrie which I caried ouer with me to store the countrey withall: that it was
not meete to put a man to attend this businesse: likewise, considering the length of the
time that I was to abide there, mee thought it should not offend any body to take a woman
with me, aswell to help my souldiers in their sickenesses, as in mine owne, whereinto I fell
afterward. And how necessary her seruice was for vs, ech one at that time might easily
perceiue: That all my men thought so well of her, that at one instant there were sixe or seuen
which did demand her of mee in mariage; as in very deede on of them had her after our
returne. Touching that which was sayd that I playd the King, these reports were made, 2.
because I would not beare with any thing which was against the duety of my charge, and
the Kings seruice. Moreouer, that in such enterprises it is necessary for a Gouernour to
make himselfe knowen and obeyed, for feare least euery body would become a master, perceiuing
themselues far from greater forces. And that if the tale-tellers called this rigour, it 3.
rather proceeded of their disobedience, then of my nature lesse subiect to cruelty then they
were to rebellion. For the two last points, that I had not written to any of the Lords of the 4.
Court but by the aduice & commandement of my Lord Admirall, which willed me at my departure
to send part of such things as I should find in the countrey vnto the Lords of the
Counsel: to the end that being mooued by this meane, they might deale with the Queene
mother for the continuance of this enterprise: that hauing bene so small time in the countrey,
continually hindred with building of fortresses, and vnlading of my ships, I was not
able to come by any newe or rare things to send them, whereupon I thought it best to content
them in the meane while with letters, vntill such time as I might haue longer space to
search out the Countrey, and might recouer something to sende them: the distribution of
which letters I meant not otherwise but to referre to my Lord Admirals good pleasure: that
if the bearer had forgot himselfe so farre, as that he had broken the couering of the letters,
and presented them himselfe for hope of gaine, it was not my commandement. And that I 5.

neuer honoured noble man so much, nor did to any man more willing and faithfull seruice then to my Lord Admirall, nor euer sought aduancement but by his meanes. You see how things passed for this day. The next day the Indians came in from all parts, to know what people these were: to whom I signified that this was he which in the yeere 1562. arriued in this countrey, and erected the pillar which stood at the entrie of the riuer. Some of them knew him: for in trueth he was easie to be knowen by reason of the great bearde which he ware. He receiued many presents of them which were of the villages neere adioyning, among whom there were some that he had not yet forgotten.

Fiue Indian kings.

The kings Homoloa, Serauahi, Alimacani, Malica, and Casti came to visit him and welcome him with diuers gifts according to their manner. I aduertised them that hee was sent thither by the king of France, to remaine there in my roome, and that I was sent for. Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to cause the merchandise that hee had brought with him to be deliuered them, and that in fewe daies they would bring him to the mountaines of Apalatcy, whither they had promised to conduct me, and that in case they performed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces.

The mou̅tains of Apalatcy wherein are mines of perfect gold.

Sieroa Pira red mettall.

In those mountaines, as they sayd, is found redde copper, which they call in their language Sieroa Pira, which is as much to say as red mettall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very instant I shewed to Captaine Ribault, which caused his gold-finer to make an assay thereof, which reported vnto him that it was perfect golde.

Perfect gold.

About the time of these conferences, commings and goings of the kings of the countrey, being weakened with my former trauaile, and fallen into a melancholy vpon the false reports that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall feuer, which held me eight or nine dayes: during which time Captaine Ribault caused his victuals to be brought on shore, and bestowed the most part thereof in the house which my Lieutenant had built about two hundred pases without the forte: which hee did to the ende they might bee the better defended from the weather, and likewise to the intent that the meale might bee neerer to the bake-house, which I had built of purpose in that place, the better to auoide the danger of the fire, as I sayd before.

Good meanes to auoid the danger of fire.

But loe howe oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue vs, euen then when we thinke to be at rest! loe see what happened after that captaine Ribault had brought vp three of his small ships into the riuer, which was the fourth of September!

September 4.

The Spaniards vndermining and surprizing of the French.

Sixe great Spanish ships arriued in the rode, where four of our greatest ships remained, which cast anker, assuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chiefe captaines of the enterprise did, & called them all by their names and surnames. I report me to you if it could be otherwise but these men before they went out of Spaine must needs be informed of the enterprise & of those that were to execute the same. About the breake of day they began to make toward our men: but our men which trusted them neuer a deale, had hoysed their sayles by night, being ready to cut the strings that tyed them. Wherefore perceiuing that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to doe them any pleasure, and knowing wel that their furniture was too smal to make head against them, because that the most part of their men were on shore, they cut their cables, left their ankers, and set saile. The Spaniards seeing themselues discouered, lent them certaine volleis of their great ordinance, made saile after them, and chased them all day long: but our men got way of them still toward the sea. And the Spaniards seeing they could not reach them, by reason that the French ships were better of saile then theirs, and also because they would not leaue the coast, turned backe and went on shore in the riuer Seloy, which we cal the riuer of Dolphines 8 or 10 leagues distant from the place where we were.

The riuer Seloy or the riuer of Dolphins but 8 or 10 leagues ouer land from the fort: but it is thirty doubling the Cape by sea.

Our men therefore finding themselues better of saile then they, followed them to descry what they did, which after they had done, they returned vnto the riuer of May, where captaine Ribault hauing descried them, embarked himselfe in a great boat to know what newes they had. Being at the entry of the riuer he met with the boat of captaine Cousets ship, wherin there was a good number of men which made relation vnto him of all the Spaniards doings: and how the great ship named the Trinitie had kept the sea, and that she was not returned with them. They told him moreouer that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the riuer of Dolphins, & the other three remained in the rode; farther that they had put their souldiers, their victuals &

munition on land. After he vnderstood these newes hee returned to the fortresse, and came to my chamber where I was sick, and there in the presence of the captaines, La Grange, S. Marie, Ottigny, Visty, Yonuille, and other gentlemen, he propounded, that it was necessary for the kings seruice, to embarke himselfe with all his forces, and with the three ships that were in the rode to seeke the Spanish fleete, whereupon he asked our aduise. I first replyed, and shewed vnto him the consequence of such an enterprise, aduertising him among other things of the perilous flawes of windes that rise on this coast, and that if it chanced that hee were driuen from the shore, it would be very hard for him to recouer it againe, that in the meane while they which should stay in the Forte should be in feare and danger. The Captaines, Saint Marie, and La Grange declared vnto him farther, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprise in execution, that it was farre better to keepe the land, & do their best indeuour to fortifie themselues: And that after that the Trinitie (which was the principall ship) were returned, there would be much more likelyhood to enterprise this voyage. This notwithstanding he resolued to vndertake it, and that which more is, after he vnderstoode by king Emola, one of our neighbours which arriued vpon the handling of these matters, that the Spaniards in great numbers were gone on shore, which had taken possession of the houses of Seloy, in the most part whereof they had placed their Negros, which they had brought to labour, and also lodged themselues and had cast diuers trenches about them. Thus for the considerations which he had, and doubting (as he might well doe) that the Spanyards would encampe themselues there to molest vs, and in the ende to chase vs out of the Countrey, he resolued and continued in his embarkment, caused a Proclamation to be made, that all souldiers that were vnder his charge should presently with their weapons embarke them, and that his two ensignes should march: which was put in execution. He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my Lieutenant, mine ensigne, and my sergeant, and to let all my good souldiers, which I had, goe with him, which I denied him, because my selfe being sicke, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon he answered me that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would returne the morrow after, that in the meane space Monsieur de Lys should stay behind to looke to all things. Then I shewed vnto him that he was chiefe in this Countrey, and that I for my part had no further authoritie: that therefore hee would take good aduisement what hee did, for feare least some inconuenience might ensue. Then he tolde me that he could doe no lesse, then to continue this enterprise, and that in the letter which he had receiued from my Lord Admirall, there was a postscript, which hee shewed mee written in these wordes: Captaine Iohn Ribault, as I was enclosing vp this letter, I receiued a certaine aduice, that Don Pedro Melendes departeth from Spaine to goe to the coast of Newe France: see you that you suffer him not to encroch vpon you, no more then he would that you should encroch vpon him. You see (quoth he) the charge that I haue, and I leaue it vnto your selfe to iudge, if you could do any lesse in this case, considering the certaine aduertisement that we haue, that they are already on lande, and will inuade vs. This stopped my mouth. Thus therefore confirmed or rather obstinate in this enterprise, and hauing regard rather vnto his particular opinion then vnto the aduertisments which I had giuen him, and the inconueniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himselfe the eight of September, and tooke mine ensigne and eight and thirtie of my men away with him. I report mee to those that know what warres meane, if when an ensigne marcheth, any souldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind, to forsake his ensigne: Thus no man of commandement stayed behind with mee, for ech one followed him as chiefe, in whose name straight after his arriuall, all cries and proclamations were made. Captaine Grange, which liked not very well of this enterprise, was vnto the tenth of the moneth with mee, and would not haue gone aborde, if it had not beene for the instant requestes that Captaine Ribault made vnto him, which staid two dayes in the rode attending vntill La Grange was come vnto him: Who being come abord, they set sayle altogether, and from that time forward I neuer saw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the tenth of September, there rose so great a tempest accompanied with such stormes, that the Indians themselues assured me that it was the worst weather that euer was seene on the coast: whereupon

Dangerous flawes of wind on the coast of Florida in September.

King Emola.

A village and riuer both of that name.

An aduertisment of my Lord Admiral to Captaine Ribault.

Captaine Ribaults embarkment Sept. 8.

The tenth of September.

A mighty tempest the tenth of Sept.

two or three dayes after, fearing least our ships might be in some distresse, I sent for Monsieur du Lys vnto mee, to take order to assemble the rest of our people to declare vnto them what neede wee had to fortifie our selues: which was done accordingly: and then I gaue them to vnderstand the necessity and inconueniences whereinto we were like to fall, aswel by the absence of our ships, as by the neerenesse of the Spanyards, at whose hands we could looke for no lesse then an open and sufficient proclaimed war, seeing they had taken land and fortified themselues so neere vnto vs. And if any misfortune were fallen vnto our men which were at Sea, we ought to make a full account with our selues that wee were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many wayes afflicted as we were. Thus euery one promised mee to take paines: and therefore considering that their proportion of victuals was small, and that so continuing, they would not bee able to doe any great worke, I augmented their allowance: although that after the arriuall of Captaine Ribault my portion of victuals was allotted vnto mee as vnto a common souldier, neither was I able to giue so much as part of a bottell of wine to any man which deserued it: for I was so farre from hauing meanes to doe so, that the Captaine himselfe tooke two of my boates, wherein the rest of the meale was, which was left me of the biscuits which I caused to bee made to returne into France: so that if I shoulde say that I receiued more fauour at the handes of the Englishmen beeing Strangers vnto mee, I shoulde say but a trueth. Wee beganne therefore to fortifie our selues and to repaire that which was broken downe, principally toward the water side, where I caused threescore foote of trees to be planted, to repaire the Palissado with the plankes which I caused to bee taken of the Shippe which I had builded. Neuerthelesse notwithstanding all our diligence and trauaile, wee were neuer able fully to repaire it by reason of the stormes, which commonly did vs so great annoy, that wee could not finish our inclosure. Perceiuing my selfe in such extremitie I tooke a muster of the men, which captaine Ribault had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapon: I found nine or ten of them whereof not past two or three had euer drawen sword out of a scabbard, as I thinke. Let them which haue bene bold to say, that I had men ynough left me, so that I had meanes to defend my selfe, giue eare a little now vnto mee, and if they haue eyes in their heads, let them see what men I had. Of the nine there were foure but yong striplings, which serued Captaine Ribault and kept his dogs, the fift was a cooke: among those that were without the fort, and which were of the foresaid company of Captaine Ribault, there was a Carpenter of threescore yeeres olde, one a Beere-brewer, one olde Crosse-bow maker, two Shoomakers, and foure or fiue men that had their wiues, a player on the Virginals, two seruants of Monsieur du Lys, one of Monsieur de Beauhaire, one of Monsieur de la Grange, and about fourescore and fiue or sixe in all, counting aswel Lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troupe so sufficient to defend themselues, and so couragious as they haue esteemed them to be: and for my part I leaue it to others consideration to imagine whether Captaine Ribault woulde haue left them with me to haue borrowed my men, if they had bene such. Those that were left me of mine owne company were about sixeteene or seuenteene that coulde beare armes, and all of them poore and leane: the rest were sicke and maymed in the conflict which my Lieutenant had against Vtina. This view being thus taken, wee set our watches, whereof wee made two Centinels, that the souldiers might haue one night free. Then wee bethought our selues of those which might bee most sufficient, among whome wee chose two, one of whom was named Monsieur Saint Cler, and the other Monsieur de la Vigne, to whom we deliuered candles and Lanterns to goe round about the fort to viewe the watch, because of the foule and foggie weather. I deliuered them also a sandglasse or clocke, that the Centinels might not be troubled more one then another. In the meane while I ceased not, for all the foule weather nor my sicknesse which I had, to ouersee the Corps de garde. The night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth of September La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he vsed all endeuour, although it rayned without ceasing. When the day was therefore come, and that hee saw that it rayned still worse then it did before, hee pitied the Centinels so too moyled and wette: and thinking the Spanyardes woulde not haue come in such a strange time, hee let them depart, and to say the trueth,

Laudonniere hardly vsed by Ribault.

Laudonniere and his company begin to fortifie themselues.

A muster of the men left in the fort by Ribault.

Fourescore and fiue left in the fort with Laudonniere.

trueth, hee went himselfe vnto his lodging. In the meane while one which had something to doe without the fort, and my trumpet which went vp vnto the rampart perceiued a troupe of Spanyards which came downe from a little knappe. Where incontinently they beganne to cry alarme, and the Trumpetter also: Which assoone as euer I vnderstoode, foorthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and gatte mee into the middest of the Court, where I beganne to crie vpon my souldiers. Some of them which were of the forward sort went toward the breach, which was on the Southside, and where the munitions of the artillerie lay, where they were repulsed and slaine. By the selfe same place two ensignes entred, which immediately were planted on the wals. Two other ensignes also entred on the other side toward the West, where there was another breach: and those which were lodged in this quarter, & which shewed themselues, were likewise defeated. As I went to succour them which were defending the breach on the southwest side, I encountred by chance a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men and were now entred, which draue me backe vnto the court of the fort: being there I espied with them one called Francis Iean, which was one of the Mariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spanyards thither. Assoone as he sawe me, he began to say, This is the Captaine. This troupe was led by a captaine whose name, as I thinke, was Don Pedro Melendes: these made certain pushes at me with their pikes which lighted on my tarket. But perceiuing that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already wonne, and their ensignes planted on the ramparts, & that I had neuer a man about me, sauing one only whose name was Bartholomew, I entred into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not bene for a tent that was set vp, I had bin taken: but the Spanyards which followed me were occupied in cutting of the cordes of the tent, and in the meane while I saued my selfe by the breach which was on the West side neere vnto my Lieutenants lodging, and gate away into the woods: where I found certain of my men which were escaped, of which number there were three or foure which were sore hurt. Then spake I thus vnto them: Sirs, since it hath pleased God that this mischance is happened vnto vs, we must needs take the paines to get ouer the marshes vnto the ships which are at the mouth of the riuer. Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods, the rest followed me through the reedes in the water, where being able to go no farther by reason of my sicknesse which I had, I sent two of my men which were with me, which could swim well, vnto the ships to aduertise them of that which had happened, and to send them word to come and helpe me. They were not able that day to get vnto the ships to certifie them thereof: so I was constrained to stand in the water vp to the shoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would neuer forsake me. The next day morning, being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betooke me to my prayers with the souldier which was with mee, whose name was Iohn du Chemin: for I felt my selfe so feeble, that I was afraid I should die suddenly: and in truth if he had not imbraced me in both his armes, and so held me vp, it had not bene possible to saue me. After we had made an ende of our prayers, I heard a voyce, which in my iudgement was one of theirs which I had sent, which were ouer against the ships and called for the ship boat, which was so in deed: and because those of the ships had vnderstanding of the taking of the fort by one called Iohn de Hais, master Carpenter, which fled vnto them in a shallop; they had set saile to run along the coast to see if they might saue any: wherin doubtlesse they did very well their endeuour. They went straight to the place where the two men were which I had sent, and which called them. Assoone as they had receiued them in and vnderstood where I was, they came and found me in a pitifull case. Fiue or sixe of them tooke me and caried me into the shallop: for I was not able by any means to go one foot. After I was brought into the shallop some of the Mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would haue caried me presently to their ships to giue me a little Aqua vitæ. Howbeit I would not goe thither, vntill I had first gone with the boat along the reeds, to seeke out the poore soules which were scattered abroad, where we gathered vp 18 or 20 of them. The last that I took in was the nephew of the Treasurer le Beau. After we were al come to the ships, I com-

The Spanyards discryed the 20 of September.

The Spaniards enter the fort.

Francis Iean a traitour to his nation.

Don Pedro Melendes captaine of the Spaniards.

Laudonniers escape.

Iohn du Chemin a faithful seruant.

The diligence of the Mariners to saue them that escaped out of the fort.

Among these was Iaques Morgues painter sometime liuing in the Blackfryers in London.

forted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat againe with speed to see if they could find yet any more. Vpon her returne, the Mariners told mee how that captaine Iames Ribault which was in his ship about two muskets shot distant from the fort, had parled with the Spaniards, and that Francis Iean came vnto his ship, where hee staied a long space, whereat they greatly marueiled, considering hee was the cause of this enterprise, how hee would let him escape. After I was come into the ship called the Greyhound, captaine Iames Ribault & captaine Valuot came to see me: and there we concluded to returne into France. Now forasmuch as I found the ship vnfurnished of Captaine, Pilot, Master, and Masters-mate, I gaue aduice to choose out one of the most able men among al the mariners, & that by their owne voices. I tooke also sixe men out of another small ship, which we had sunke because it wanted ballast and could not be saued. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I was my selfe embarked, and made one, which had bene Masters-mate in the foresaid small ship, Master of mine. And because I lacked a pilot, I prayed Iames Ribault that he would grant me one of the foure men that he had in his ship, which I should name vnto him, to serue me for a Pilot: he promised to giue me them, which neuerthelesse he did not at the instant when wee were ready to depart, notwithstanding all the speech I vsed to him, in declaring that it was for the kings seruice. I was constrained to leaue the ship behind me which I had bought of the English Captaine, because I wanted men to bring her away. For captaine Iames Ribault had taken away her furniture: I tooke away her ordinance onely, which was all dismounted, whereof I gaue nine pieces to Iames Ribault to carrie into France, the other fiue I put into my ship. The 25 of September wee set sailes to returne into France, and Captaine Iames Ribault and I kept company all that day and the next vntill three or foure a clock in the afternoone: but because his ship was better at bowline then ours, he kept him to the wind and left vs the same day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marueilous flawes of wind. And about the eight and twentieth of October in the morning at the breake of the day we discried the Isle of Flores, one of the Açores, where immediatly vpon our approching to the land we had a mightie gust of wind which came from the Northeast, which caused vs to beare against it foure dayes: afterward the wind came South and Southeast, and was alwayes variable. In all the time of our passage we had none other foode sauing biscuit and water. About the tenth or eleuenth of Nouember, after we had sailed a long time, and supposing we were not farre from land, I caused my men to sound, where they found threescore and fifteene fathoms water, whereat we all reioyced, and praised God because we had sailed so prosperously. Immediatly after I caused them to set saile again and so we continued our way: but forasmuch as we had borne too much toward the Northeast we entred into Saint Georges chanell, a place much feared of all Sailers, and whereas many ships are cast away: But it was a faire gift of God that we entred in it when the weather was cleare. We sailed all the night, supposing wee had bene shot into the narrow Sea betweene England and France, and by the next day to reach Diepe, but we were deceiued of our longing: for about two or three of the clocke after midnight as I walked vpon the hatches, I discried land round about me, whereat wee were astonied. Immediatly I caused them to strike saile and sound: we found we had not vnder vs past 8 fathoms of water, whereupon I commanded them to stay till breake of day: which being come, and seeing my Mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approch vnto it Being neere thereunto I made them cast anker, & sent the boat on shore to vnderstand in what Countrey we were. Word was brought me that we were in Wales a prouince of England. I went incontinently on land, where after I had taken the ayre, a sickenesse tooke mee whereof I thought I should haue dyed. In the meane while I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of a small towne called Swansey, where I found merchants of S. Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certaine apparel for my selfe and part of my company that was with me: and because there were no victuals in the ship, I bought two Oxen, and salted them, and a tunne of Beere, which I deliuered into his hands which had charge of the ship, praying him to cary it into France, which he promised me to doe: for mine owne part I purposed with my men to passe by land, and after I had taken leaue of my Mariners,

Francis Iean cause of this enterprise.

The bad dealing of Iames Ribault.

Our returne into France the 25. of September 1565.

October 28.

Nouember 10.

The chanel of Saint George.

Laudonnieres arriuall in Swansey Bay in Glamorgan shire in South Wales.

riners, I departed from Swansey, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the Lord of the place, vnderstanding what I was, stayed me with him for the space of 6 or 7 dayes, and at my departure mooued with pitie to see me goe on foot, especially being so weake as I was, gaue me a litle Hackny. Thus I passed on my iourney first to Bristoll, & then to London, where I went to doe my duty to Monsieur de Foix, which for the present was the kings Ambassador, and holpe me with mony in my necessitie. From thence I passed to Caleis, afterward to Paris, where I was informed that the king was gone to Molins to soiourne there: incontinently, & with all the hast I could possibly make, I gate me thither with part of my cōpany. Thus briefly you see the discourse of all that happened in New France since the time it pleased the kings Maiesty to send his subiects thither to discouer those parts. The indifferent and vnpassionate readers may easily weigh the truth of my doings, and be vpright iudges of the endeuor which I there vsed. For mine owne part I wil not accuse nor excuse any: it sufficeth mee to haue followed the trueth of the history, whereof many are able to beare witnesse, which were there present. I will plainly say one thing, That the long delay that Captaine Iohn Ribault vsed in his embarking, and the 15. daies that he spent in rouing along the coast of Florida, before he came to our fort Caroline, were the cause of the losse that we susteined. For he discouered the coast the 14 of August, and spent the time in going from riuer to riuer, which had bene sufficient for him to haue discharged his ships in, and for me to haue embarked my selfe to returne into France. I wote well that al that he did was vpon a good intent: yet in mine opinion he should haue had more regard vnto his charge, then to the deuises of his owne braine, which sometimes hee printed in his head so deeply, that it was very hard to put them out: which also turned to his vtter vndoing: for hee was no sooner departed from vs, but a tempest tooke him, which in fine wrackt him vpon the coast, where all his shippes were cast away, and he with much adoe escaped drowning, to fall into their hands which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

The courtesie of one Master Morgan.

Bristoll.

London.

Monsieur de Foix Ambassadour for the French king in England.

The conclusion.

The causes why the French lost Florida.

The French fleete cast away on the coast of Florida.

The fourth voyage of the Frenchmen into Florida, vnder the conduct of Captaine Gourgues, in the yeere, 1567.

CAptaine Gourgues a Gentleman borne in the Countrey neere vnto Bourdeaux incited with a desire of reuenge, to repaire the honour of his nation, borowed of his friends and sold part of his owne goods to set forth and furnish three ships of indifferent burthen with all things necessary, hauing in them an hundred and fiftie souldiers, and fourescore chosen Mariners vnder Captaine Cazenoue his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois Master ouer the Mariners. He set forth the 22 of August 1567. And hauing endured contrary winds and stormes for a season, at length hee arriued and went on shore in the Isle of Cuba. From thence he passed to the Cape of Saint Antony at the end of the Ile of Cuba, about two hundred leagues distant from Florida, where the captaine disclosed vnto them his intention which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leaue him being so neere the enemie, so well furnished, and in such a cause: which they all sware vnto him, and that with such courage that they would not stay the full Moone to passe the chanell of Bahama, but speedily discouered Florida, where the Spanyards saluted them with two Canon shot from their fort, supposing that they had beene of their nation, and Gourgues saluted them againe to entertaine them in this errour, that hee might surprise them at more aduantage, yet sailing by them, & making as though he went to some other place vntil he had sailed out of sight of the place, so that about euening, hee landed 15 leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the Riuer Tacatacouru, which the Frenchmen called Seine, because they thought it to bee like Seine in France. Afterward perceiuing the shore to bee couered with Sauages with their bowes and arrowes, (besides the signe of peace and amitie which he made them from his ships) he sent his Trumpetter, to assure them, that they were come thither for none other ende but to renew the amitie and ancient league of the French with them. The Trumpetter did his message so well (by reason he had bene there before vnder Laudonniere) that he brought backe from king Satourioua, the greatest of all the other kings, a kidde

The chanell of Bahama betweene Florida and the Isles of Lucayos.

The Frenchmens landing at the riuer Tacatacouru.

and other meat to refresh vs, besides the offer of his friendship and amitie. Afterward they retired dansing in signe of ioy, to aduertise all the kings Satourious kinsmen to repaire thither the next day to make a league of amitie with the Frenchmen. Whereupon in the meane space our generall went about to sound the chanel of the riuer to bring in his ships, and the better to traffike and deale with the Sauages, of whom the chiefe the next day in the morning presented themselues, namely the great king Satourioua, Tacatacourou, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopilé, Molloua, and others his kinsmen and allies, with their accustomed weapons. Then sent they to intreate the French general to come on shore, which he caused his men to do with their swords and harquebusies, which he made them leaue behind them, in token of mutuall assurance, leauing his men but their swords only, after that the Sauages complaining thereof had left and likewise sent away their weapons at the request of Gourgues. This done Satourioua going to meet him, caused him to sit on his right hand in a seat of wood of lentisque couered with mosse made of purpose like vnto his owne. Then two of the eldest of the company pulled vp the brambles & other weeds which were before them, and after they had made the place very cleane, they all sate round about them on the ground. Afterward Gourgues being about to speake, Satourioua preuented him, declaring at large vnto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Sauages, their wiues and children had receiued of the Spanyards since their comming into the Countrey and massacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall desire if we would assist them throughly to reuenge so shamefull a treason, aswell as their owne particular griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne vnto the Frenchmen. Whereupon Gourgues giuing them his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gaue them certaine presents of daggers, kniues, looking glasses, hatchets, rings, belles, and such other things, trifles vnto vs, but precious vnto these kings: which moreouer, seeing his great liberality, demanded eche one a shirt of him to weare onely on their festiuall dayes, and to be buried in at their death. Which things after that they had receiued, and Satourioua had giuen in recompense to Captaine Gourgues two chaines of siluer graines which hung about his necke, and ech of the kings certaine deere skinnes dressed after their manner, they retired themselues dansing and very iocond, with promise to keep all things secret, and to bring vnto the sayd place good companies of their subiects all well armed to be auenged throughly on the Spanyards. In the meane space Gourgues very narrowly examined Peter de Bré borne in Newhauen, which being but a yong stripling escaped out of the fort into the woods while the Spanyards murdered the rest of the French, & was afterward brought vp with Satourioua, which at that time bestowed him on our generall, whose aduise stoode him in great steade: Whereupon he sent to discouer the fort and the estate of the enemies by certaine of his men, being guided by Olotacara Satouriouaes nephew which hee had giuen him for this purpose and for assurance of Estampes a gentleman of Cominges, and others which he sent to descry the state of the enemies. Moreouer he gaue him a sonne of his starke naked as all of them are, and his wife which he loued best of all the rest, of eighteene yeeres olde, apparelled with the mosse of trees, which for 3 dayes space were in the ships, vntill our men returned from discrying the state of the enemie, and the kings had furnished their preparation at their rende-uous. Their marching being concluded, and the Sauages rende-vous being appointed them beyond the riuer Salinacani, of our men called Somme, they all dranke with great solemnitie their drinke called Cassine, made of the iuice of certaine hearbs (as they are wont to do, when they go to any place of danger,) which hath such force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirst for 24 houres, and Gourgues was faine to make as though he drank thereof for company. Afterward they lift vp their handes and sware all that they would neuer forsake him. Olotocara followed him with pike in hand. Being all met at the riuer of Sarauahi, not without great trouble, by reason of the raine and places full of water which they must needes passe, which hindred their passage, they were distressed with famine finding nothing by the way to eat, their Bark of prouision being not arriued, which was to come vnto him from the ships, the ouersight and charge whereof he had left vnto Burdelois with the rest

Eight sauage kings.

The kings seate.

Complaints of the Sauages against the Spanyards.

Two chaines of siluer giuen to Gourgues.

Peter de Bré had liued aboue two yeeres with Satourioua.

Three pledges deliuered to Gourgues by Satourioua.

The riuer of Salinacani, called Somme by the French.

The riuer of Sarauahi.

rest of the Mariners. Now he had learned that the Spanyards were foure hundred strong, deuided into three forts builded and flanked, and well fortified vpon the riuer of May, the great fort especially begunne by the French, and afterward repaired by them: vpon the most dangerous and principall landing place whereof, two leagues lower and neerer towarde the Riuers mouth, they had made two smaller Forts, which were defended, the riuer passing betweene them, with sixe score souldiers, good store of artillery and other munition, which they had in the same. From Saracary vnto these smal forts was two leagues space, which he found very painful, because of the bad waies and continual raines. Afterward he departed from the riuer Catacouru with 10, shot, to view the first fort, and to assault it the next day in the morning by the breake of day, which hee could not doe, because of the foule weather, and darknesse of the night. King Helicopile seeing him out of quiet in that he had failed of his purpose there, assured him to guide him a more easie way, though it were farther about. Insomuch as leading him through the woods, he brought him within sight of the fort, where he discerned one quarter which was but begun to bee entrenched. Thus after he had sounded the small riuer that falleth downe thereby, hee stayed vntill ten of the clock in the morning for an ebbe water, that his men might passe ouer there, vnto a place where he had seene a litle groue between the riuer & the fort (that he might not be seene to passe and set his souldiers in array) causing them to fasten their flasks to their Morions, & to hold vp their swords and kaliuers in their hands, for feare least the water, which reached vp to their girdles, should not wet them: where they found such abundance of great oysters, and shels which were so sharpe, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others lost their shoes. Notwitstanding assoone as they were passed ouer, with a French courage they prepared themselues to the assault on the Sunday eue next after Easter day, in Aprill 1568. Insomuch that Gourgues to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gaue twenty shot to his Lieutenant Cazenoue, and ten Mariners laden with pots and balles of wild fire to burne the gate: and then he assaulted the Fort on another side, after he had made a short speech vnto his men of the strange treasons which the Spanyards had plaid their companions. But being discried as they came holding downe their heads within two hundred places from the Fort, the Gunner being vpon the terrace of the Fort, after he had cried, Arme, Arme, these be French men, discharged twise vpō them a coluerine, whereon the Armes of France were grauen, which had bin taken from Laudonniere. But as he went about to charge it the third time, Olotocara, which had not learned to keepe his ranke, or rather moued with rage, lept on the platforme, and thrust him through the bodie with his pike and slew him. Whereupon Gourgues aduanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenoue cry, that the Spaniards which issued out armed at the cry of the alarme, were fled, hee drew to that part, and so hemmed them in betweene him and his Lieutenant, that of threescore there escaped not a man, sauing only fifteene reserued vnto the same death which they had put the French vnto. The Spanyards of the other fort in the meane while ceased not to play with their ordinance, which much annoied the assailants: although to answere them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the foure pieces found in the first Fort. Whereupon Gourgues being accompanied with fourescore shot went abord the barke which met him there to good purpose to passe into the wood neere vnto the Fort, out of which he supposed the Spanyards would issue to saue themselues thorow the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from ȳ same. Afterward the Sauages not staying for the returne of the bark, lept al into the water holding vp their bowes & arrowes in one hand, & swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards seing both ȳ shores couered with so great a number of men, thought to flee towards the woods: but being charged by the French, and afterward repulsed by the Sauages, toward whō they would haue retired, they were sooner then they would bereft of their liues. To conclude they al there ended their dayes sauing 15 of those which were reserued to be executed for the example of others. Whereupon Captaine Gourgues hauing caused al that he found in the second fort to be transported vnto the first, where he ment to strengthen himselfe to take resolution against the great Fort, the state whereof hee did not vnderstand: in fine a

The estate of the Spanyards in Florida.

The riuer of Saracary, or Sarauahi.

The assault and taking of the first Fort.

The valure of Olotocara.

The assault and taking of the second fort.

The Sauages great swimmers

The Spaniards of the second Fort all slaine.

Note.

A notable Spanish subtilitie.

The cause why the Floridans bury their goods with them.

Note.

The slaughter of the Spaniards of the third Fort.

Sergeant of a band one of the prisoners assured him that they might be there very neere 300 wel furnished vnder a braue Gouernor, which had fortified there, attending farther succours. Thus hauing obtained of him the platforme, the height, the fortification and passages vnto it, and hauing prepared eight good lathers, and raised all the Countrey against the Spanyard, that he neither might haue newes, nor succours, nor retract on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meane while the Gouernour sent a Spanyard disguised like a Sauage to spie out the state of the French. And though he were discouered by Olotocara, yet he vsed all the cunning he could possibly to perswade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which hauing escaped, and seeing none but sauages on euery side, he hoped more in ẏ Frenchmens then their mercy, vnto whom he came to yeeld himself disguised like a sauage, for feare lest if he should haue bin knowen, he should haue bin massacred by those Barbarians: but the spie being brought face to face with the sergeant of the band, & conuicted to be one of the great fort, was reserued vntil an other time: after that he had assured Gourgues that the bruit was that he had 2000 Frenchmen with him for feare of whom the 200 and threescore Spaniardes which remained in the great fort, were greatly astonied. Whereupon Gourgues being resolued to set vpon them, while they were thus amazed, and leauing his Standrad-bearer and a Captaine with fifteene shot to keepe the Fort, and the entry of the Riuer, he caused the Sauages to depart by night to lye in ambush within the woods on both sides of the riuer, then he departed in the Morning, leading the Sergeant and the spy fast bound along with him, to shew him that in deede, which they had only made him vnderstand before in paynting. As they marched Olotocara a resolute Sauage which neuer left the Captaine, said vnto him, that he had serued him faithfully, and done whatsoeuer hee had commaunded him, that he was assured to dye in the conflict at the great Fort, wherein neuerthelesse he would not faile, though it were to saue his life: but he prayed him to giue that vnto his wife, if hee escaped not, which he had meant to bestow on him, that shee might bury the same with him, that thereby hee might be better welcome vnto the village of the soules or spirits departed. To whom Captaine Gourgues answered, after he had commended his faithfull valour, the loue toward his wife, and his noble care of immortall honour, that he desired rather to honour him aliue then dead, and that by Gods helpe he would bring him home againe with victorie. After the discouerie of the Fort, the Spanyards were no niggards of their Canon shotte, nor of two double Coluerines, which being mounted vpon a Bulwarke, commaunded all along the Riuer, which made captaine Gorgues to get to the hill couered with wood, at the foot whereof the Fort beginneth, and the forrest or wood continueth and stretcheth foorth beyond it: so that he had sufficient couerture to approch thereunto without offence. He purposed also to remaine there vntill the Morning, wherein hee was resolued to assault the Spaniards by scaling their walles on the side toward the hill, where the Trench seemed not sufficiently flanked for the defence of the courtains, and from whence part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which should shew themselues to defend the rampart while the rest were comming vp. But the Gouernour hastened his vnhappy destinie, causing threescore shotte to sallie foorth, which passing through the Trenches, aduanced forward to descrye the number and valour of the French, whereof twentie vnder the conduct of Cazanoue, getting betweene the Fort and them which now were issued forth, cut off their repassage, while Gorgues commanded the rest to charge them in the Front, but not to discharge but neere at hand, and so that they might be sure to hitte them, that afterward with more ease they might cut them in pieces with their swordes. So that turning their backs assoone as they were charged and compassed in by his Lieutenant, they remayned all slaine vpon the place. Whereat the rest that were besieged were so astonied, that they knew none other meane to saue their liues, but by fleeing into the Wooddes adioyning, where neuerthelesse being incountred againe by the arrowes of the Sauages which lay in wayte there for them (whereof one ranne through the target and body of a Spanyard, which therewithall fell downe starke dead) some were constrayned to turne backe, choosing rather to dye by the hand of the French, which pursued them: assuring themselues, that none of them could finde any fauour neyther with the one nor the other Nation, whom they had alike and so out of measure cruelly intreated, sauing those which were reserued to be an example for the time to come. The Fort when it was taken, was found well prouided of all necessaries: namely of fiue double Coluerines, and foure Mynions, with diuers other small pieces of all sorts, and eighteene grosse cakes of gunne powder, all sorts of weapons, which Gourgues caused with speede to be imbarked, sauing the powder and other moueables, by reason it was all consumed with fire through the negligence of a Sauage, which in seething of his fish, set fire on a traine of powder which was made and hidden by the Spanyardes, to haue feasted the French at the first assault, thus blowing vp the store house, and the other houses buylt of Pine trees. The rest of the Spaniards being led away prisoners with the others, after that the Generall had shewed them the wrong which they had done without occasion to all the French Nation, were all hanged on the boughes of the same trees, whereon the French hung: of which number fiue were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiuing himselfe in the like miserable estate, confessed his fault, and the iust iudgement which God had brought vpon him. But in stead of the writing which Pedro Melendes had hanged ouer them, importing these wordes in Spanish, I doe not this as vnto French men, but as vnto Lutherans, Gourgues caused to be imprinted with a searing iron in a table of Firrewood, I doe not this as vnto Spaniardes, nor as vnto Mariners, but as vnto Traitors, Robbers, and Murtherers. Afterward considering he had not men inough to keepe his Forts which he had wonne, much lesse to store them, fearing also lest the Spaniard which hath Dominions neere adioyning should renew his forces, or the Sauages should preuaile against the French men, vnlesse his Maiestie would send thither, hee resolued to raze them. And indeede, after he had assembled, and in the ende perswaded all the Sauage kings so to doe, they caused their subiects to runne thither with such affection, that they ouerthrew all the three Forts flatte euen with the ground in one day. This done by Gourgues, that hee might returne to his Shippes which were left in the Riuer of Seyne called Tacatacourou, fifteene leagues distant from thence, he sent Cazenoue and the artillery by water: afterward with fourescore harquebusiers, armed with corslets, and matches light, followed with fortie Mariners bearing pikes, by reason of the small confidence he was to haue in so many Sauages, he marched by land alwayes in battell ray, finding the wayes couered with Sauages, which came to honour him with presents and prayses, as the deliuerer of all the countries round about adioyning. An old woman among the rest sayd vnto him, that now she cared not any more to dye, since she had seene the Frenchmen once againe in Florida, and the Spaniards chased out. Briefly being arriued, and finding his ships set in order, and euery thing ready to set sayle, hee counselled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would defend them against all Nations: which they all promised, shedding teares because of his departure. Olocotara especially: for appeasing of whom he promised them to returne within twelue Moones, (so they count the yeeres) and that his king would send them an army, and store of kniues for presents, and all other things necessary. So that after he had taken his leaue of them, and assembled his men, he thanked God of all his successe since his setting foorth, and prayed to him for an happy returne. The third of May 1568, all things were made ready, the Rendez-uous appoynted, and the Ankers weighed to set sayle so prosperously, that in seuenteene dayes they ranne eleuen hundred leagues: continuing which course they arriued at Rochel the sixt of Iune, the foure and thirtieth day after their departure from the Riuer of May, hauing lost but a small Pinnesse and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were slaine in the assaulting of the Forts. After the cheere and good intertainment which he receiued of those of Rochel, hee sayled to Burdeaux to informe Monsieur Monluc of the things aboue mentioned, albeit hee was aduertised of eighteene Pinnesses, and a great Shippe of two hundred Tunnes full of Spanyardes, which being assured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochel, came as farre as Che-de Bois, the same day that he departed thence, and followed him as farre as Blay (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux) to make him yeeld

The taking of third Fort.

The writings hanged ouer the French and Spaniards slaine in Florida.

The three Forts razed.

Great honour done by the Sauages to Gourgues.

Kniues in great estimation.

The third of May.

The arriuall of Gourgues at Rochel, the sixt of Iune.

Che-de Bois.

The birth, life and death of captaine Gourgues.

another account of his voyage, then that, wherewith hee made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholicke king being afterward informed that Gourgues could not easily be taken, offered a great summe of money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreouer king Charles to doe iustice on him as of the authour of so bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendshippe. In so much as comming to Paris to present himselfe vnto the King, to signifie vnto him the successe of his Voyage, and the meanes which hee had to subdue this whole Countrey vnto his obedience, (wherein hee offered to imploy his life, and all his goods) hee found his entertainment and answere so contrary to his expectation, that in fine hee was constrayned to hide himselfe a long space in the Court of Roan, about the yeere 1570. And without the assistance of President Marigny, in whose house he remayned certayne dayes, and of the Receiuer of Vacquieulx, which alwayes was his faithful friend, hee had beene in great danger. Which grieued not a litle Dominique de Gourgues, considering the seruices which hee had done aswell vnto him as to his predecessours kings of France. Hee has borne in Mount Marsan in Guyenne, and imployed for the seruice of the most Christian Kings in all the Armies made since these twentie fiue or thirty yeeres: at last he had the charge and honour of a Captaine, which in a place neere vnto Siene, with thirtie Souldyers sustayned the brunt of a part of the Spanish Armie, by which beeing taken in the assault, and hauing all his men cutte in pieces, hee was put into a Galley in token of the good warre and singular fauour which the Spanyard is woont to shew vs. But as the Galley was going toward Sicillie, beeing taken by the Turkeys, ledde away to Rhodes, and thence to Constantinople, it was shortly afterwarde recouered by Romeguas, commaunder ouer the Armie of Malta. By this meane returning home, hee made a Voyage on the coast of Africa, whence hee tooke his course to Bresil, and to the South Sea. At length beeing desirous to repayre the honour of France, he set vpon Florida with such successe as you haue heard. So that being become by his continuall warlike actions both by Land and Sea no lesse valiant Captaine then skilfull Mariner, hee hath made himselfe feared of the Spanyard, and acceptable vnto the Queene of England for the desert of his vertues. To conclude, he dyed in the yeere 1582, to the great griefe of such as knew him.

The relation of Pedro Morales a Spaniard, which sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustines in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, touching the state of those partes, taken from his mouth by Master Richard Hakluyt 1586.

THree score leagues vp to the Northwest from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci.

Wateri a goodly riuer.

The riuer of Wateri is thirtie leagues from S. Helena Northward, which is able to receiue any Fleete of ships of great burden.

Wateri and Caiowa are two kings, and two riuers to the North of Saint Helena.

Oristou,
Ahoia,
Ahoiaue,
Isamacon,
Icosa or Dicosa } Kings and Riuers to the South of Saint Helena.

The Spaniards haue killed three hundred of the subiects of Potanou.

The greatest number of Spaniards that haue bene in Florida this sixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

La grand Copal a rich citie.

There is a great City sixteene or twentie dayes iourney from Saint Helena Northwestward, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and haue bene within the sight of it, some of them.

They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to discouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes trauel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude: and is that riuer which the French called Port-royal.

He saith also that he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye vp in the countrey Westward from S. Helena. These hils seeme wholy to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Sauages aduertised Laudonniere, and it may bee they are the hils of Chaunis Temoatam, which Master Lane had aduertisement of.

The relation of Nicholas Burgoignon, aliâs Holy, whom sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustine also in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, in mine and Master Heriots hearing.

THis Nicholas Burgoignon sayth, that betweene S. Augustine and S. Helen there is a Casique whose name is Casicôla, which is lord of ten thousand Indians, and another casique whose name is Dicasca, and another called Touppekyn toward the North, and a fourth named Potanou toward the South, and another called Moscita toward the South likewise. Besides these he acknowledgeth Oristou, Ahoia, Ahoiaue, Isamacon, alledged by the Spaniard.

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from S. Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and is very great and rich, and that in these mountains there is great store of Christal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth fiue thousand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes that slew Ribault, & is now gouerner of Florida, weareth. He saith also, that to make passage vnto these mountaines, it is needefull to haue store of Hatchets to giue vnto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night. Also corslets of Cotton, which the Spanyards call Zecopitz, are necessary to bee had against the arrowes of the Sauages.

He sayth farther, that a Tunne of the sassafras of Florida is solde in Spaine for sixtie ducates: and that they haue there great store of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peason, and that there are great store of pearles.

The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make most account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or gyrdles: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne costs, to discouer these mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action, once knowen.

All the Spaniards would passe vp by the riuer of Saint Helena vnto the mountaines of golde and Chrystall.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues vp Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their nostrels and eares. They found also Oxen, but lesse then ours. Oxen.

Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the sea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a riuer fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ships may ride safely. I take this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Christmasse last 1585. the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men to discouer where we were seated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things.

The Spaniards of S. Augustine haue slaine three hundred of the subiects of Potanou: One Potassi is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French history calleth Olata Outina.

Calauai is another casique which they knowe.

SVNDRY VOYAGES

MADE FROM NUEUA GALICIA, AND NUEUA VISCAIA IN NEW SPAINE, TO THE 15. PROUINCES OF NEW MEXICO, AND TO QUIUIRA AND CIBOLA, ALL SITUATE ON THE BACKESIDE OF GUASTECAN, FLORIDA, AND VIRGINIA, AS FARRE AS 37. DEGREES OF NORTHERLY LATITUDE: WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE RIUERS, LAKES, CITIES, TOWNES, NATIONS, FERTILE SOYLE, AND TEMPERATE AYRE IN THOSE PARTES; AND MOST CERTAINE NOTICE OF MANY EXCEEDING RICH SILUER MINES, AND OTHER PRINCIPALL COMMODITIES.

A discourse of the famous Cosmographer Iohn Baptista Ramusius, concerning the three voyages of Frier Marco de Niça, Francis Vasquez de Coronado, and Ferdinando Alorchon next following: taken out of his third volume of Nauigations and Voyages.

THe right honourable Don Antonio de Mendoça being sent by Charles the Emperour to be viceroy of Mexico and Nueua Espanna, and hauing vnderstood that Don Ferdinando Cortez had sent many ships along the coast of Nueua Espanna to discouer countries, and to find out the Isles of the Malucos, began himselfe to desire to do the like, as viceroy of Nueua Espanna; and hereupon they fell out: for Cortez said that he was general and discouerer of the South sea, and that it belonged to him to set forth those voyages. On the other side, the lord Don Antonio alledged that it belonged to him to make that discouery, as being viceroy of Nueua Espanna. So that they fell at great variance, and Cortez returned into Spaine to complaine vnto the Emperour. Don Antonio in the meane season hauing obteined knowledge of the voiage, which Andrew Dorantez (who was one of the company of Pamphilo Naruaez that escaped, as you may reade in the relation of Aluaro Nunnez, called Cabeça de Vaca) made; sent Frier Marco de Niça with a Negro of the said Dorantez to discouer that country. Which Frier Marco de Niça being returned, & hauing informed his lordship of all his discouery, he sent captain Francis Vasquez de Coronado with many Spaniards on horsebacke and Indians on foot: likewise he sent a fleete by sea, whereof Ferdinando Alorchon was captaine, as may be seene in the relations following.

An extract of a letter of captaine Francis Vasques de Coronado, written to a Secretary of the right noble Don Antonio de Mendoça, viceroy of Nueua Espanna. Dated in Culiacan, the 8. of March 1539.

HE saith that Frier Marcus de Niça arriued in the Prouince of Topira, where he found all the Indians fled vnto the mountaines for feare of the Christians, and that for his sake they came all downe to see him, with great ioy & boldnesse. They are men of good making, and whiter then others, and their women are more beautifull then others of the neighbour-prouinces. There are no great cities there, yet are the houses built of stone, and are very good, and in them they haue great store of gold, which is as it were lost, because they know not what vse to put it to. The people weare Emeralds and other precious iewels vpon their bodies: they are valiant, hauing very strong armour made of siluer, fashioned after diuers shapes of beasts. They worship for their gods such things as they haue in their houses, as namely hearbes, and birdes, and sing songs vnto them in their language, which differeth but litle from that of Culiacan. They told the Frier that they were willing to become Christians, and the Emperors subiects, for they were without a gouernour; with condition that no man should hurt them: and that they would change their golde for such things as they wanted. Commandement was giuen, that they should bee receiued without doing them any displeasure. Neere vnto this countrey there is another Prouince heretofore discouered by our men, where the people go naked without any thing before them: they are very hardly reduced to Christianitie, and they are valiant and stoute. Their houses are couered with straw. They seeke no other riches but to feede cattel. They goe at certaine seasons to their sacrifices into a valley situate in that Prouince, which is inhabited with people, esteemed by

Store of golde, siluer, and precious stones in Topira.

those of the countrey as saints and priests, whom they call Chichimecas, which dwell in the woods without houses: and they eate such things as they of the countrey giue them of almes. They goe naked, and are tanned in the smoke, and tye their priuie member with a string vnto their knee, and the women likewise goe starke naked. They haue certain temples couered with strawe, with small round windowes full of the skuls of dead men; before their temple is a great round ditch, the brim whereof is compassed with the figure of a serpent made of gold and siluer, and with another mixture of vnknowen metals: and this serpent holdeth his tayle in his mouth. They of this valley from time to time cast lots, whose lucke it shal be to be sacrificed, and they make him great cheere, on whom the lotte falleth, and with great ioy they crowne him with flowers vpon a bed prepared in the sayd ditch all full of flowres and sweete hearbes, on which they lay him along, and lay great store of dry wood on both sides of him, and set it on fire on eyther part, and so he dyeth. Where he continueth so quietly without being bound, as though hee did something, wherein he tooke great pleasure. And they say that hee is a Saint, and doe worshippe him for that yeere, and sing prayses, and Hymnes vnto him, and afterward set vp his head with the rest in order within those windowes. Also they sacrifice their prisoners, whom they burne in another deeper ditch, and not with the foresayde ceremonies. The Spanyards which are in Xalisco write, that hauing good assistance, they hope that those people will become Christians. The Countrey is very good and fruitfull, and hath great store of good and wholesome waters.

A Letter of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Gouernour of Nueua Galicia, to the lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Viceroy of Nueua Espanna. Dated in Saint Michael of Culiacan the 8. of March, 1539.

Of the hard passage from Saint Michael of Culiacan to Topira. The description of that Prouince, and of another neere vnto the same, very rich in gold and precious stones. The number of the people which Vazquez caried with him in his iourney thither; and how greatly Frier Marcus of Niça is honoured by the Indians of Petatlan.

BY the hepe of God I meane to set forward from this City of S. Michael of Culiacan toward Topira the 10. of April: neither can I any sooner set forward, because the powder and match which your Lordship sendeth mee, cannot be brought thither before that time, and I thinke it be now in Compostella. Besides this, I am to passe many leagues ouer mightie high mountaines, which reach vp to the skyes, and ouer a Riuer, which at this present is so bigge and swolne, that it can in no place be waded ouer. And if I depart at the time aforesayde, they say wee may wade ouer it. They tolde mee that from hence to Topira was not aboue 50. leagues; and I haue learned since that it is aboue foure score leagues. I doe not remember that I haue written to your Lordshippe the information which I haue of Topira: and though I had written thereof vnto you, yet because that since that time I haue learned something more, I thinke it meete to signifie the same vnto your Lordship in these my letters. It may please your honour therefore to vnderstand, that they tell mee, that Topira is a very populous Prouince, lying betweene two riuers, and that there are aboue 50. inhabited townes therein. And that beyond the same there is another Countrey greater then it, the name whereof the Indians could not tell mee, wherein there is great store of victuals of Maiz, French peason, Axi or Pepper, Melons, and Gourds, and great store of Hennes of the countrey. The people weare on their bodies golde, Emeralds, and other precious stones, and are serued commonly in golde and siluer, wherewith they couer their houses: and the chiefe men weare great chaines of golde well wrought, about their necks, and are apparelled with paynted garments, and haue store of wilde kine; and they say they enter not into their countrey, because themselues haue no great store of people: those Indians being many in number, and very valiant. That which here I say, I learned by two other relations of Indians dwelling neere vnto them. I meane to set forward at the time before mentioned, and I carrie with me 150. horsemen, and twelue spare horses, and 200. footmen, crosse bow-

Topira.

Another greater prouince.

These may seeme to be the Pintados mentioned by Frier Marco de Niza in his 2. Chap.

men, and gunners. I take also with mee liue hogs, sheepe, and all such things as I can get for money: assure your Lordship that I meane not to returne to Mexico, vntil I be able to informe your honour more perfectly, what the state of that place is: and if I find ought that we may doe good in, I will stay there, vntill I haue aduertised your Lordship, that you may command what you will haue done: and if it fall out so vnluckily, that there be nothing of importance, I will seeke to discouer 100. leagues farther, wherein (I hope in God) there will be something found in which your Lordship may imploy all these gentlemen, and those which shall come hither hereafter. I thinke I cannot chuse but stay there: and the waters, the seasons, and disposition of the countrey, and other accidents wil direct mee what is best to be done. Frier Marco de Niça entred a good way into the country, accompanied with Stephan Dorantez, the 7. of February last past: when I departed from them, I left them with aboue 100. Indians of Petatlan, and from the time of their comming thither they greatly honoured the father, shewing him all the courtesies they could possibly. I cannot send you, nor describe vnto you his entrance among them better then I haue done in all my relations which I wrote in my letters from Compostella, and I signified vnto you all things to the full from the citie of S. Michael: and though there be but the tenth part of those things, it is a great matter. Herewithall I haue sent your Lordship a Letter, which I receiued from the said father: the Indians tell me, that all the people of the countrey doe greatly reuerence him: and I beleeue he may trauel many leagues farther in that sort. He saith, that if he finde any good countrey, he will write to me thereof: I will not goe thither without informing your Lordship of my iourney. I hope in God, that by one way or other wee shall discouer some good thing.

A Letter written by the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy of Nueua Espanna, to the Emperors Maiestie.

Of certaine Noblemen which sought to discouer the end of the firme land of Nueua Espanna toward the North. The arriuall of Vazquez de Coronado with Frier Marco at S. Michael of Culiacan, with commission to the Gouernors of those partes, to pacifie the Indians, and not to make them slaues any more.

IN the ships that went last from hence (wherof Michael de Vsnago was Admiral) I wrote vnto your Maiestie, how I had sent two Franciscan Friers to discouer the end of this firme land, which stretcheth to the North. And because their iourney fell out to greater purpose then was looked for, I will declare the whole matter from the beginning. It may please your Maiestie to call to mind how often I wrote vnto your Highnesse, that I desired to know the ende of this Prouince of Nueua Espanna, because it is so great a countrey, and that we haue yet no knowledge thereof. Neither had I onely this desire; for Nunno de Guzman departed out of this city of Mexico with 400. horsemen, and 14000. Indians footemen borne in these Indias, being the best men, & the best furnished, which haue bene seene in these parts: and he did so litle with them, that the most part of them were consumed in the enterprize, & could not enter nor discouer any more then already was discouered. After this the saide Nunno Guzman beeing Gouernour of Nueua Galicia, sent Captaines and Horsemen foorth diuers times, which sped no better then he had done. Likewise the Marques de valle Hernando Cortez sent a captaine with 2. ships to discouer the coast: which 2. ships and the captaine perished. After that he sent againe 2. other ships, one of the which was diuided from her consort, and the Master and certaine mariners slue the captaine, & vsurped ouer the ship. After this they came to an Island, where the Master with certaine mariners going on land, the Indians of the country slew them, and tooke their boat: and the ship with those that were in it, returned to the coast of Nueua Galicia, where it ran on ground. By the men which came home in this ship, the Marques had knowledge of the countrey which they had discouered: and then, either for the discontentment which hee had with the bishop of Saint Domingo, and with the Iudges of this royal audience in Mexico, or rather because of his so prosperous successe in all things here in Nueua Espanna, without seeking any farther intelli-

This was the Port of Santa Crus, in the Isle of California.

intelligence of the state of that Island, he set forward on that voyage with 3. Ships, and with certaine footemen and horsemen, not throughly furnished with things necessary; which fell out so contrary to his expectation, that the most part of the people which he carryed with him, dyed of hunger. And although he had ships, and a Countrey very neere him abounding with victuals, yet could hee neuer finde meanes to conquer it, but rather it seemed, that God miraculously did hide it from him: and so he returned home without atchieuing ought else of moment. After this, hauing heere in my company Andrew Dorantez, which is one of those who were in the voyage of Panphilo Naruaez, I often was in hand with him, supposing that he was able to doe your Maiestie great seruice, to imploy him with fortie or fiftie horses, to search out the secret of those parts: and hauing prouided all things necessary for his iourney, and spent much money in that behalfe, the matter was broken off, I wot not how, and that enterprise was giuen ouer. Yet of the things which were prouided for that purpose, I had left mee a Negro, which returned from the foresayde voyage of Naruaez, with Dorantez, and certaine slaues which I had bought, and certaine Indians which I had gathered together, who were borne in those North partes, whome I sent with Frier Marco de Niça, and his companion a Franciscan Frier, because they had bene long trauelled, and exercised in those partes, and had great experience in the affaires of the Indies, and were men of good life and conscience, for whom I obtained leaue of their superiours: and so they went with Frances Vazquez de Coronado, gouernour of Nueua Galicia vnto the Citie of Saint Michael of Culiacan, which is the last Prouince subdued by the Spaniards towarde that quarter, being two hundred leagues distant from this Citie of Mexico. Assoone as the gouernour, and the Friers were come vnto that Citie, hee sent certaine of those Indians which I had giuen him, home into their Countrey, to signifie, and declare to the people of the same, That they were to vnderstand, that your Maiestie had commaunded they should not hereafter bee made slaues, and that they should not be afrayd any more, but might returne vnto their houses, and liue peaceably in them, (for before that time they had bin greatly troubled by the euill dealings which were vsed toward them) and that your Maiestie would cause them to be chastened, which were the causes of their vexation. With these Indians about twentie dayes after returned about 400 men; which comming before the gouernour said vnto him, that they came on the behalfe of al their Countrey-men, to tell him, that they desired to see and know those men which did them so great a pleasure as to suffer them to returne to their houses, and to sow Maiz for their sustenance: for by the space of many yeres they were driuen to flee into the mountaines, hiding themselues like wild beasts, for feare lest they should be made slaues, and that they and all the rest of their people were ready to doe whatsoeuer should bee commaunded them. Whom the gouernour comforted with good wordes, and gaue them victuals, and stayed them with him three or foure dayes, wherein the Friers taught them to make the signe of the Crosse, and to learne the name of our Lorde Iesus Christ, and they with great diligence sought to learne the same. After these dayes hee sent them home againe, willing them not to be afraid, but to be quiet, giuing them apparel, beades, kniues, and other such like things, which I had giuen him for such purposes. The sayde Indians departed very well pleased, and said, that whensoeuer hee would send for them, they and many others would come to doe whatsoeuer he would command them. The entrance being thus prepared, Frier Marco and his companion, with the Negro and other slaues, and Indians which I had giuen him, went forward on their voyage 10. or 12. dayes after. And because I had likewise aduertisement of a certaine Prouince called Topira situate in the mountaines, and had appointed the gouernour Vazquez de Coronado, that he should vse meanes to learne the state thereof: he supposing this to be a matter of great moment, determined himselfe to goe and search it, hauing agreed with the said Frier, that he should returne by that part of the mountaine, to meete with him in a certaine valley called Valle de los Coraçones, beeing 120. leagues distant from Culiacan. The gouernour trauelling into this prouince (as I haue written in my former letters) found great scarcity of victuals there, and the mountaines so craggy, that he could finde no way to passe forward, and was inforced to returne home to Saint Michael: so that aswell in chusing

Valle de los Corazones mentioned by Vazquez de Coronado cap. 1.

of the entrance, as in not being able to finde the way, it seemeth vnto all men, that God would shut vp the gate to all those, which by strength of humane force haue gone about to attempt this enterprise, and hath reueiled it to a poore and bare-footed Frier. And so the Frier beganne to enter into the Land, who because he found his entrance so well prepared, was very well receiued; and because he wrote the whole successe of his voyage, according to the instruction which I had giuen him to vndertake the same, I wil not write any more at large, but send your Maiestie this copy of all such things as he obserued in the same.

A relation of the reuerend father Frier Marco de Niça, touching his discouery of the kingdome of Ceuola or Cibola, situate about 30. degrees of latitude, to the North of Nueua Espanna.

Chap. 1.

Frier Marco de Niça departeth from Saint Michael in the Prouince of Culiacan, standing in 24. degrees of Northerly latitude: and comming to the Towne of Petatlan, receiueth many courtesies of the Indians there. Departing from thence, he had information of many Islands, and of a great countrey inhabited with ciuil people; he commeth to Vacupa: where during his aboad, he heard newes of Ceuola, and of the state of the 7. Cities, and of other prouinces, & of the rich Islands of perles, which extend northward vpon the coast.

I Frier Marco de Niça of the order of S. Francis, for the execution of the instruction of the right honourable lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy and captaine Generall for the Emperors Maiestie in New Spaine, departed from the towne of S. Michael in the prouince of Culiacan on Friday the 7. of March, in the yeere 1539. hauing for my companion Frier Honoratus, and carying with me Stephan a Negro, belonging to Andrew Dorantez, and certaine of those Indians which the sayde lord Vice-roy had made free, and bought for this purpose: whom Frances Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueua Galicia deliuered me, and with many other Indians of Petatlan, and of the towne called Cuchillo, which is some 50. leagues from Petatlan, who came to the valley of Culiacan, shewing themselues to bee exceeding glad, because they were certified by the Indians which had bin set free, whom the said gouernour had sent before to aduertise them of their libertie, that none of them from thenceforth should be made slaues, and that no man should inuade them, nor vse them badly; signifying vnto them, that the Emperors Maiesty had willed and commanded that it should be so. With the foresaid company I went on my voyage vntill I came to the towne of Petatlan, finding all the way great intertainment, and prouision of victuals, with roses, flowres, and other such things, and bowers which they made for me of chalke and boughs platted together in all places where there were no houses. In this towne of Petatlan I rested 3. dayes, because my companion Honoratus fell so sicke, that I was constrained to leaue him there behinde.

Petatlan a towne.

Then, according to my said instruction, I followed my iourney as the holy Ghost did leade me, without any merit of mine, hauing in my company the said Stephan the Negro of Dorantez, and certaine of the Indians which had bin set at liberty, and many of the people of the countrey, which gaue me great intertainment and welcome in all places where I came, and made mee bowers of trees, giuing me such victuals as they had, although they were but small: because (as they said) it had not rained there in 3 yeres, and because the Indians of this countrey sought means rather to hide themselues, then to sowe corne, for feare of the Christians of the Towne of S. Michael, which were wont to make in-roades euen to that place, and to warre vpon them, and to cary them away captiues. In all this way, which may be about 25 or 30. leagues from that part of Petatlan, I saw nothing worthy the noting, saue that there came to seeke me certaine Indians from the Island, where Fernando Cortez the Marques of the valley had bin, of whom I was informed, that it was an Island, & not firme land, as some suppose it to be. They came to ẏ firme land vpon certaine rafts of wood: and from the maine to the island is but halfe a league by sea, litle more or lesse. Likewise certaine

The island of Saint Iago.

taine Indians of another island greater then this came to visit me, which island is farther off, of whom I was informed that there were 30. other smal islands, which were inhabited, but had smal store of victuals, sauing 2. which haue Maiz or corne of the countrey. These Indians had about their necks many great shels which were mother of Pearle. I shewed them pearles which I carryed with me for a shew, and they told me that there were in the Islands great store of them, and those very great: howbeit I saw none of them. I followed my voyage through a desert of 4. dayes iourney, hauing in my company both the Indians of the islands, & those of the mountaines which I had passed, and at the end of this desert I found other Indians which maruelled to see me, because they had no knowledge of any Christians, hauing no traffike nor conuersation with those Indians which I had passed, in regard of the great desert which was between them. These Indians interteined me exceeding courteously, & gaue me great store of victuals, & sought to touch my garmēts, and called me Hayota, which in their language signifieth A man come from heauen. These Indians I aduertised by my interpreter, according to my instructions, in the knowledge of our Lord God in heauen, & of the Emperor. In these countries & in all places els by all wayes and meanes possible, I sought information where any Countreys were of more Cities and people of ciuilitie and vnderstanding, then those which I had found: and I could heare no newes of any such: howbeit they tolde mee, that foure or fiue dayes iourney within the Countrey, at the foote of the mountaines, there is a large and mightie plaine, wherein they tolde mee, that there were many great Townes, and people clad in Cotton: and when I shewed them certaine Metals which I carryed with mee, to learne what riche Metals were in the Lande, they tooke the minerall of Golde and tolde mee, that thereof were vesselles among the people of that plaine, and that they carryed certaine round greene stones hanging at their nostrilles, and at their eares, and that they haue certaine thinne plates of that Golde, wherewith they scrape off their sweat, and that the walles of their Temples are couered therewith, and that they vse it in all their household vessels. And because this Valley is distant from the Sea-coast, and my instruction was not to leaue the Coast, I determined to leaue the discouery thereof vntill my returne; at which time I might doe it more commodiously.

A great island, and 30. small islands, which seeme to be the new islands of California rich in pearles.

A desert foure daies iourney.

This was the valley of Coracones.

Thus I trauelled three dayes iourney through Townes inhabited by the sayde people, of whome I was receiued as I was of those which I had passed, and came vnto a Towne of reasonable bignesse, called Vacupa, where they shewed mee great courtesies, and gaue mee great store of good victuals, because the soyle is very fruitfull, and may bee watered. This Towne is fortie leagues distant from the Sea. And because I was so farre from the Sea, it being two dayes before Passion Sunday, I determined to stay there vntill Easter, to informe my selfe of the Islandes, whereof I sayde before that I had information. And so I sent certaine Indians to the Sea by three seuerall wayes, whom I commaunded to bring mee some Indians of the Sea-coast and of some of those Islandes, that I might receiue information of them: and I sent Stephan Dorantez the Negro another way, whom I commaunded to goe directly Northward fiftie or threescore leagues, to see if by that way hee might learne any newes of any notable thing which wee sought to discouer, and I agreed with him, that if hee found any knowledge of any peopled and riche Countrey which were of great importance, that hee should goe no further, but should returne in person, or should sende mee certaine Indians with that token which wee were agreed vpon, to wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee should sende mee a white Crosse of one handfull long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfuls long; and if it were a Countrey greater and better then Nueua Espanna, hee should send mee a great crosse. So the sayde Stephan departed from mee on Passion-sunday after dinner: and within foure dayes after the messengers of Stephan returned vnto me with a great Crosse as high as a man, and they brought me word from Stephan, that I should forthwith come away after him, for hee had found people which gaue him information of a very mighty Prouince, and that he had certaine Indians in his company, which had bene in the sayd Prouince, and that he had sent me one of the said Indians. This Indian told me, that it was thirtie dayes iourney from the Towne where Stephan was, vnto the first Citie of the sayde Prouince, which is called Ceuola. Hee affirmed

Vacupa a town 40. leagues from the Bay of California.

From Vacupa to Ceuola are 32. dayes iourney.

also that there are seuen great Cities in this Prouince, all vnder one Lord, the houses whereof are made of Lyme and Stone, and are very great, and the least of them with one lofte aboue head, and some of two and of three loftes, and the house of the Lorde of the Prouince of foure, and that all of them ioyne one vnto the other in good order, and that in the gates of the principall houses there are many Turques-stones cunningly wrought, whereof hee sayth they haue there great plentie: also that the people of this Citie goe very well apparelled: and that beyond this there are other Prouinces, all which (hee sayth) are much greater then these seuen cities. I gaue credite to his speach, because I found him to bee a man of good vnderstanding: but I deferred my departure to follow Stephan Dorantes, both because I thought hee would stay for mee, and also to attend the returne of my messengers which I had sent vnto the Sea, who returned vnto me vpon Easter day, bringing with them certaine inhabitants of the Sea-coast, and of two of the Islands. Of whom I vnderstoode, that the Islandes aboue mentioned were scarce of victuals, as I had learned before, and that they are inhabited by people, which weare shelles of Pearles vpon their foreheads, and they say that they haue great Pearles, and much Golde. They informed mee of foure and thirtie Islandes, lying one neere vnto another: they say that the people on the Sea-coast haue small store of victuals, as also those of the Islandes, and that they traffique one with the other vpon raftes. This coast stretcheth Northward as is to bee seene. These Indians of the Coast brought me certaine Targets made of Cow-hydes very well dressed, which were so large, that they couered them from the head to the very foote, with a hole in the toppe of the same to looke out before: they are so strong, that a Crossebow (as I suppose) will not pierce them.

Great pearles and much gold in the Isles of California, which are 34. in number.

Chap. 2.

He hath new information of the seuen Cities by certaine Indians called Pintados, and of three other kingdomes called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac, being Countreys very rich in Turqueses and Hides of cattel. Following his voyage through those countries, he taketh possession thereof for the Emperors Maiestie, and of the Indians is much honoured and serued with victuals.

THe same day came three Indians of those which I called Pintados, because I saw their faces, breasts and armes painted. These dwel farther vp into the countrey towards the East, and some of them border vpon the seuen cities, which sayd they came to see mee, because they had heard of me: and among other things, they gaue me information of the seuen cities, and of the other Prouinces, which the Indian that Stephan sent me had tolde mee of, almost in the very same maner that Stephan had sent mee worde; and so I sent backe the people of the sea-coast: and two Indians of the Islandes sayde they would goe with mee seuen or eight dayes.

So with these and with the three Pintados aboue mentioned, I departed from Vacupa vpon Easter Tuesday, the same way that Stephan went, from whom I receiued new messengers with a Crosse of the bignesse of the first which he sent me: which hastened mee forward, and assured me that the land which I sought for, was the greatest and best countrey in all those partes. The sayd messengers told mee particularly without fayling in any one poynt, all that which the first messenger had tolde mee, and much more, and gaue mee more plaine information thereof. So I trauelled that day being Easter Tuesday, and two dayes more, the very same way that Stephan had gone: at the end of which 3 dayes they tolde mee, that from that place a man might trauell in thirtie dayes to the citie of Ceuola, which is the first of the seuen. Neither did one onely tell me thus much, but very many; who tolde me very particularly of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the fashion of them, as the first messengers had informed me. Also they told me, that besides these seuen Cities, there are 3. other kingdomes which are called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. I enquired of them wherefore they trauelled so farre from their houses: They said that they went for Turqueses, and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all these there was great abundance in this Countrey. Likewise I enquired how, and by what meanes they obteined these things: They tolde me, by their seruice, and by the sweat of their browes, and that they went vnto the first citie of the Prouince which is called Ceuola, and that they serued them in tilling their ground, and in other businesses, and that they giue them Hydes of oxen, which they haue in those places, and turqueses for their seruice, and that the people of this city weare very fine and excellent turqueses hanging at their eares and at their nostrils. They say also, that of these turqueses they make fine workes vpon the principall gates of the houses of this citie. They tolde mee, that the apparell which the inhabitants of Ceuola weare, is a gowne of cotten downe to the foote, with a button at the necke, and a long string hanging downe at the same, and that the sleeues of these gownes are as broad beneath as aboue. They say, they gyrd themselues with gyrdles of turqueses, and that ouer these coates some weare good apparel, others hides of kine very well dressed, which they take to bee the best apparell of that countrey, whereof they haue there great quantitie. Likewise the women goe apparelled, and couered downe to the foote. These Indians gaue me very good intertainment, and curiously enquired the day of my departure from Vacupa, that at my returne they might prouide me of foode and lodging. They brought certaine sicke folkes before mee, that I might heale them, and sought to touch my apparell, and gaue mee certaine Cow-hydes so well trimmed and dressed, that by them a man might coniecture that they were wrought by ciuile people, and all of them affirmed, that they came from Ceuola.

The next day I followed my iourney, and carrying with mee the Pintados, I came to another Village where I was well receiued by the people of the same: who likewise sought to touch my garments, and gaue mee as particular knowledge of the Lande aforesayde, as I had receiued of those which mette mee before: and also tolde mee, that from that place certaine people were gone with Stephan Dorantez, foure or fiue dayes iourney. And here I found a great crosse, which Stephan had left me for a signe, that the newes of the good Countrey increased, and left worde, that with all haste they should sende mee away, and that hee would stay for mee at the ende of the first Desert that he mette with. Heere I set vp two Crosses, and tooke possession according to mine instruction, because that the Countrey seemed better vnto mee then that which I had passed, and that I thought it meete to make an acte of possession as farre as that place.

Another village.

In this maner I trauailed fiue dayes, alwayes finding inhabited places with great hospitalitie and intertainments, and many Turqueses, and Oxe-hides, and the like report concerning the countrey. Heere I vnderstood, that after two dayes iourney I should finde a desert where there is no foode; but that there were certaine gone before to build mee lodgings, and to carrie foode for mee: whereupon I hastened my way, hoping to finde Stephan at the ende thereof, because in that place hee had left worde that hee would stay for mee. Before I came to the desert, I mette with a very pleasant Towne, by reason of great store of waters conueighed thither to water the same. Heere I mette with many people both men and women clothed in Cotton, and some couered with Oxe-hydes, which generally they take for better apparell then that of cotton. All the people of this Village goe in Caconados, that is to say, with Turqueses hanging at their nostrilles and eares: which Turqueses they call Cacona. Amongst others, the Lord of this Village came vnto me, and two of his brethren very well apparelled in Cotton, who also were in Caconados, each of them hauing his collar of Turqueses about his necke: and they presented vnto mee many wilde beastes, as Conies, Quailes, Maiz, nuttes of Pine trees, and all in great abundance, and offered mee many Turqueses, and dressed Oxe-hydes, and very fayre vessels to drinke in, and other things: whereof I would receiue no whit. And hauing my garment of gray cloth, which in Spaine is called çaragoça, the Lord of this Village, and the other Indians touched my gowne with their handes, and tolde mee, that of such Cloth there was great store in Totonteac, and that the people of that Countrey wore the same. Whereat I laughed, and sayde that it was nothing else but such apparell of Cotton as they wore. And they replyed: We would haue thee thinke that we vnderstand, that

A pleasant village.

Store of woollen cloth and sheepe in Totonteac.

that apparell which thou wearest, and that which we weare are of diuers sortes. Vnderstand thou, that in Ceuola all the houses are full of that apparell which we weare, but in Totonteac there are certaine litle beasts, from whom they take that thing wherewith such apparell as thou wearest, is made. I prayed them to informe mee more playnely of this matter. And they tolde mee that the sayde beastes were about the bignesse of the two braches or spaniels which Stephan caryed with him, and they say that there is great store of that cattell in Totonteac.

Chap. 3.

He entreth into a desert, and the Indians suffer him to want nothing necessary. Following his Voyage, he commeth into a fertile valley, and hath certaine knowledge giuen him (as he had before) of the state of Ceuola, and of Totonteac; and that the coast of the sea in 35. degrees trendeth much to the Westward: and also of the kingdomes of Marata and Acus.

A desert of foure dayes iourney.

THe next day I entred into the Desert, and where I was to dine, I found bowers made, and victuals in abundance by a riuers side: and at night I found bowers and victuals in like sort, and after that maner I found for 4. dayes trauell: all which time the wildernesse continueth.

A very populous valley.

Collars of turqueses two or three times double.

At the ende of these foure dayes, I entred into a valley very well inhabited with people. At the first Village there mette me many men and women with victuals, and all of them had Turqueses hanging at their nostrils and eares, and some had collars of turqueses like those which the Lord of the Village before I came to the Desert, and his two brethren wore: sauing that they ware them but single about their neckes, and these people weare them three or foure times double, and goe in good apparell, and skinnes of Oxen: and the women weare of the sayd Turqueses at their nostrils and eares, and very good wast-coats and other garments. Heere there was as great knowledge of Ceuola, as in Nueua Espanna of Temistitan, and in Peru of Cuzco: and they tolde vs particularly the maner of their houses, lodgings, streetes and market-places, as men that had bene oftentimes there, and as those which were furnished from thence with things necessary for the seruice of their housholde, as those also had done, which I already had passed. I tolde them it was impossible that the houses should be made in such sort as they informed mee, and they for my better vnderstanding tooke earth or ashes, and powred water thereupon, and shewed me how they layd stones vpon it, and how the buylding grewe vp, as they continued laying stones thereon, vntill it mounted aloft. I asked them whether the men of that Countrey had wings to mount vp vnto those loftes: whereat they laughed, and shewed mee a Ladder in as good sort as I my selfe was able to describe it. Then they tooke a Staffe and helde it ouer their heads, and said that the lofts were so high one aboue another. Likewise heere I had information of the woollen cloth of Totonteac, where they say are houses like those of Ceuola, and better and more in number, and that it is a great Prouince, and hath no gouernour.

This graduation is mistaken by 6. or 7. degrees at the least.

Here I vnderstood that the coast of the sea trended much toward the West: for vnto the entrance of this first desert which I passed, the coast still stretched Northward: and because the trending of the coast is a thing of great importance, I was desirous to knowe and see it: and I saw plainely, that in 35. degrees the coast stretcheth to the West, whereat I reioyced no lesse, then of the good newes within land, and so I returned backe to proceede on my iourney.

Through the foresayd valley I trauailed fiue dayes iourney, which is inhabited with goodly people, and so aboundeth with victuals, that it sufficeth to feede aboue three thousand horsemen: it is all well watered and like a garden: the burroughs and townes are halfe and a quarter of a league long, and in all these villages, I found very ample report of Ceuola, whereof they made such particular relation vnto me, as people which goe yeerely thither to earne their liuing. Here I found a man borne in Ceuola, who told me that he came thither, hauing escaped from the gouernour or Lieutenant of the towne; for the Lord of these seuen

Cities liueth and abideth in one of those townes called Ahacus, and in the rest he appoynteth lieu-tenants vnder him. This townesman of Ceuola is a white man of a good complexion, somewhat well in yeeres, and of farre greater capacitie then the inhabitants of this valley, or then those which I had left behind me. Hee sayde that hee would goe with mee, that I might begge his pardon: and of him I learned many particulars: he tolde me that Ceuola was a great Citie, inhabited with great store of people, and hauing many Streetes and Market-places: and that in some partes of this Citie there are certaine very great houses of fiue stories high, wherein the chiefe of the Citie assemble themselues at certaine dayes of the yeere. He sayeth that the houses are of Lyme and Stone, according as others had tolde mee before, and that the gates, and small pillars of the principall houses are of Turqueses, and all the vessels wherein they are serued, and the other ornaments of their houses were of golde: and that the other sixe Cities are built like vnto this, whereof some are bigger: and that Ahacus is the chiefest of them. Hee sayth that toward the Southeast there is a kingdome called Marata, and that there were woont to be many, and those great Cities, which were all built of houses of Stone, with diuers lofts: and that these haue and doe wage warre with the Lord of the seuen cities, through which warre this kingdome of Marata is for the most part wasted, although it yet continueth and mainteineth warre against the other.

Ahacus.

Marata lieth toward the Southeast.

Likewise he saith, that the kingdome called Totanteac lyeth toward the West, which he saith is a very mightie Prouince, replenished with infinite store of people and riches: and that in the sayde Kingdome they weare woollen cloth like that which I weare, and other finer sorts of woollen cloth made of the fleeces of those beastes which they described before vnto me: and that they are a very ciuile people. Moreouer hee tolde me, that there is another great Prouince and kingdome called Acus; for there is Acus, and Ahacus with an aspiration, which is the principall of the seuen cities: and Acus without an aspiration is a kingdome and Prouince of it selfe. He told me also, that the apparel which they weare in Ceuola is after the same maner as they before had certified me, and that all the inhabitants of the Citie lie vpon beddes raysed a good height from the ground, with quilts and canopies ouer them, which couer the sayde Beds: and hee tolde mee that he would goe with me to Ceuola and farther also, if I would take him with me. The like relation was giuen vnto me in this towne by many others, but not so particularly. I trauelled three dayes iourney through this valley: the inhabitants whereof made mee exceeding great cheere and intertainement. In this valley I saw aboue a thousand Oxe-hides most excellently trimmed and dressed. And here also I saw farre greater store of Turqueses and chaines made thereof, then in all places which I had passed; and they say, that all commeth from the city of Ceuola, whereof they haue great knowledge, as also of the kingdome of Marata, and of the kingdomes of Acus and Totonteac.

Totonteac lyeth West.

Chap. 4.

Of a very great beast with one horne vpon his fore-head; and of the courtesies which the Indians shewed Frier Marcus of Niça, in his Voyage. Also how cruelly Stephan Dorantez and his companions were vsed vpon their arriuall at Ceuola, by the Lorde thereof.

HEre they shewed me an hide halfe as bigge againe as the hide of a great oxe, and tolde me that it was the skin of a beast which had but one horne vpon his forehead, & that this horne bendeth toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point right forward, wherein he hath so great strength, that it will breake any thing how strong so euer it be, if he runne against it, and that there are great store of these beasts in that Countrey. The colour of the hide is of the colour of a great Goat-skin, and the haire is a finger thicke. Here I had messengers from Stephan which brought me word, that by this time he was come to the farthest part of the desert, and that he was very ioyfull, because the farther he went, the more perfect knowledge he had of the greatnesse of the countrey, and sent me word, that since his departure from

A mightie beast with one horne.

Fifteene daies iourney from the end of the desert to Ceuola or Ciuola.

me, hee neuer had found the Indians in any lye; for euen vnto that very place he had found al in such maner as they had informed him, & hoped that he should find the like at his ariuall in the valley which he was going vnto, as he had found in the villages before passed. I set vp crosses, and vsed those acts and ceremonies, which were to be done according to my instructions. The inhabitants requested me to stay here three or foure daies, because that from this place there were foure dayes iourney vnto the desert, and from the first entrance into the same desert vnto the citie of Ceuola are 15 great dayes iourney more; also that they would prouide victuals for me and other necessaries for that voyage. Likewise they told me, that with Stephan the Negro were gone aboue 300 men to beare him company, and to carry victuals after him, and that in like sort many of them would go with me to serue me, because they hoped to returne home rich. I thanked them, and willed them to set things in order with speede, and so I rested there three dayes, wherein I alwayes informed my selfe of Ceuola, and of as many other things as I could learne, and called many Indians vnto mee, and examined them seuerally, and all of them agreed in one tale, and told me of the great multitude of people, and of the order of the streetes, of the greatnesse of the houses, and of the strength of the gates, agreeing altogether with that which the rest before had told me. After three dayes many assembled themselues to go with me, 30 of the principal of whom I tooke, being very well apparelled, and with chaines of turqueses, which some of them weare fiue or sixe times double, and other people to cary things necessary for them and me, and so set forward on my voyage.

The second desert entred the 9. of May.

Twelue dayes iourney.

Thus I entred into the second desert on the 9 of May, and trauelled the first day by a very broad and beaten way, & we came to diner vnto a water, where the Indians had made prouision for me: and at night we came to another water, where I found a house which they had fully made vp for me, and another house stood made where Stephan lodged when he passed that way, and many old cottages and many signes of fire which the people had made that trauelled to Ceuola by this way. In this sort I trauelled 12 dayes iourney being alway well prouided of victuals, of wild beasts, Hares, and Partridges of the same colour and tast with those of Spaine although they are not so big, for they be somewhat lesse.

Here met vs an Indian the sonne of one of the chiefe men that accompanied mee, which had gone before with Stephan, who came in a great fright, hauing his face and body all couered with sweat, and shewing exceeding sadnesse in his countenance; and he told mee that a dayes iourney before Stephan came to Ceuola he sent his great Mace made of a gourd by his messengers, as he was alwayes woont to send them before him, that hee might knowe in what sort hee came vnto them, which gourd had a string of belles vpon it, and two feathers one white and another red, in token that he demanded safe conduct, and that he came peaceably. And when they came to Ceuola before the Magistrate, which the Lord of the citie had placed there for his Lieutenant, they deliuered him the sayde great gourd, who tooke the same in his hands, and after he had spyed the belles, in a great rage and fury hee cast it to the ground, and willed the messengers to get them packing with speed, for he knew well ynough what people they were, and that they should will them in no case to enter into the citie, for if they did hee would put them all to death. The messengers returned and tolde Stephan how things had passed, who answered them, that it made no great matter, and would needes proceed on his voyage till he came to the citie of Ceuola: where he found men that would not let him enter into the towne, but shut him into a great house which stoode without the citie, and straightway tooke all things from him which hee caried to truck and barter with them, and certaine turqueses, and other things which he had receiued of the Indians by the way, and they kept him there all that night without giuing him meate or drinke, and the next day in the morning this Indian was a thirst, and went out of the house to drinke at a riuer that was neere at hand, and within a little while after he saw Stephan running away, and the people followed him, and slew certaine of the Indians which went in his company. And when this Indian saw these things, he hid himselfe on the banks of the riuer, and afterward crossed the high way of the desert. The Indians that went with me hearing these newes began incontinently to lament, and I thought these heauie and bad newes would cost mee my life, neither did I feare so much the losse of mine owne life, as that I should not bee able to returne to giue information of the greatnesse of that Countrey, where our Lord God might be glorified: and streightway I cut the cords of my budgets which I carried with me ful of merchandise for traffique, which I would not doe till then, nor giue any thing to any man, and began to diuide all that I carried with mee among the principall men, willing them not to be afraid, but to goe forward with me, and so they did. And going on our way, within a dayes iourney of Ceuola wee met two other Indians of those which went with Stephan, which were bloody and wounded in many places: and assoone as they came to vs, they which were with mee began to make great lamentation. These wounded Indians I asked for Stephan, and they agreeing in all poynts with the first Indian sayd, that after they had put him into the foresayd great house without giuing him meat or drinke all that day and all that night, they tooke from Stephan all the things which hee carried with him. The next day when the Sunne was a lance high, Stephan went out of the house, and some of the chiefe men with him, and suddenly came store of people from the citie, whom assoone as hee sawe he began to run away and we likewise, and foorthwith they shot at vs and wounded vs, and certaine dead men fell vpon vs, and so we lay till night and durst not stirre, and we heard great rumours in the citie, and saw many men and women keeping watch and ward vpon the walles thereof, and after this we could not see Stephan any more, and wee thinke they haue shot him to death, as they haue done all the rest which went with him, so that none are escaped but we onely.

Chap. 5.

The situation and greatnesse of the Citie of Ceuola, and how frier Marcus tooke possession thereof and of other prouinces, calling the same The new kingdome of S. Francis, and how after his departure from thence being preserued by God in so dangerous a voyage, he arriued at Compostella in Nueua Galicia.

HAuing considered the former report of the Indians, and the euill meanes which I had to prosecute my voyage as I desired, I thought it not good wilfully to loose my life as Stephan did; and so I told them, that God would punish those of Ceuola, and that the Viceroy when he should vnderstand what had happened, would send many Christians to chastise them: but they would not beleeue me, for they sayde that no man was able to withstand the power of Ceuola. And herewithall I left them, and went aside two or three stones cast, and when I returned I found an Indian of mine which I had brought from Mexico called Marcus, who wept and sayde vnto me: Father, these men haue consulted to kill vs, for they say, that through your and Stephans meanes their fathers are slaine, and that neither man nor woman of them shall remaine vnslaine. Then againe I deuided among them certaine other things which I had, to appease them, whereupon they were somewhat pacified, albeit they still shewed great griefe for the people which were slaine. I requested some of them to goe to Ceuola, to see if any other Indian were escaped, with intent that they might learne some newes of Stephan; which I could not obtaine at their handes. When I saw this, I sayd vnto them, that I purposed to see the citie of Ceuola, whatsoeuer came of it. They sayde that none of them would goe with me. At the last when they sawe mee resolute, two of the chiefe of them sayde they would goe with me; with whome and with mine Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within sight of Ceuola, which is situate on a plaine at the foote of a round hill, and maketh shew to bee a faire citie, and is better seated then any that I haue seene in these partes. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone with diuers stories, and flatte roofes, as farre as I could discerne from a mountaine, whither I ascended to viewe the citie. The people are somewhat white, they weare apparell, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they haue Emralds and other iewels, although they esteeme none so much as turqueses, wherewith they adorne the walles of the porches of their houses, and their apparell and vessels, and they vse them in stead of money through all the Countrey. Their apparell is of cotton and of oxe hides, and this is their most commendable and honourable apparell. They vse vessels of gold and siluer, for they haue no other mettall, whereof there is greater vse and more abundance then in Peru, and they buy the same for turqueses in the prouince of the Pintados, where there are sayd to be mines of great abundance.

Most rich mines of gold and siluer in the prouince of the Pintados.

Of other kingdomes I could not obtaine so particular instruction. Diuers times I was tempted to goe thither, because I knewe I could but hazard my life, and that I had offered vnto God the first day that I began my iourney: in the ende I began to bee afraid, considering in what danger I should put my selfe, and that if I should dye, the knowledge of this Countrey should be lost, which in my iudgement is the greatest and the best that hitherto hath beene discouered: and when I tolde the chief men, what a goodly citie Ceuola seemed vnto mee, they answered me that it was the least of the seuen cities, and that Totonteac is the greatest and best of them all, because it hath so many houses and people, that there is no ende of them.

Totonteac the greatest and most populous prouince.

Hauing seene the disposition and situation of the place, I thought good to name that Countrey El Nueuo reyno de san Francisco: in which place I made a great heape of stones by the helpe of the Indians, and on the toppe thereof I set vp a small slender crosse because I wanted meanes to make a greater, and sayd that I set vp that crosse and heape in the name of the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy and Captaine generall of Nueua Espanna, for the Emperour our Lord, in token of possession, according to mine instruction. Which possession I sayd that I tooke in that place of all the seuen cities, & of the kingdomes of Totonteac, of Acus, and of Marata. Thus I returned with much more feare then victuals, and went vntill I found the people which I had left behind mee, with all the speede that I could make, whome I ouertooke in two dayes trauell, and went in their company till I had passed the desert, where I was not made so much of as before: for both men and women made great lamentation for the people which were slaine at Ceuola, and with feare I hastened from the people of this valley, and trauelled tenne leagues the first day, and so I went daily eight or ten leagues, without staying vntill I had passed the second desert.

He returneth.

A desert.

A valley.

A second desert.

And though I were in feare, yet I determined to go to the great plaine, wherof I said before, that I had information, being situate at the foote of the mountaines, and in that place I vnderstoode, that this plaine is inhabited for many dayes iourney toward the East, but I durst not enter into it, considering, that if hereafter wee shoulde inhabite this other Countrey of the seuen cities, and the kingdomes before mentioned, that then I might better discouer the same, without putting my selfe in hazard, and leaue it for this time, that I might giue relation of the things which I had now seene. At the entrance of this plaine I sawe but seuen Townes onely of a reasonable bignesse, which were a farre off in a lowe valley beeing very greene and a most fruitfull soyle, out of which ranne many Riuers. I was informed that there was much golde in this valley, and that the inhabitants worke it into vessels and thinne plates, wherewith they strike and take off their sweat, and that they are people that will not suffer those of the other side of the plaine to traffique with them, and they could not tell me the cause thereof. Here I set vp two crosses, and tooke possession of the plaine and valley in like sort and order, as I did at other places before mentioned. And from thence I returned on my voyage with as much haste as I coulde make, vntill I came to the citie of Saint Michael in the prouince of Culiacan, thinking there to haue found Francis Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueua Galicia, and finding him not there, I proceeded on my iourney till I came to the Citie of Compostella, where I found him.

Compostella in 21. degrees of latitude.

I write not here many other particularities, because they are impertinent to this matter: I only report that which I haue seene, and which was told me concerning the Countreys through which I trauelled, and of those which I had information of.

The relation of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Captaine generall of the people which were sent in the name of the Emperours maiestie to the Countrey of Cibola newly discouered, which he sent to Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy of Mexico, of such things as happened in his voyage from the 22. of Aprill in the yeere 1540. which departed from Culiacan forward, and of such things as hee found in the Countrey which he passed.

Chap. I.

Francis Vazquez departeth with his armie from Culiacan, and after diuers troubles in his voyage, arriueth at the valley of the people called Los Caracones, which he findeth barren of Maiz: for obtaining whereof hee sendeth to the valley called The valley of the Lord: he is informed of the greatnesse of the valley of the people called Caracones, and of the nature of those people, and of certaine Islands lying along that coast.

THe 22. of the moneth of Aprill last past I departed from the prouince of Culiacan with part of the army, and in such order as I mentioned vnto your Lordship, and according to the successe I assured my selfe, by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine armie together in this enterprise: because the troubles haue bene so great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be sufficient to performe this enterprise, & if it should bee performed in so short a time, it would be to the great losse of our people. For as I wrote vnto your Lordship, I was fourescore dayes in trauailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and those Gentlemen my companions which were horsemen, carried on our backs, and on our horses, a little victuall, so that from henceforward wee carried none other needefull apparell with vs, that was aboue a pound weight: and all this notwithstanding, and though wee put our selues to such a small proportion of victuals which wee carried, for all the order that possibly wee could take, wee were driuen to our ships. And no maruayle, because the way is rough and long: and with the carriage of our Harquebuses downe the mountaines and hilles, and in the passage of Riuers, the greater part of our corne was spoyled. And because I send your Lordship our voyage drawen in a Mappe, I will speake no more thereof in this my letter.

This was but 200. leagues from Mexico.

Thirtie leagues before wee arriued at the place which the father prouinciall tolde vs so well of in his relation, I sent Melchior Diaz before with fifteene horses, giuing him order to make but one dayes iourney of two, because hee might examine all things, against mine arriuall: who trauailed foure dayes iourney through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, sauing that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee vnderstoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, vtterly disinhabited and voyd of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write vnto your Lordship thereof.

Frier Marcus of Niza.

It grieued the whole company, that a thing so highly commended, and whereof the father had made so great bragges, should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceiued I sought to encourage them the best I coulde, telling them that your Lordshippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that wee should fixe our cogitation vpon those seuen Cities, and other prouinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there should bee the ende of our enterprise: and with this resolution and purpose wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not passable but one by one, or else wee must force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had sayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father sayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one small hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee passed without great danger of breaking the horses neckes: and the way was such, that of the cattell which your Lordship sent vs for the prouision of our armie wee lost a great part in the voyage through the roughnesse of the rockes. The lambes and sheepe lost their hoofes in the way: and of those which I brought from Culiacan, I left the greater part at the Riuer of Lachimi, because they could not keepe company with vs, and because they might come softly after vs, foure men on horsebacke remained with them which are nowe come vnto vs, and haue brought vs not past foure and twentie lambes, and foure sheepe, for all the rest were dead with trauailing through that

The riuer of Lachimi.

rough passage, although they trauailed but two leagues a day, and rested themselues euery day.

The valley of the people called Caracones.

At length I arriued at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan vntill I came thither, I could not helpe my selfe, saue onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for seeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was constrained to leaue them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones wee found more store of people then in any other part of the Countrey which wee had passed, and great store of tillage. But I vnderstood that there was store thereof in another valley called The Lords valley, which I woulde not disturbe with force, but sent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure some, and to giue the sayde Maiz to the Indians our friendes which wee brought with vs, and to some others that had lost their cattell in the way, and were not able to carry their victuals so farre which they brought from Culiacan. It pleased God that wee gate some small quantitie of Maiz with this traffique, whereby certaine Indians were releiued and some Spanyards.

Valle del Sennor.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, some tenne or twelue of our horses were dead through wearinesse: for being ouercharged with great burdens, and hauing but little meate, they could not endure the trauaile. Likewise some of our Negros and some of our Indians dyed here; which was no small want vnto vs for the performance of our enterprise. They tolde me that this valley of the Coracones is fiue dayes iourney from the Westerne Sea. I sent for the Indians of the Sea coast to vnderstand their estate, and while I stayed for them the horses rested: and I stayed there foure dayes, in which space the Indians of the Sea coast came vnto mee: which told mee, that two dayes sayling from their coast of the Sea, there were seuen or eight Islands right ouer against them, well inhabited with people, but badly furnished with victuals, and were a rude people: And they told mee, that they had seene a Shippe passe by not farre from the shore: which I wote not what to thinke whither it were one of those that went to discouer the Countrey, or else a Ship of the Portugals.

The valley de los Carascones distant fiue dayes iourney from the Westerne sea.

Seuen or eight Isles, which are the Isles of California.

A ship seene on the sea coast.

Chap. 2.

They come to Chichilticale: after they had rested themselues two dayes there, they enter into a Countrey very barren of victuals, and hard to trauaile for thirtie leagues, beyond which they found a Countrey very pleasant, and a riuer called Rio del Lino, they fight with the Indians being assaulted by them, and with victorie vanquishing their citie, they relieued themselues of their pinching hunger.

I Departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coast as neere as I could iudge, and in very deed I still found my selfe the farther off: in such sort that when I arriued at Chichilticale I found myselfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea: and the father prouinciall sayd that it was onely but fiue leagues distance, and that hee had seene the same. Wee all conceiued great griefe and were not a little confounded, when we saw that wee found euery thing contrary to the information which he had giuen your Lordship.

Chichilticale ten dayes iourney from the sea.

The Indians of Chichilticale say, that if at any time they goe to the Sea for fish, and other things that they carry, they goe trauersing, and are tenne dayes iourney in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians giue me should be true. The sea returneth toward the West right ouer against the Coracones the space of tenne or twelue leagues. Where I found that your Lordships ships were seene, which went to discouer the hauen of Chichilticale, which father Marcus of Niça sayd to bee in fiue and thirtie degrees. God knoweth what griefe of mind I haue sustained: because I am in doubt that some mishappe is fallen vnto them: and if they follow the coast, as they sayde they would, as long as their victuals last which they carry with them, whereof I left them store in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into some misfortune, I hope well in God that by this they haue made some good discouerie, and that in this respect their long staying out may be pardoned.

This Chichilticale is indeede but in 28. deg.

I rested myselfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to haue done well I should haue stayed longer, in respect that here wee found our horses so tyred: but because wee wanted victuals, wee had no leasure to rest any longer: I entred the confines of the desert Countrey on Saint Iohns eue, and to refresh our former trauailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worser way of mountaines and badde passages, then wee had passed alreadie: and the horses being tired, were greatly molested therewith: so that in this last desert wee lost more horses then wee had lost before: and some of my Indians which were our friendes dyed, and one Spanyard whose name was Spinosa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke of victuals. From this place I sent before mee one dayes iourney the master of the fielde Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with fifteene horses to discouer the Countrey, and prepare our way: wherein hee did like himselfe, and according to the confidence which your Lordship reposed in him. And well I wote he fayled not to do his part: for as I haue enformed your Lordship, it is most wicked way, at least thirtie leagues and more, because they are inaccessible mountaines.

The 23. of Iune.

Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas.

But after wee had passed these thirtie leagues, wee found fresh riuers, and grasse like that of Castile, and specially of that sort which we call Scaramoio, many Nutte trees and Mulberie trees, but the Nutte trees differ from those of Spayne in the leafe: and there was Flaxe, but chiefly neere the bankes of a certayne riuer which therefore wee called El Rio del Lino, that is say, the riuer of Flaxe: wee found no Indians at all for a dayes trauaile, but afterward foure Indians came out vnto vs in peaceable maner, saying that they were sent euen to that desert place to signifie vnto vs that wee were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meete vs on the way with victuals: and the master of the fielde gaue them a crosse, willing them to signifie to those of their citie that they should not feare, and they should rather let the people stay in their houses, because I came onely in the name of his Maiestie to defend and ayd them.

A godly and fruitfull countrey found.

Rio del L

And this done, Fernando Aluarado returned to aduertise mee that certaine Indians were come vnto them in peaceable maner, and that two of them stayed for my comming with the master of the fielde. Whereupon I went vnto them and gaue them beades and certaine short clokes, willing them to returne vnto their citie, and bid them to stay quiet in their houses, and feare nothing. And this done I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage which the Indians might keepe against vs, and that hee should take and defend it vntill the next day that I shoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad passage, where wee might haue sustayned very great harme: wherefore there hee seated himselfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell mee, they assaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away; for the master of the fielde was watchfull, and was in order with his company: the Indians in token of retreate sounded on a certaine small trumpet, and did no hurt among the Spanyards. The very same night the master of the fielde certified mee hereof. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I could I departed in so great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee should stay one day longer without foode, wee should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among vs all we had not two bushels of corne: wherefore it behooued mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and their made fires, and were answered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for our liues could haue done, to giue their fellowes vnderstanding, how wee marched and where we arriued.

A wise fo

The treason of the Indians.

Great for
and dilige
of the Ca
master.

Assoone as I came within sight of this citie of Granada, I sent Don Garcias Lopez Campemaster, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certaine horsemen, to seeke the Indians and to aduertise them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his maiestie had giuen vs in charge: which message was deliuered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made small account thereof; because we seemed very few in their eyes, and that they might destroy vs without any difficultie; and they strooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

They arriue at the citie of Cibola.

The arrogancie of the people of Cibola.

In the meane space I arriued with all the rest of the horsemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great sort of the Indians which beganne to shoote at vs with their arrowes: and because I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might set vpon them, in any wise to prouoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to set vpon so fewe people. On the other side the Indians perceiuing that wee stirred not, tooke great stomacke and courage vnto them: insomuch that they came hard to our horses heeles to shoote at vs with their arrowes. Whereupon seeing that it was now time to stay no longer, and that the friers also were of the same opinion, I set vpon them without any danger: for suddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could shift: and some of the Indians were slaine, and more had beene if I would haue suffered them to haue bene pursued.

Commandement to vse gentlenesse to the Sauages.

But considering that hereof wee might reape but small profite, because the Indians that were without, were fewe, and those which were retired into the citie, with them which stayed within at the first were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had so great neede, I assembled my people, and deuided them as I thought best to assault the citie, and I compassed it about: and because the famine which wee sustained suffered no delay, my selfe with certaine of these gentlemen and souldiers put our selues on foote, and commaunded that the crossebowmen and harquebusiers shoulde giue the assault, and shoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt vs, and I assaulted the walles on one side, where they tolde mee there was a scaling ladder set vp, and that there was one gate: but the crossebowmen suddenly brake the strings of their bowes, and the harquebusiers did nothing at all: for they came thither so weake and feeble, that scarcely they coulde stand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing vs all the mischiefe they could: so that twise they stroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great stones, which they cast downe: and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neuerthelesse my companie tooke mee vp with two small wounds in the face, and an arrowe sticking in my foote, and many blowes with stones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they strooke mee to the ground had not succoured mee with striding ouer mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleased God that the Indians yeelded themselues vnto vs, and that this citie was taken: and such store of Maiz was found therein, as our necessitie required. The Master of the fielde, and Don Pedro de Touar, and Fernando de Aluarado, and Paul de Melgosa Captaines of the footemen escaped with certaine knocks with stones: though none of them were wounded with arrowes, yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one arme with the shot of an arrowe, and one Torres a townesman of Panuco was shot into the face with another, and two footemen more had two small woundes with arrowes. And because my armour was gilded and glittering, they all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded then the rest, not that I did more then they, or put my selfe forwarder then the rest, for all these Gentlemen and souldiers carried themselues as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recouered I thanke God, although somewhat bruised with stones. Likewise in the skirmish which wee had in the fieldes, two or three other souldiers were hurt, and three horses slaine, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliega and the third of Don Alonso Manrique, and seuen or eight other horses were wounded; but both the men and horses are whole and sound.

They were [illegible] within the towne. Gomara, Hist. [illegible]

They defend the walls with stones like them of Hochelaga.

Chap. 3.

Of the situation and state of the seuen cities called the kingdome of Cibola, and of the customes and qualities of those people, and of the beasts which are found there.

IT remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the seuen cities, and of the kingdomes and prouinces whereof the Father prouinciall made report vnto your Lordship. And to bee briefe, I can assure your honour, he sayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, sauing onely the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they bee not wrought with Turqueses, nor with lyme, nor brickes, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or foure or fiue lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers instead of staires, and certaine cellers vnder the ground very good and paued, which are made for winter, they are in maner like stooues: and the lathers which they haue for their houses are all in a maner mooueable and portable, which are taken away and set downe when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steppes, as ours be. The seuen cities are seuen small townes, all made with these kinde of houses that I speake of: and they stand all within foure leagues together, and they are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and euery one of them haue their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I haue named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like vnto it, as also in remembrance of your lordship. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there may bee some two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I thinke that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together fiue hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the seuen, & it is somwhat bigger then this, and another of the same bignesse that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse: and I send them all painted vnto your lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with other parchments. The people of this towne seeme vnto me of a reasonable stature, and wittie, yet they seeme not to bee such as they should bee, of that iudgement and wit to builde these houses in such sort as they are. For the most part they goe all naked, except their priuie partes which are couered: and they haue painted mantles like those which I send vnto your lordship. They haue no cotton wooll growing, because the countrey is colde, yet they weare mantels thereof as your honour may see by the shewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houses certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. They weare their haire on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and condicioned: And they haue Turqueses I thinke good quantitie, which with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corne, they had conueyed away before I came thither: for I found no women there, nor no youth vnder fifteene yeeres olde, nor no olde folkes aboue sixtie, sauing two or three olde folkes, who stayed behinde to gouerne all the rest of the youth and men of warre. There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Emralds, and certaine small stones broken which are in colour somewhat like Granates very bad, and other stones of Christall, which I gaue one of my seruaunts to lay vp to send them to your lordship, and hee hath lost them as hee telleth me. Wee found heere Guinie cockes, but fewe. The Indians tell mee in all these seuen cities, that they eate them not, but that they keepe them onely for their feathers. I beleeue them not, for they are excellent good, and greater then those of Mexico. The season which is in this countrey, and the temperature of the ayre is like that of Mexico: for sometime it is hotte, and sometime it raineth: but hitherto I neuer sawe it raine, but once there fell a little showre with winde, as they are woont to fall in Spaine.

Excellent houses foure or fiue loftes high.

Cibola is a prouince co[illegible] ing seue[illegible] townes.

Fiue hu[illegible] houses i[illegible] Granada.

A painte[illegible] cessarie [illegible] discouer[illegible]

Painted [illegible]

Store of T[illegible] queses.

Emrald[illegible]

Granat[illegible]

Christa[illegible]

Excellen[illegible] very grea[illegible] nie cock[illegible]

The snow and cold are woont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the Countrey: and it is very likely so to bee, both in respect to the maner of the Countrey, and by the fashion of their houses, and their furres and other things which this people haue to defend them from colde. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruite. The Countrey is all plaine, and is on no side mountainous: albeit there are some hillie and bad passages. There are small store of Foules: the cause whereof is the colde, and because the mountaines are not neere. Here is no great store of wood, because they haue wood for their fuell sufficient foure leagues off from a wood of small Cedars. There is most excellent grasse within a quarter of a league hence, for our horses as well, to feede them in pasture, as to mowe and make hay, whereof wee stoode in great neede, because our horses came hither so weake and feeble. The victuals which the people of this countrey haue, is Maiz, whereof they haue great store, and also small white Pease: and Venison, which by all likelyhood they feede vpon, (though they say no) for wee found many skinnes of Deere, of Hares, and Conies. They eate the best cakes that euer I sawe, and euery body generally eateth of them. They haue the finest or-

Gomara hist. gen. Cap. 213. sayth that the colde is by reason of the high mountaines.

A wood of Cedars.

Excellent grasse.

Deere, hares, and conies

der and way to grinde that wee euer sawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They haue most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes iourney from hence. They haue no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Westerne Sea, neither can I tell your lordship to which wee bee neerest: But in reason they should seeme to bee neerest to the Westerne Sea: and at the least I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea should bee much further off. Your lordship may see howe broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horse, with very great hornes and little tailes, I haue seene their hornes so bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatnesse. Here are also wilde goates whose heads likewise I haue seene, and the pawes of Beares, and the skins of wilde Bores. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stagges: and all men are of opinion that there are some bigger then that beast which your lordship bestowed vpon me, which once belonged to Iohn Meláz. They trauell eight dayes iourney vnto certaine plaines lying toward the North Sea. In this countrey there are certaine skinnes well dressed, and they dresse them and paint them where they kill their Oxen, for so they say themselues.

Very good salte.
The Westerne sea within 150. leagues from Cibola.
Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, mightie sheep, wilde goates.
Wilde Bores.
Deere. Ounces. Stagges.
They trauile 8. dayes iourney toward the North sea.
Ox hides dressed and painted very cunningly.

Chap. 4.

Of the state and qualities of the kingdomes of Totonteac, Marata, and Acus, quite contrary to the relation of Frier Marcus. The conference which they haue with the Indians of the citie of Granada which they had taken, which had fiftie yeres before foreseene the comming of the Christians into their countrey. The relation which they haue of other seuen cities, whereof Tucano is the principall, and how he sent to discouer them. A present of diuers things had in these countreys sent vnto the Viceroy Mendoça by Vasques de Coronado.

The kingdome of Totonteac so much extolled by the Father prouinciall, which sayde *that* there were such wonderfull things there, and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hotte lake, about which are fiue or sixe houses; and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruinated by warre. The kingdome of Marata is not to be found, neither haue the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of Acus is one onely small citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. And I say that this is a towne. For Acus with an aspiration nor without is no word of the countrey. And because I gesse that they would deriue Acucu of Acus, I say that it is this towne whereinto the kingdom of Acus is conuerted. Beyond this towne they say there are other small townes which are neere to a riuer which I haue seene and haue had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better newes to write vnto your lordship: neuerthelesse I must say the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordship from Culiacan, I am nowe to aduertise your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would haue you bee assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were heere, I could haue done no more in the seruice of his Maiestie and of your lordshippe, then I haue done in comming hither whither you haue sent mee, my selfe and my companions carrying our victuals vpon our shoulders and vpon our horses three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote trauailing ouer hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I cease to mention, neither purpose I to depart vnto the death, if it please his Maiestie and your lordship that it shall be so.

Totonteac an hotte lake.
The kingdome [illegible]
Other townes neere a riuer.

Three dayes after this citie was taken, certaine Indians of these people came to offer mee peace, and brought mee certaine Turqueses and badde mantles, and I receiued them in his Maiesties name with all the good speaches that I could deuise, certifying them of the purpose of my comming into this countrey, which is in the name of his Maiestie, and by the commaundement of your Lordship, that they and all the rest of the people of this prouince should become Christians, and should knowe the true God for their Lorde, and receiue his Maiestie for their King and earthly Soueraigne: And herewithall they returned to their houses, and suddenly the next day they set in order all their goods and substance, their women and children, and fled to the hilles, leauing their townes as it were abandoned, wherein remained

Turqueses.
Mantles.

The Indians flee to the hils with their wiues, chil-[illegible] and goods.

very fewe of them. When I sawe this, within eight or tenne dayes after being recouered of my woundes, I went to the citie, which I sayde to bee greater then this where I am, and found there some fewe of them, to whom I sayde that they should not bee afrayd, and that they should call their gouernour vnto mee: Howbeit forasmuch as I can learne or gather, none of them hath any gouernour: for I sawe not there any chiefe house, whereby any preeminence of one ouer another might bee gathered. After this an olde man came, which sayd that hee was their lord, with a piece of a mantle made of many pieces, with whom I reasoned that small while that hee stayed with mee, and hee sayd that within three dayes after, hee and the rest of the chiefe of that towne would come and visite mee, and giue order what course should bee taken with them. Which they did: for they brought mee certaine mantles and some Turqueses. I aduised them to come downe from their holdes, and to returne with their wiues and children to their houses, and to become Christians, and that they would acknowledge the Emperours maiestie for their King and lorde. And euen to this present they keepe in those strong holdes their women and children, and all the goods which they haue. I commaunded them that they should paint mee out a cloth of all the beastes which they knowe in their countrey: And such badde painters as they are, foorthwith they painted mee two clothes, one of their beastes, another of their birdes and fishes. They say that they will bring their children, that our religious men may instruct them, and that they desire to knowe our lawe: And they assure vs, that aboue fiftie yeeres past it was prophecied among them, that a certaine people like vs should come, and from that part that wee came from, and that they should subdue all that countrey.

A citie greater then Granada.

Two tables painted by the Indians, one of beasts another of birdes and fishes.

An old prophecie that those parts should be subdued by Christians.

That which these Indians worship as farre as hitherto wee can learne, is the water: for they say it causeth their corne to growe, and maintaineth their life; and that they know none other reason, but that their ancesters did so. I haue sought by all meanes possible to learne of the inhabitants of these townes, whether they haue any knowledge of other people, countreys and cities: And they tell mee of seuen cities which are farre distant from this place, which are like vnto these, though they haue not houses like vnto these, but they are of earth, and small: and that among them much cotton is gathered. The chiefe of these townes whereof they haue knowledge, they say is called Tucano: and they gaue mee no perfect knowledge of the rest. And I thinke they doe not tell me the trueth, imagining that of necessitie I must speedily depart from them, and returne home. But herein they shall soone finde themselues deceiued. I sent Don Pedro de Touar with his companie of footemen and with certaine other horsemen to see this towne: And I would not haue dispatched this packet vnto your lordship, vntill I had knowen what this towne was, if I had thought that within twelue or fifteene dayes I might haue had newes from him: for hee will stay in this iourney thirtie dayes at least. And hauing examined that the knowledge hereof is of small importance, and that the colde and the waters approch: I thought it my duety to doe according as your lordship gaue mee charge in your instructions, which is, that immediatly vpon mine arriuall here, I should signifie so much vnto your lordship, and so I doe, sending withall the bare relation of that which I haue seene. I haue determined to send round about the countrey from hence to haue knowledge of all things, and rather to suffer all extremitie, then to leaue this enterprise to serue his maiestie, if I may find any thing wherein I may performe it, and not to omit any diligence therein, vntill your lordship send mee order what I shall doe. Wee haue great want of pasture: and your lordship also shal vnderstand, that among all those which are here, there is not one pound of raisins, nor suger, nor oyle, nor any wine, saue only one pinte which is saued to say Masse: for all is spent & spilt by the way. Now your lordship may prouide vs what you thinke needefull. And if your honour meane to send vs cattell, your lordship must vnderstand that they will bee a sommer in comming vnto vs: for they will not be able to come vnto vs any sooner. I would haue sent your lordshippe with this dispatch many musters of things which are in this countrey: but the way is so long and rough, that it is hard for me to doe so: neuerthelesse I send you twelue small mantles, such as the people of the countrey are woont to weare, and a certaine garment also, which seemeth vnto me to bee well made: I kept the same, because it seemed to mee to

They worship the water.

Seuen cities farre from Granada.

Tucano.

The Spaniards victualling in discoueries.

A garment excellently imbroidered with needle worke.

An oxehide. Certaine Turqueses.

The death of Stephan the Negro.

Acucu.

Gold and siluer found in Cibola.

bee excellent well wrought, because I beleeue that no man euer sawe any needle worke in these Indies, except it were since the Spaniards inhabited the same. I send your Lordshippe also two clothes painted with the beasts of this countrey, although as I haue sayde, the picture bee very rudely done, because the painter spent but one day in drawing of the same. I haue seene other pictures on the walles of the houses of this citie with farre better proportion, and better made. I send your honour one Oxe-hide, certaine Turqueses, and two earerings of the same, and fifteene combes of the Indians, and certain tablets set with these Turqueses, and two small baskets made of wicker, whereof the Indians haue great store. I send your lordship also two rolles which the women in these parts are woont to weare on their heads when they fetch water from their welles, as wee vse to doe in Spaine. And one of these Indian women with one of these rolles on her head, will carie a pitcher of water without touching the same with her hande vp a lather. I send you also a muster of the weapons wherewith these people are woont to fight, a buckler, a mace, a bowe, and certaine arrowes, among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as these conquerours say, haue neuer beene seene. I can say nothing vnto your lordshippe touching the apparell of their women. For the Indians keepe them so carefully from vs, that hitherto I haue not seene any of them, sauing onely two olde women, and these had two long robes downe to the foote open before, and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certaine cordons of cotton. I requested the Indians to giue me one of these robes, which they ware, to send your honour the same, seeing they would not shewe mee their women. And they brought mee two mantles which are these, which I send you as it were painted: they haue two pendents like the women of Spaine, which hang somewhat ouer their shoulders. The death of the Negro is most certaine: for here are many of the things found which hee carried with him: And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, because the Indians of Chichilticale tolde them that hee was a wicked villaine, and not like vnto the Christians: because the Christians kill no women: and hee killed women; and also he touched their women, which the Indians loue more then themselues; therefore they determined to kill him: But they did it not after such sort as was reported, for they killed none of the rest of those that came with him: neither slewe they the young lad which was with him of the prouince of Petatlan, but they tooke him and kept him in safe custodie vntill nowe. And when I sought to haue him, they excused themselues two or three dayes to giue him mee, telling mee that hee was dead, and sometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in conclusion, when I tolde them that I should bee very angry if they did not giue him mee, they gaue him vnto me. Hee is an interpreter, for though hee cannot well speake their language, yet hee vnderstandeth the same very well. In this place there is found some quantitie of golde and siluer, which those which are skilfull in minerall matters esteeme to be very good. To this houre I could neuer learne of these people from whence they haue it: And I see they refuse to tell mee the trueth in all things, imagining, as I haue sayde, that in short time I would depart hence, but I hope in God they shall no longer excuse themselues. I beseech your lordship to certifie his Maiestie of the successe of this voyage. For seeing wee haue no more then that which is aforesayd, and vntill such time as it please God that wee finde that which wee desire, I meane not to write my selfe. Our Lorde God keepe and preserue your Excellencie.

From the Prouince of Cibola, and from this citie of Granada the third of August 1540. Francis Vasques de Coronado kisseth the hands of your Excellencie.

The rest of this voyage to Acuco, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quiuira, and vnto the Westerne Ocean, is thus written in the generall historie of the West Indies by Francis Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 214.

Acuco. The Westerne sea discouered.

BEcause they would not returne to Mexico without doing something, nor with emptie hands, they agreed to passe further into the countrey, which was tolde them to bee better and better. So they came to Acuco a towne vpon an exceeding strong hill. And from thence Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas with his companie of horsemen went vnto the Sea: and

Francis Vasques went to Tiguex, which standeth on the banke of a great riuer. There they had newes of Axa and Quiuira. There they sayde was a King whose name was Tatatrax, with a long beard, horie headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed vpon a payre of beades, which worshipped a Crosse of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queene of heauen. This newes did greatly reioyce and cheere vp the armie: although some thought it to bee false, and the report of the Friers. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in so rich a countrey as that was reported to bee. One night the Indians ranne away, and in the morning they found thirtie horses dead, which put the armie in feare. In their iourney they burnt a certaine towne: And in another towne which they assaulted, they killed certaine Spaniards, and wounded fiftie horses, and the inhabitants drewe *into their towne Francis de Ouando wounded or dead, to eate and sacrifice him as they thought, or peraduenture to see more perfectly, what maner of men the Spaniards were: for there was not found there any signe of sacrificing men.* Our people layde siege vnto the towne, but could not take it in more then fiue and fortie dayes space. The townesmen that were besieged, dranke snowe in stead of water: and seeing themselues forlorne they made a fire, wherein they cast their mantles, feathers, Turqueses and precious things, that those strangers might not enioy them. They issued out in a squadron with their women and children in the middest, to make way by force, and to saue themselues, but fewe escaped the edge of our swordes and the horses, and a certaine riuer which was neere the towne. Seuen Spaniards were slaine in this conflict, and fourescore were wounded, and many horses: whereby a man may see of what force resolution is in necessitie. Many Indians returned to the towne with the women and children, and defended themselues, vntill our men set fire on the towne. In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make farre larger mantels, then in other parts of the Indies. From Tigues they went in foure dayes iourney to Cicuic, which is a small towne, and foure leagues from thence they met with a new kind of oxen wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourescore, which sufficed the armie with flesh. From Cicuic they went to Quiuira, which after their accompt, is almost three hundred leagues distant, through mighty plaines, and sandie heathes so smooth, and wearisome, and bare of wood, that they made heapes of oxe-dung for want of stones and trees, that they might not lose themselues at their returne: for three horses were lost on that plaine, and one Spaniard, which went from his cōpanie on hunting. All that way & plaines are as full of crookebacked oxen, as the mountaine Serena in Spaine is of sheepe: but there is no people but such as keepe those cattell. They were a great succour for the hunger and want of bread which our people stoode in. One day it rayned in that plaine a great showre of haile, as bigge as Orenges, which caused many teares, weakenesse, and vowes. At length they came to Quiuira and found Tatarrax, whome they sought, an hoarie headed man, naked, and with a iewell of copper hanging at his necke, which was all his riches. The Spaniards seeing the false report of so famous riches, returned to Tiguex, without seeing either crosse or shewe of Christianitie: and from thence to Mexico. In the ende of March of the yeere 1542. Francis Vasquez fell from his horse in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which some tooke to bee for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, because hee peopled not the countrey.

Tiguex.
Axa and Quiuira.
A towne burnt.
Another town assaulted.
Mantles.
Turqueses.
Feathers.
Precious things.
Melons.
Cotton.
Large mantles.
Cicuic foure dayes iourney from Tiguex.
Quiuira.
Heapes of oxe dung made for markes to know the way.
The Spaniards returne to Tiguex, and so to Mexico 1542.
The Spaniards would haue inhabited the countrey.

Quiuira is in fortie degrees: it is a temperate countrey, and hath very good waters, and much grasse, plummes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton: and they apparell themselues with oxe-hides and deeres skinnes. They sawe shippes on the sea coast, which bare Alcatrarzes or Pellicanes of golde and siluer in their prows, and were laden with marchandises, and they thought them to bee of Cathaya, and China, because they shewed our men by signes that they had sayled thirtie dayes.

Ships seene on the sea coast of Quiuira, which were 30. dayes in sayling thither.

Frier Iohn de Padilla stayed behinde in Tigues, with another of his companions called Frier Francis, and returned to Quiuira, with some dozen Indians of Mechuacan, and with Andrew de Campo a Portugall, the gardiner of Francis de Solis: Hee tooke with him horses and mules with prouision. Hee tooke sheepe and hennes of Castile, and ornaments to say Masse withall. The people of Quiuira slewe the Friers, and the Portugall escaped with certaine Indians of Mechuacan. Who albeit at that time he escaped death, yet could hee not free himselfe out of captiuitie: for by and by after they caught him againe. But ten moneths after he was taken captiue, hee fled away with a couple of dogs. As hee trauailed, hee blessed the people with a crosse, whereunto they offered much, and wheresoeuer hee came, they gaue him almes, lodging, and foode. He came to the countrey of the Chichimechas, and arriued at Panuco. When he came to Mexico, hee ware his haire very long, and his beard tyed vp in a lace, and reported strange things of the lands, riuers and mountaines that he had passed.

Andrew de Campo trauailed from Quiuira to Panuco.

It grieued Don Antonio de Mendoça very much that the army returned home: for hee had spent aboue threescore thousand pesos of golde in the enterprise, and ought a great part thereof still. Many sought to haue dwelt there; but Francis Vasquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not consent, saying, that they could not maintaine nor defend themselues in so poore a countrey, and so farre from succour. They trauailed aboue nine hundred leagues in this countrey.

The cause why the Spaniards peopled not in Cibola.

The foresayd Francis Lopez de Gomara in his generall historie of the West Indies, Chap. 215. writeth in maner following of certaine great and strange beasts neuer seene nor heard of in our knowen world of Asia, Europe, and Africa: which somewhat resembling our oxen, hauing high bunches on their backes like those on the backes of Camels, are therefore called by him Vacas corcobados, *that is to say,* Crooke-backed oxen, being very deformed & terrible in shewe, and fierce by nature: which notwithstanding for foode, apparell, and other necessarie vses, are most seruiceable and beneficiall to the inhabitants of those countreys. He reporteth also in the same chapter of certaine strange sheepe as bigge as horses, and of dogs which vse to carie burthens of 50. pound weight vpon their backes.

These are much like the people that Captain Frobisher brought into England from Meta Incognita.

ALl the way betweene Cicuic and Quiuira is a most plaine soyle, without trees and stones, and hath but fewe and small townes. The men clothe and shooe themselues with lether; and the women which are esteemed for their long lockes, couer their heads and secrets with the same. They haue no bread of any kinde of graine, as they say: which I account a very great matter. Their chiefest foode is flesh, and that oftentimes they eate rawe, either of custome or for lacke of wood. They eate the fatte as they take it out of the Oxe, and drinke the blood hotte, and die not therewithall, though the ancient writers say that it killeth, as Empedocles and others affirmed, they drinke it also colde dissolued in water. They seeth not the flesh for lacke of pots, but rost it, or to say more properly, warme it at a fire of Oxe-dung: when they eate, they chawe their meate but little, and rauen vp much, and holding the flesh with their teeth, they cut it with rasors of stone, which seemeth to be great bestialitie: but such is their maner of liuing and fashion. They goe together in companies, and mooue from one place to another, as the wilde Moores of Barbarie called Alarbes doe, following the seasons and the pasture after their Oxen.

The description of the oxen of Quiuira.

These Oxen are of the bignesse and colour of our Bulles, but their hornes are not so great. They haue a great bunch vpon their fore shoulders, and more haire on their fore part then on their hinder part: and it is like wooll. They haue as it were an horse-mane vpon their backe bone, and much haire and very long from the knees downeward. They haue great tuffes of haire hanging downe their foreheads, and it seemeth that they haue beardes, because of the great store of haire hanging downe at their chinnes and throates. The males haue very long tailes, and a great knobbe or flocke at the end: so that in some respect they resemble the Lion, and in some other the Camell. They push with their hornes, they runne, they ouertake and kill an horse when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foule and fierce beast of countenance and forme of bodie. The horses fledde from them, either because of their deformed shape, or else because they had neuer seene them. Their masters haue no other riches nor substance: of them they eat, they drinke, they apparel, they shooe themselues:

selues: and of their hides they make many things, as houses, shooes, apparell and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their sinewes and haire, threed: of their hornes, mawes, and bladders, vessels: of their dung, fire: and of their calues-skinnes, budgets, wherein they drawe and keepe water. To bee short, they make so many things of them as they haue neede of, or as many as suffice them in the vse of this life.

Sheepe as big as horses.

There are also in this countrey other beastes as big as horses, which because they haue hornes and fine wool, they cal them sheepe, and they say that euery horne of theirs weigheth is fiftie pound weight.

Mightie dogs carrying 50. pound weight.

There are also great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carrie fiftie pound weight in sackes when they goe on hunting, or when they remooue from place to place with their flockes and heards.

EL VIAIE QVE HIZO ANTONIO

DE ESPEIO EN EL ANNO DE OCHENTA Y TRES: EL QUAL CON SUS COMPANNEROS DESCUBRIERON VNA TIERRA EN QUE HALLARON QUINZE PROUINCIAS TODAS LLENAS DE PUEBLOS, Y DE CASAS DE QUATRO Y CINCO ALTOS, A QUIEN PUSIERON POR NOMBRE EL NUEUO MEXICO, POR PARECERSE EN MUCHAS COSAS AL VIEJO. ESTA à LA PARTE DEL NORTE, Y SE CREE QUE POR ELLA, Y POR POBLADO, SE PUEDE VENIR HASTA LLEGAR A LA TIERRA QUE LLAMAN DEL LABRADOR.

Del Nueuo Mexico, y de su descubrimiento, y lo que del se sabe.

Nueuo Mexico.

Augustin Ruyz.

Tiguas.

YA dixe en el titulo del libro, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres, se auian descubierto quinze Prouincias, aquien los inuentores llamaron El nueuo Mexico en la tierra firme de Nueua Espanna, y prometi de dar noticia del descubrimiento, como lo hare con la mayor breuedad que sea possible, porque si vuiera de poner diffusamente todo lo que vieron y supieron, fuera menester hazer dello nueua historia. La substancia dello es, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y vno, teniendo noticia vn Religioso de la Orden de sant Francisco, que se llamaua fray Augustin Ruyz, que moraua en el valle de sant Bartholome, por relation de ciertos Indios. Conchos que se comunicauan con otros sus conuezinos llamados Passaguates: que hazia la parte del Norte (caminando siempre por tierra) auia ciertas poblaciones grandes, y nunca sabidas de nuestros Espannoles, ni descubiertas, con zelo de caridad, y de saluacion de las almas, pidio licencia al Conde de Corunna Virey de la dicha Nueua Espanna, y a sus mayores, para yr a ellas, a procurar aprendar su lengua, y sabida, bautizarlos, y predicarles el santo Euangelio. Alcançada la licentia de los sobredichos, tomando otros dos companneros de su mesma Orden, se partio con ocho soldados, que de voluntad le quisieron acompannar, a poner en execution su Christiano y zeloso intento. Los quales a pocos dias de camino toparaon con vna Prouincia, que se llamaua de los Tiguas, distante de las minas de sancta Barbola (de donde començaron la jornada) dozientas y cinquenta leguas hazia el Norte, en la qual por cierta occasion los naturales le mataron al dicho padre vno de sus dos companneros. El qual, los soldados que yuan cõ el, viendo, y sintiẽdo el successo, y temiẽdo que del se podria seguir otro mayor danno, acordaron de comũ consentimiento de boluerse a las minas de donde auian salido, con consideracion de que la gente que yua era muy poca para resistir a los successos que se podian offrecer en tanta distancia de la viuienda de los Espannoles, y tan lexos del necessario socorro. Los dos Religiosos que hauian quedado, no solo no vinieron en su parecer, mas antes viendo la ocasion para poner en execucion su

buen desseo, y tanta mies madura para la mesa de Dios, viendo quo no podian persuadir a los soldados a passar adelante en el descubrimiento, se quedaron ellos en la dicha Prouincia con tres muchachos Indios, y vn mestizo, que auain lleuado consigo, pareciendoles que aunque quedassen solos, estauan alli seguros, por la affabilidad y amor con que los naturales della los tratauan. Llegados los ocho soldados adonde desseauā, embiaron luego la nueua al dicho Virey delo succedido a la ciuidad de Mexico, que dista de las dichas minas de santa Barbora ciento y sesenta leguas. Sintieron mucho los religiosos de sant Francisco la quedada de sus hermanos: y timiendo no los matassen viendo los solos, començaron a mouer los animos de algunos soldados, para que en compannia de otro Religioso de la mesma Orden llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, tornassen à la dicha Prouincia, a sacar de peligro a los dichos dos Religiosos, y proseguir con la empresa començada.

Fray Bernardino Beltran.

Antonio de Espejo morio en la Hauana 1589.

En esta sazon estaua en las dichas minas por cierta ocasion vn vezino de la ciuadad de Mexico, llamado Antonio de Espejo, hombre rico, y de mucho animo y industria, y zeloso del seruicio de la maiestad del Rey Don Philippe nuestro sennor, natural de Cordoua. El qual como enteniesse el desseo delos dichos religiosos, y la importancia del negocio, se offrecio a la jornada y a gastar en ella parte de su hazienda, y a riesgar su vida, siendo le para ello concedida licencia de alguna persona que representasse a su maiestad, la qual procurandola los dichos religiosos, le fue dada por el Capitan Iuā de Ontiueros Alcalde mayor por su magestad en los pueblos que llaman las quatro Cienegas, que son en la gouuernacion de la Nueua Vizcaya, setenta leguas de las dichas minas de santa Barbora, assi para que el pudiesse yr, como para que iuntasse la gente y soldados pue pudiesse, para que le acompannassen, y ayudassen a conseguir su Christiano intento.

Nueua Bizcaya.

El dicho Antonio de Espejo tomo el negocio con tantas veras, que en muy pocos dias iuntò los soldados y bastimentos necessarios para hazer la iornada, gastando en ello buena parte de su hazienda: y partio con todos ellos del valle de sant Bartholome a los diez de Nouiembre de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos, lleuando para lo que se offreciesse ciento y quinze cauallos, y mulas, y muchas armas, municiones, y bastimentos, y alguna gente de seruicio.

Conchos Indios.

Endereço su camino hazia el Norte, y a dos jornados topo mucha cantidad de Indios de los que llaman Conchos en Rancherias o poblaciones de casas pagicas. Los quales como lo supiessen, y tuuiessen dello relacion muy de atras, los salieron a recebir con muestras de alegria. La comida destos, y delos de la Prouincia, que es grande, es de carne de conejos, liebres, y venados que matan, y lo ay todo en grandissima cantidad. Tienen mucho maiz, que es el trigo de las Indias, calabaças, y melones, y en abundancia: y ay muchos rios que crian mucha cantidad de pescado muy bueno, y de diuersas suertes: andan casi todos desnudos, y las armas que vsan son arco y flecha, y viuen debaxo de gouierno, y sennorio de Caciques, como los Mexicanos, y no les hallaron Idolos, ni pudieron entender que adorassen à nadie, por lo qual facilmente consintieron en que les pusiessen los Christianos cruzes, y quedaron muy contentos con ellas, despues de auersido informados de los nuestros dela significacion dellas, que se hizo por interpretes que lleuauan, por cuyo medio supieron de otras poblaciones, para adonde los dichos Conchos los guiaron, accompannandolos mas de veinte y quatro leguas, que todas estauan poblades de gente de su nacion, y los salian a recebir de paz, por auiso que embiauan los Caciques de vnos pueblos a otros.

Passaguates Indios.

Muchas minas de plata.

Tobosos Indios.

Andadas las veinte y quatro leguas dichas, toparon otra nacion de Indios, llamados Passaguates, los quales viuiā al modo que los ya dichos Conchos sus conuezinos, y hizieron con ellos lo proprio, guiandolos adelante otras quatro jornados, con los auisos de los Caciques, de la manera ya dicha: hallaron los nuestros en este camino muchas minas de plata, al parecer de los que lo entendian, de mucho, y muy rico metal. Vna jornada destas toparon otra nacion, llamada los Tobosos, los quales en viendo el rastro de los nuestros, se huyeron a las sierras, dexando sus casas y pueblos desiertos. Supose despues que algunos annos antes auian acudido por alli ciertos soldados que yuan en busca de minas, y auian lleuado cautiuos a ciertos naturales, lo qual tenia temerosos y abispados a los demas. El Capitan dio orden como los fuessen a llamar, assegurandolos de que no les seria hecho ningun mal, y diose tan buena manna que hizo venir a muchos, aquien regalò, y dio dones, acariciandolos, y declarandoles por el interprete, que no yuan a hazer mal a nadie, con lo qual se boluieron todos a sossegar, y consintieron les pusiessen Cruzes, y declarassen el mysterio dellas, mostrando reciber dello gran contentamiento, en cuya demostracion los fucron acompannando, como lo auian hecho sus vezinos, hasta que los metieron en tierra poblada de otra nacion differente, que distauan de la suya cosa de doze leguas: vsan arco, y flecha, y andan desundos.

Prosiguese del descubrimiento del Nueuo Mexico.

LA nacion hasta donde los dicho Tobosos los guiaron se llamaua Iumanos, a quien por otro nombre laman los Espannoles Patarabuyes: **Iumanos Indios.** tienen vna Prouincia grande, y de muchos pueblos con mucha gente, y las casas eran con açoteas, y de calicanto, y los pueblos traçados por buen orden: tienen todos los hombres y mugeres los rostros rayados, y los braços, y piernas: es gente corpulenta, y de mas policia, que los que hasta alli auian visto, y teuian muchos mantenimientos, y mucha caça de pie y de buelo, y gran cantitad de pescado, a causa **Rio del Norte.** de tener grandes rios que vienen de hazia el Norte, y alguno tan grande como Guadalquiuir, el qual entra en la propria mar del Norte. Tiene muchas lagunas de agur salida que se quaja cierto tiempo del anno, y se haze muy buena sal, **Buena sal.** Es gente bellicosa, y mostraronlo luego, porque la primera noche que los nuestros assentaron real, les flecharon, y mataron cinco cauallos, hiriendo muy mal otros tantos, y no dexaran ninguno a vida, sino por las guardas que los defendieron. Hecho este mal racado, despoblaron el lugar, y se subieron a vna sierra que estaua cerca, adonde fue luego por la mannana el Capitan con otros cinco soldados bien armados con vn interprete llamado Pedro, Indio de su mesma nacion, y con buenas razones los quieto y dexo de paz, haziendolos baxar a su pueblo y casas, y persuadiendolos a que diestien auiso asus vezinos de que no eran hombres que hazian mal a nadie, ni les yuan a tomar sus haziendas: que lo alcanço facilmente con su prudencia, y con darles a los Caciques algunas sartas de quentas de vidrio que lleuaua para este effeto, y sombreros, y otras ninnerias: con este, y con el buen tratamiento que les hazian, se fueron muchos dellos en compannia de los nuestros algunos dias, caminando siempre por la ribera del rio grande arriba dicho, **Rio grande.** portoda la qual hauia muchos pueblos de Indios desta nacion, que duraron por espacio de doze jornadas, en todas las quales auisados los vnos Caciques de los otros salian a recebir a los nuestros sin arcos, ni flechas, y les trayan muchos mantenimientos, y otros regalos y dadiuos, **12 Iornadas.** en especial cueros y camuças muy bien adereçados, y que no les excedian en esto las de Flandes. Es gente toda vestida, y hallaron que tenian alguna lumbre de nuestra sancta Fee, porque sennalauan a Dios mirando al cielo, y le llaman en sul lengua Apalito, **Apalito.** y le conocen por sennor, de cuya larga mano, y misericordia confiessan auer recibido la vida, y el ser natural, y los bienes temporales. Venian muchos dellos, y las mugeres y ninnos, a que el Religioso, que diximos que yua con el dicho Capitan y soldados, los santiguasse, y echasse la benedicion: el qual como les preguntasse de quien auian entendido aquel conocimiento de Dios que tenian: respondieron, que de tres Christianos, y vn negro, que auian passado por alli, y detenidose algunos dias en su tierra, que segun las sennas que dieron, eran Aluar Nunnes Cabeça de Vaca, y Dorantes, y Castillo Maldonado, y vn negro, que todos ellos auian escapado de la armida con que entro Panfilo de Narbaez en la Florida, y despues de auer sido muchos dias esclauos, vinieron a dar a estos pueblos, haziendo Dios por medio dellos muchos milagros, y sanando con el tocamento solo de sus manos muchos enfermos, por lo qual dexaron gran nombre en toda aquella tierra. Toda esta Prouincia quedo de paz, y muy sossegada, en cuya demonstracion fueron acompannando y siruiendo a los nuestros algunos dias por la orilla del rio que diximos arriba.

A pocas dias toparon con vna gran poblacion de Indios, adonde los salieron a recebir por **Otra Prouincia.** nueua que tuuieron de sus vezinos, y les sacaron muchas cosas muy curiosas de pluma de differentes colores, y muchas mantas de algodon barretadas de azul y blanco, como las que traen de la China, para rescatarlas, y trocarlas por otras cosas. Yuan todos, assi hombres como mugeres, y ninnos vestidos de camuças muy buenas y bien adobadas, y nuncapudieron los nuestros entender que nacion era por falta de interprete que intendiesse su lengua, aunque por sennas tratauan con ellos, à los quales como les mostrassen algunas piedras de

Metal rico.
Otra prouincia.
Lagunas grandes.
Laguna muy ancha.

metal rico, y les preguntassen si hauiade aquello en su tierra: Respondierõ por las mesmas sennas que cinco dias de camino de alli hazia el Poniente, auia de aquello en muy gran cantidad, y que ellos los guiarian para alla, y se lo mostrarian, como lo cumplieron despues, acompannandolos por espacio de veynte y dos leguas, todaspobladas de gente de su mesma naciõ: a quien immediatamente se seguia por el mesmo rio arriba otra de mucha mas gente que la de la passada, de quien fueron bien recibidos, y regalados con muchos presentes, especialmente de pescado que hauia infinito, a causa de vnas lagunas grandes que cerca de alli hauia, que lo crian en la abundancia dicha. Estuuieron entre estos tres dias, en los quales de dia, y de noche les hizieron muchos bayles a su modo, con particular signification de alegria: no se supo como se llamaua esta nacion por falta de interprete, aunque entendieron que se extendia mucho, y que era muy grande. Entre estos hallaron vn Indio Concho de nacion, que les dixo, y sennalo, que quinze iornadas de alli hazia el Poniente hauia vna laguna muy ancha, y cerca della muy grande spueblos, y casas de tres y quatro altos, y la gente bien vestida, y la tierra de muchos bastimentos, el qual se offrecio de lleuarlos alla, y holgaran los nuestros dello, y solo lo dexaron de poner en effecto, pro proseguir el intento con que auian començado la jornada, que era yr al Norte adar socorro a los Religiosos arriba dichos.

Muchos Metales ricos.

En esta Prouincia lo que particularmente notaron fue, que hauia muy buyen temple, y muy ricas tierras, y mucha caça de pie y buelo, y muchos metales ricos, y otras cosas particulares, y de prouecho.

Sal blanca.
Rio Turbuioso del Norte.
Nueuo Mexico.
Casas de quatro altos.
Estufas.
Suelas de vaca.

Desta Prouincia fueron siguiendo su derrota por espacio de quinze dias, sin topar en todos ellos ninguna gente por entre grãdes pinales de pinnas y pinnones, como los de Castilla: al cabo de los quales auiendo caminado a su parecer ochenta leguas, toparon vna pequenna Rancheria, o pueblo de poca gente, y en sus casas, que eran pobres, y de paja, gran cantidad de cueros de venados tan bien aderçados como los de Flandes, y mucha sal blanca, y muy buena. Hizieronles muy buen hospedaje dos dias que alli estuuieron, despues delos quales los accompannaron como doze leguas a vnas poblaciones grandes, caminando siempre por el rio del Norte ya dicho, hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman el Nueuo Mexico. Estaua toda la ribera del dicho rio llena de grandissimas alamedas de alamos blancos y en partes tomauan quatro leguas de ancho, y ansi mesmo de muchos nogales, y parrales como los de Castilla. Auiendo caminado dos dias por estas alamedas, y noguerales, toparõ diez pueblos que estauã assentados en la ribera del dicho rio por ambas partes, sin otros que se mostrauan mas desuiados, en los quales les parecio auia mucha gente, y la que ellos vieron passauan en numero de diez mil animas. En esta Prouincia los regalarõ mucho cõ recebimientos, y con lleuarlos a sus pueblos, don de les dauan mucha comida, y gallinas de la tierra, y otras cosas, y to do con gran voluntad. Aqui hallaron casas de quatro altos, y bien edificadas, y con galanos aposentos, y en las mas dellas auia estufas para tiempo de inuierno. Andauan vestitos de algodon, y de cuero de venado, y el traje, assi de los hombres, como de las mugeres, es al modo del de los Indios del reyno de Mexico: y lo que les causo mas estranneza, fue ver que todos ellos, y ellas andauanc alçados conçapatos y botas de buen cuero con suelas de vaca, cosa que hazta alli nunca la auian visto. Las mugeres trayan el cabello muy peynado, y compuesto, y sin cosa sobre la cabeça. En todos estos pueblos auia Caciques que los gouernauan como entre los Indios Mexicanos, con Alguaziles para executar sus mandamientos, los quales van por el pueblo, diziendo à vozes la voluntad de los Caciques, y que la pongan por obra. En esta Prouincia hallaron los nuestros muchos Idolos que adorauan, y en especial que tenian en cada casa vn templo para el Demonio, donde le lleuan de ordinanario de comer, y otra cosa, que de la manera que entre los Christianas tenemos en los caminos cruzes: assi tienen ellos vnas como capillas, altas, donde dizẽ, descansa, y se recrea el Demonio, quando va de vn pueblo a otro: las quales estan muy adornadas y pintadas. En todas las sementeras, o labranças, que las tienen muy grandes, tienen a vn lado dellas vn portal con quatro pilares, donde comen los trabajadores, y passan la siesta, porque es la gente muy dada ala labor, y estan de ordinario en ella: es tierra de muchos montes y pinales. Las armas que vsan son arcos muy fueres, y flechas con las puntas de pedernal con que passan vnta cota, y macanas, que son vnos palos de media vara de largo, y llanos todos de pedernales agudos, que bastan a partir pòr medio vn hombre, y ansi mesmo vnas como adargas de cuero de vaca crudio.

Cuero de vaca.

Prosiguese del Nueuo Mexico, y de las cosas que en el se vieron.

DEspues de auer estado en esta Prouincia quatro dias, y a poca distancia toparon con otra, que se llamaua la Prouincia de los Tiguas, en la qual auia diez y seys pueblos: en el vno de los quales, llamado por nombre Poala, hallaron que auian muerto los indios à los dichos dos padres fray Francisco Lopez, y fray Augustin, a quien yuan a buscar, y juntamene a tres muchachos, y vn mestizo. Quando los deste pueblo, y sus conuezinos vieron a los nuestros, remordiendo les la propria consciencia, y temiendose que yuan a castigarlos, y tomar vengança de las muertes de los dichos padres, no los osaron esperar, antes dexando sus casas deseirtas se subieron a las sierras mas cercanas, de donde nunca los pudieron hazer baxar, anunque lo procuraron con alagos y mannas. Hallaron en los pueblos y casas muchos mantenimientos, y gran infinidad de gallinas de la tierra, y muchas suertes de metales, y algunos que parecian muy buenos. No se pudo entender claramente que tanta gente ſuesse la desta Prouincia, por causa de auerse (como ya dixe) subido a la sierra.

Tiguas.
Poala.
Metales muy buenos.

Auiendo hallado muertos a los que buscauan, entraron en consulta sobre si se boluerian à la Nueua Vizcaya, de donde hauian salido, o passarian adelante: en lo qual vuo diuersos pareceres: pero como alli entendiessen, que a la parte de Oriente de aquella Prouincia, y muy distante de alli hauian grandes pueblos y ricos, hallandose alli tan cerca, acordo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo de consentimiento de Religioso ya dicho, llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, y de la mayor parte de sus soldados, y companneros, de proseguir con el descubrimiento hasta ver en que paraua, para poder der dello noticia cierta y clara a su Megestad, como testigos de vista: y assi conformes determinaron que quedandose alli el Real, ſuessen el Capitan con dos companneros en demanda de su desseo, que lo pusieron por obra. Y a dos dias de camino toparon con vna Prouincia donde vieron onze pueblos, y en ellos mucha gente, que a su parecer passaua en numero de quarenta mil animas: era tierra muy fertil y bastecida, cuyos confines estan immediatamente juntas con las tierras de Cibola, donde ay muchas vacas, de cuyos cueros se visten, y de algodon: siguiendo en la manera del gouierno el orden que guarden sus conuezinos: ay sennales de muchas minas ricas, y assi hallauan metales dellas en algunas casas de los Indios, los quales tienen, y adoran Idolos: recibieronlos de paz, y dieron les de comer. Visto esto, y la disposicion de la tierra, se boluieron al real de donde auian salido, a dar noticia a sus companneros de todo lo sobredicho.

Nueua Vizcaya.
Nota diligentissime.
Otta prouincia.
Minas ricas.

Llegados al Real (como esta dicho) tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, llamada los Quires, que estaua el rio del Norte arriba seys leguas de distancia, y como se partiessen para alla, y llegassen vna legua della, les salieron a recebir de paz mucha cantidad de Indios, y a rogar que se ſuessen con ellos a sus pueblos, que como lo hiziessen, fueron muy bien recebidos y regalados. Vieron solamente cinco pueblos en esta Prouincia, en los quales auia muy gran cantidad de gente, y la que ellos vieron passaua de quinze mil animas, y adoran Idolos como sus vezinos. Hallaron en vno destos pueblos vna Vrraca en vna jaula, como se vsa en Castilla, y tira soles, como los que se traen de la China, pintados en ellos el sol y la luna, y muchas estrellas. Donde como tomassen la altura, se hallaron en treynta y siete grados y medio debaxo del Norte.

Quires.

Salieron desta Prouincia, y caminando por el proprio rumbo, y a catorze leguas, hallaron otra Prouincia, llamada los Cunames, donde vieron otros cinco pueblos, y el principal dellos, y mas grande se llamaua Cia, que era tan grande que tenia ocho plaças, cuyas casas eran encaladas, y pintadas de colores, y mejores que las que hauian visto en las Prouincias atras: parecioles que la gente que vieron passauan de veynte mil animas: hizieron presente a los nuestros de muchas mantas curiosas, y de cosas de comer muy bien guisadas, y juzgaron ser la gente mas curiosa, y de mayor policia, de quantas hasta alli hauian visto, y de mejor gouierno: monstraronles ricos metales, y vnas sierras alli cerca de donde de los sacauan. Aqui tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, que staua hazia el Nordueste, que se determinaron de yra ella.

Cunames Indios.
Cia.
Ricos metales.

Como

Ameies.

Como vuiessen andado como seys leguas, toparon con la dicha Prouincia, que se illamaua de los Amejes, en la qual hauia siete pueblos muy grandes, y en ellos a su entender mas de treynta mil animas. Vno destos siete pueblos dixeron era muy grande y hermoso, que la dexaron de yr a ver, assi por estar detras de vna sierra, como por temor de algun ruyn successo, si a caso se diuidian los vnos de los otros. Es gente al modo de la Prouincia su vezina, y tan abastada como ella, y de tan buen gouierno.

15 Leguas.
Acoma.

A quinze leguas desta Prouincia, caminando siempre hazia el Poniente, hallaron vn pueblo grande llamado Acoma, era de mas de seys mil animas, y estaua essẽtado sobre vno penna alta que tenia mas de cinquenta estados en alto, no teniendo otra entrada sino per vna escalera que estaua hecha en la propria penna, cosa que admiro mucho alos nuestros: toda el agua que en el pueblo auia era de cisternas.

Vinieron los principales de paz a ver a los Espannoles, y traxeron les muchas mantas, y camuças muy bien adere çadas, y gran cantidad de bastimentos. Tienen sus sembrados dos leguas de alli, y sacan el agua para regarlos de vn rio pequenno que esta cerca, en cuya ribera vieron muy grandes rosales como los de aca de Castilla. Ay muchas sierras con sennales de metales, aunque no subieron a verlo, por ser los Indios dellas muchos, y muy bellicosos. Estunieron los nuestros en este lugar tres dias, en vno de los quales los naturales les hizieron vn bayle muy solenne, saliendo a el con galannos vestidos, y con juegos muy ingeniosos, con que holgaron en se estremo.

Metales.

24 leguas.
Zuny o Cibola.

Veynte y quartro leguas de aqui, hazia el Poniente, dieron con vna Prouincia, que se nombra en lengua de los naturales Zuny, y la llaman los Espannoles Cibola, ay en ella grã cantidad de Indios, en la qual estuuo Francisco Vazquez Coronado, y dexo muchas Cruzes puestas, y otras sennales de Christiandad que siempre se estauan en pie. Hallaron ansi mesmo tres Indios Christianos que se auian quedado de aquella jornada, cuyos nombres eran Andres de Cuyoacan, Gaspar de Mexico, y Antonio de Guadalajara, los quales renian casi oluidada su mesma lengua, y sabian muy bien la delos naturales, aunque a pocas bueltas que les hablaron se entendieron facilmente. De quien supieron que sesenta jornadas de alli auia vna laguna, o lago muy grande, en cuyas riberas estauan muchos pueblos grandes y buenos, y que los naturales tenian mucho oro, de lo qual era indicion el traer todos braceletes y orejeras dello: y que como el sobredicho Francisco Vazquez Coronado tuuiesse noticia muy cierta dello, hauia salido desta Prouincia de Cibola para yr alla, y auiendo andado doze jornadas le falto el agua, y se determino de boluer, como lo hizo, con determinacion de tornar otra vez mas de proposito a ello, que despues no lo puso an execuciõ, porque la muerte le atajo los passos y pensamientos.

60 Iornadas.
Lago muy grande mucho oro.

Prosiue del Nueuo Mexico.

A La nueua de la riqueza dicha, quiso a cudir el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo, y aunque eran de su parecer algunos de sus companneros, la mayor parte, y el Religioso fue de contrario: diziendo, era ya tiempo de boluerse à la nueua Viscaya de donde hauian salido, a dar cuenta de lo que auian visto: que lo pusieron por obra dentro de pocos dias la mayor parte, dexando al Capitan con neue companneros que le quisieron seguir: el qual, despues de hauerse certificado muy por entero de la riqueza arriba dicha, y de mucha abundancia de metales que en ello auia muy buenos, salio con los dichos sus companneros desta prouincia, y caminando hazia el proprio Poniente, despues de hauer audado veinte y ocho leguas, hallaron otra muy grande, en la qual les parecio hauia mas de cinquenta mil animas, cuyos moradores como supiessen su llegada, les embiaron vn recado, diziendo, que si no querian que los matassen, no se acercassen mas a sus pueblos: a lo qual respondio el dicho Capitan, que ellos no les yuan a hazer mal, como lo verian, y que assi les rogauan no se pusiessen en lleuar adelante su intento, dando al mensajero algunas cosas de las que lleuaua: el qual supo tan bien obonar a los nuestros, y allanar los pechos alborotados de los Indios, que les dieron lugar de voluntad para que entrassen, que lo hizieron con ciento y cinquenta Indios amigos de la prouincia de Cibola ya dicha, y los tres Indios Mexicanos, de quien queda hecha mencion. Vna legua antes que llegassen al primer pueblo, les salieron a re-

Nueua Viscaia.

28 Leguas.
Otra Prouincia.

cebir mas de dos mil Indios cargados de bastimentos, a quien el dicho Capitan dio algunas cosas de poco precio, que a ellos les parecio ser de mucho, y las estimaron mas que si fueran de oro. Llegando mas cerca del pueblo, que se llamaua Zaguato, salio a recebirlos gran muche dumbre de Indios, y entre ellos los Caciques, haziendo tanta demostracion de plazer y regozijo, que echauan mucha harina de maiz por el suelo, para que la pisassen los cauallos: con esta fiesta entraron en el, y fueron muy bien hospedados, y regalados, que se lo pago en parte el Capitan, con dar a todos los mas principales sombreros, y quentas de vidrio, y otras muchas cosas que lleuaua para semejantes offrecimientos.

Zaguato o Ahuato pueblo.

Despacharon luego los dichos Caciques recados a todos los de aquella Prouincia, dandoles noticia de la venida de los huespedes, y de como eran hombres muy corteses, y no les hazian mal: lo qal fue bastante para hazer los venir a todos cargados de presentes para los nuestros, y de que los importunassen, fuessen con ellos a holgarse a sus pueblos, que lo hizieron, aunque siempre con recado de lo que podia succeder. Por lo qual el dicho Capitan vso de vna cautela, y fue dezir a los Caciques, que por quanto los cauallos eran muy brauos, y les auian dicho que los querian matar, seria necessario hazer vn fuerte de calicanto donde meter lospara euitar el danno que querian hazer en los Indios. Creyeronlo los Caciques tan de veras que dento de pocas horas juntaron tanta gente que hizieron el dicho fuerte que los nuestros querian con vna presteza increyble. Demas desto, diziendo el Capitan que se queria yr, le traxeron vn presente de 40. mil. mantas de algodon pintadas y blancas, y mucha cantidad de pannos de manos con borlas en las puntas, y otras muchas cosas, y entre ellas metales ricos, y que mostrauan tener mucha plata. Hallaron entre estos Indios muy gran noticia de la laguna grande arriba dicha, y conformaron con los otros en lo tocante a las riquezas, y mucha abundantia de oro.

Metales ricos.

La laguna grande arriba dicha.

Fiado el Capitan desta gente, y de sus buenos animos, a cordo a cabo de algunos dias de dexar alli cinco de sus copanneros con los demas Indios amigos, para que se boluiessen a la prouincia de Zuny con el bagaje, y de yrse el con los quatro que quedauan a la ligera en descubrimẽto de cierta noticia que tenia de vnas minas muy ricas. Lo qual puesto por obra se partio con las guias que lleuaua, y como vuiesse caminado hazia el proprio Poniente quarenta y cinco leguas, topo con las dichas minas, y saco con sus proprias manos riquissimos metales, y de mucha plata: y las minas, que eran de vna veta muy ancha, estauan en vna sierra adonde se podia subir con facilidad, a causa de hauer para ello camino abierto. Cerca delas auia algunos pueblos de Indios serranos que les hizieron amistad, y los salieron a recebir con Cruzes en las cabeças, y otras sennales de paz. Aqui cerca toparon dos rios razonables, a cuyas orillas hauia muchas patras de vnas muy buenas, y grandes nogerales, y mucho lino como lo de Castilla, y dixeron por sennas que detras de aquellas sierras estaua vno que tenia mas de ocho leguas de ancho, pero no se pudo entender que tan cerca, aunque hizieron demonstracion que corria hazia la mar del Norte, y que en las riberas del de vna y orta banda ay muchos pueblos tan grandes, que en su comparacion aquellos en que est aua eran barrios.

45 Leguas.

Riquissimos metales.

Rio grandissimo.

Mar del Norte.

Despues de hauer tomado toda esta relaciõ, se partio el dicho Capitan para la Prouincia de Zuny, adonde hauia mendado yr a los dichos companneros: y como llegasse a ella con salud, hauiendo ydo por muy buen camino, hallo con ella a sus cinco companneros, y al dicho padre Fray Bernardino con los soldados que se auian determinado de boluer, como ya diximos, que aun no se auian partido, por ciertas ocasiones: a los quales los naturales hauian hecho muy buen tratamiento, y dadoles todo lo necessario muy complida mente, haziendo despues lo mesmo con el capitan, y los que con el venian, a quien salieron a recebir con demonstracion de alegria, y dieron muchos bastimentos para la jornada que hauian de hazer, rogandoles que boluissen con breuedad, y traxessen muchos Castillas (que assi llaman a los Espannoles) y que a todos les darian de comer. Por lo qual para poderlo hazer con comodidad auian sembrado a quel anno mas trigo y semillas, que en todos los passados.

Zuni, o Cibola.

En este tiempo se retificaron en su primera determinacion el dicho religioso, y los soldados arriba dichos, y accordaron de boluerse a la prouincia de donde auian salido con el designio que queda dicho, a quien se junto Gregorio Hernandez que auia sido Alferez en la jornada:

los quales partidos, quedando el Capitan con solos ocho soldados, se resoluio de seguir lo començado y correr por el Rio del Norte arriba, que lo puso por obra. Y hauiendo caminado como sesenta leguas hazia la prouincia de los Quires ya dicha, doze leguas de alli hazia la parte del Oriente, hallaron vna prouincia que se llamaua los Hubates, donde los Indios los recibieron de paz, y les dieron muchos mantenimientos, y noticia de que cerca de alli hauia vnas minas muy ricas, que las hallaron, y sacaron dellas metales reluzientes y buenos, con los quales se boluieron al pueblo de donde auian salido. Iuzgaron esta prouincia por de hasta veynte y cinco mil animas, todos muy bien vestidos de mantas de algodon pintadas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas. Tienen muchos montes de pinales y cedros, y las casas de los pueblos son de quatro y cinco altos. Aqui tuuieron noticia que otra prouincia que estaua vna jornada de alli, que se llamaua de los Tamos, en que hauia mas de quarenta mil animas, donde como llegassen no les quisieron dar de comer los moradores della, ni admitirlos en sus pueblos: por lo qual, y por el peligro en que estauan, y estar algunos soldados enfermos, y ser tan pocos (como hauemos dicho) se determinaron de yrse saliendo para tierra de Christianos, y lo pusieron en execucion a principio de Iulio del anno de ochenta y tres, siendo guiados por vn Indio que se fue con ellos, y los lleuo por camino differente del que a la venida hauian traydo, por vn rio abaxo, a quien llamaron de las vacas, por auer gran muche dumbre dellas en toda su ribera, por donde caminaron ciento y veynte leguas, topando las ordinariamente: de aqui saheron al rio de los Conchos por donde auian entrado, y del al Valle de Sant Bertholome de donde hauian salido para dar principio al descubrimiento: y ya quando llegaron, hallaron que el dicho fray Bernardino Beltran, y sus companneros auian llegado a saluamento al dicho pueblo muchos dias hauia, y que de alli se auian ydo a la villa de Guadiana. Hizo en este pueblo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Espejo informacion muy cierta de todo lo arriba dicho, laqual embio luego al Conde de Corunna Virey de aquel Reyno, y el a su Magestad, y a los Sennores, de su Real Consejo de las Indias, para que ordenassen lo que fuessen seruidos, que lo han ya hecho con mucho cuydado. Nuestro Sennor se situa de ayudar este negocio, de modo que tantas almas rededimas con su sangre no se condenen, de cuyos buenos ingenios (en que exceden alos de Mexico y Peru, segun se antendio de los que los trataron) se puede presumir, abraçaran con facilidad la ley Euangelica, dexando la idolatria, que agora la mayor parte dellos tiene: que lo haga Dios como puede para honra y gloria suya, y augmento de la sancta fe Catholica.

Sesenta legues.

Hubates Indios.

Minas muy ricas. 25000.

Tamos. 40000.

They returne.

Iulio. 1583.

Rio de las vacas.

Ciento y veynte leguas.

Rio de los Conchos.

Guadiana.

Nota.

A briefe relation of two notable voyages, the first made by frier Augustin Ruyz a Fransciscan, in the yeere 1581: the second by Antonio de Espejo in the yere 1583: who together with his company discouered a land wherin they found fifteene prouinces all full of townes, conteining houses of foure and fiue stories high, which they named New Mexico; for that in many respects it resembleth the prouince of olde Mexico. This land is situate to the North of Nueua Espanna, and stretcheth from 24 to 34 degrees and better: by the which & by other inhabited lands it is thought that men may trauell euen to Terra de Labrador. Taken out of the history of China written by Frier Iuan Gonzales de Mendoça, and printed in Madrid 1586.

I Haue now declared in the title of this present discourse, that in the yeere 1583 there were discouered fifteene prouinces, which the discouerers called New Mexico, situate on the firme land of Nueua Espanna, and I promised to giue notice of the sayd discouery, which I will do with as much breuity as is possible: for if I should record at large all particulars which they saw and came to the knowledge of, it would require a full history. The substance thereof is as followeth.

In the yere of our Lord 1581 a certaine Fransciscan frier called Augustin Ruiz which dwelt in the valley of S. Bartholomew, being informed by the report of certaine Indians called Conchos, which had dealings and conuersation with other of their neighbours called Passaguates; that toward the North, trauelling alwayes by land, there were certaine great townes not hitherto knowen nor discouered by our Spanyards: mooued with a zeale of charity, and

The first voyage made by Frier Augustin Ruiz to the prouince de los Tiguas.

a desire to saue soules, craued licence of the Conde of Corunna as thē Viceroy of Nueua Espanna, and of his superiours, to go to the sayd townes, and to indeuour to learne their language, and hauing learned the same, to baptise them, and to preach the holy Gospel vnto them. After he had obteined licence of the parties aforesayd, taking with him other two companions of his owne order, and eight souldiers, who of their owne good will offered to beare him company, he departed to put in execution his Christian and zealous intent. Who after certeine dayes trauell came vnto a countrey called The prouince de los Tiguas distant from the mines of Santa Barbara, from whence they began their iourney, 250 leagues towards the North: in which prouince the inhabitants, vpon a certaine occasion, slew one of the sayd friers two companions. The souldiers that went with him seeing this mishap, and perceiuing the successe, and likewise fearing, that thereof might happen some greater danger, determined with a common consent to return vnto the mines from whence they departed: considering that their company was too small to resist the dangers that might happen, being so farre distant from the dwellings of the Spanyards, and from all necessary succour. But the two friers which remained aliue did not onely refuse their determination, but rather seeing fit occasion to put their good desire in execution, and so great a haruest ripe for the Lords table, because they could not persuade the souldiers to proceed any further in that discouery, remained behinde in the sayd prouince with three Indian boyes, and one Mestiço whom they had caried with them; thinking that although they remained alone, yet should they be there in securitie, by reason of the great affability and loue which the people of that place shewed vnto them.

The chiefe of these 8 souldiers was Francisco SanchezXamuzcado which made a map of these prouinces, which being intercepted is come to our hands.

The prouince de los Tiguas distant 250 leagues Northward from the mines of Santa Barbara.

The eight souldiers being returned to their wished home, immediatly sent newes of all that had passed to the Viceroy vnto the city of Mexico, which is distant from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues.

The mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues distant from Mexico.

The friers of Sant Francis were very much agrieued at the staying of their brethren behinde in the countrey, and fearing least the Sauages would kill them seeing them left alone, they began to mooue the minds of certaine souldiers to make another voyage to the sayd prouince in the company of another Frier of the foresayd Order called Frier Bernardin Beltran, to deliuer the aforesayd two religious men out of danger, and to prosecute their former enterprise.

At the same time there was at the foresayd mines vpon some occasion a citizen of Mexico called Antonio de Espejo, a rich man, and of great courage and industry, and very zealous in the seruice of king Philip his souereine, and was borne in Cordoua. Who vnderstanding the desire of the foresayd friers, and the importance of the action, offered himselfe to go on that voyage, and also to spend part of his substance, and to aduenture his life therein; conditionally that licence might be granted him to the same purpose from some person sufficiently authorised by his Maiestie. Which licence at the sayd friers procurement was granted vnto him by the gouernour Iuan de Ontiueros the kings Alcalde mayór or chiefe Iustice in the towns called Las quatro Cienegas situate within the iurisdiction of Nueua Biscaya seuenty leagues from the sayd mines of Santa Barbara; authorizing him both to take in hand the sayd voyage, and also to assemble such people and souldiers as he could, which might accompany and ayde him in the performance of this his Christian intent.

The second voyage.

Las quatro Cienegas in the prouince of Nueua Biscaya 70 leagues frō the mines of Santa Barbara.

The sayd Antonio de Espejo was so earnest in this matter, that in very few dayes he had gathered a company of souldiers, and made prouision of things necessary for his voyage, spending therein a good part of his substance. And he departed with his whole company from the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582; taking with him (for whatsoeuer should happen) 115 horses and mules, with great store of weapons, munition, and victuals, and some Indians to serue him in his iourney.

Antonio de Espejo his setting forth frō the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582.

Directing his course toward the North, after two dayes iourney he met with great store of the foresayd Indians called Conchos, which dwell in villages or hamlets of cottages couered with straw. Who, so soone as they vnderstood of his approch, hauing newes thereof long before, came foorth to receiue him with shewes of great ioy. The food of this people and of all the rest of that prouince, which is great, are conies, hares, and deere which they kill, of all

Indians called Conchos.

Many riuers.

which they haue great abundance. Also they haue great store of Maiz or Indian wheat, gourds, and melons very good and plentifull: and there are many riuers full of excellent fish of diuers sorts. They goe almost naked, and the weapons that they vse are bowes & arrowes, and liue vnder the gouernment and lordship of Caçiques like those of Mexico: they found no idols among them, neither could they vnderstand that they worshipped any thing, whereupon they easily consented that the Spanyards should set vp crosses, and were very well content therewith, after they were informed by our friers of the signification thereof, which was done by the interpreters that they caried with them; by whose meanes they vnderstood of other townes, whither the sayd Conchos did conduct them, and bare them company aboue foure & twenty leagues, all which way was inhabited with people of their owne nation: and at all places where they came they were peaceably receiued by aduice that was sent by the Caçiques from one towne to another.

Passaguates.

Very great and rich siluer mines.

Hauing passed the foure and twenty leagues aforesayd, they came vnto another nation of Indians called Passaguates, who liue after the maner of the foresayd Conchos their borderers, and did vnto them as the others had done, conducting them forward other foure dayes iourney, with aduice of the Caçiques as before. The Spanyards found in this iourney many mines of siluer, which according to the iudgement of skilfull men, were very plentifull and rich in metall.

Tobosos.

A dayes iourney from thence they met with another nation called Tobosos, who so soone as they beheld the countenance of our people fledde vnto the mountaines, leauing their townes and houses desolate. Afterward wee vnderstood that certeine yeeres past there came vnto that place certaine souldiers to seeke mines, who caried away captiue certaine of the people of the countrey, which caused the rest of them to be so shey and fearefull. The captaine sent messengers to call them backe againe, assuring them that they should not sustaine any harme, and handled the matter so discreetly, that many of them returned, whom he made much of, and gaue them gifts, vsing them kindly, and declaring vnto them by the interpreter, that their comming was not to hurt any man: whereupon they were all quieted, and were content they should set vp crosses, and declare the mystery of the same, making shew that they were highly pleased therewith. For proofe whereof they accompanied them on their voyage, as their neighbours had done, vntill they had brought them to a countrey inhabited by another nation, which was distant from theirs some 12 leagues. They vse bowes and arrowes and go naked.

Iumanos or Patarabueyes.

Rio turbioso del Norte.

The nation vnto which the sayd Tobosos conducted them, is called Iumanos, whom the Spanyards by another name call Patarabueyes: their prouince is very great, conteining many townes and great store of people: their houses are flat-rooffed, and built of lime and stone, and the streets of their townes are placed in good order. All the men and women haue their faces, armes and legges raced and pounced: they are a people of great stature, and of better gouernment, then the rest which they had seene in their former iourneyes: and are well prouided of victuals, and furnished with plenty of wilde beasts, fowles and fishes, by reason of mighty riuers which come from the North, whereof one is as great as Guadalquiuir, which falleth into the North sea or bay of Mexico. Here are also many lakes of salt water, which at a certeine time of the yere waxeth hard, and becommeth very good salt. They are a warlike people, and soone made shew thereof: for the first night that our people incamped there, with their arrowes they slew fiue horses, and wounded fiue other very sore, nor would not haue left one of them aliue, if they had not beene defended by our guard. Hauing done this mischiefe, they abandoned the towne, and withdrew themselues to a mountaine which was hard by, whither our captaine went betimes in the morning, taking with him fiue souldiers well armed, and an interpreter called Peter an Indian of their owne nation, and with good persuasions appeased them, causing them to descend to their towne and houses, and persuading them to giue aduice vnto their neighbours, that they were men that would hurt no body, neither came they thither to take away their goods: which he obtained easily by his wisedome, and by giuing vnto the Caçiques certeine bracelets of glasse beads, with hats and other trifles, which he caried with him for the same purpose: so by this meanes, and by the good interteinment which they gaue them, many of them accompanied our Spanyards for certeine dayes, alwayes trauelling along the banke of the great riuer abouesayd; along the which there were many townes of the Indians of this nation, which continued for the space of twelue dayes trauel, all which time the Caçiques hauing receiued aduice from one to another, came forth to interteine our people without their bowes and arrowes, and brought them plenty of victuals, with other presents and gifts, especially hides and chamois-skins wery well dressed, so that those of Flanders do nothing exceed them. These people are all clothed, and seemed to haue some light of our holy faith: for they made signes of God, looking vp towards heauen, and call him in their language Apalito, and acknowledge him for their Lord, from whose bountifull hand and mercy they confesse that they haue receiued their life and being, and these worldly goods. Many of them with their wiues and children came vnto the frier (which the captaine and souldiers brought with them) that hee might crosse and blesse them. Who demanding of them, from whom they had receiued that knowledge of God, they answered, from three Christians, & one Negro which passed that way, and remained certaine dayes among them, who by the signes which they made, were Aluaro Nunnez, Cabeça de Vaca, and Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado, and a Negro; all which escaped of the company which Pamphilo de Naruaez landed in Florida; who after they had bene many dayes captiues and slaues, escaped and came to these townes, by whom God shewed many miracles, and healed onely by the touching of their hands many sicke persons, by reason wherof they became very famous in all that countrey. All this prouince remained in great peace and security; in token whereof, they accompanied and serued our men certaine dayes, trauelling along by the great riuer aforesayd.

Rio del Norte.

Apalito.

Pamphilo de Naruaez entred into Florida 1527.

Rio del Norte.

Within few dayes after they came vnto another great prouince of Indians, from whence they came forth to receiue them, vpon the newes which they had heard of their neighbors, and brought them many very curious things made of feathers of diuers colours, and many mantles of cotton straked with blew and white, like those that are brought from China, to barter & trucke them for other things. All of them both men, women and children were clad in chamois skinnes very good and wel dressed. Our people could neuer vnderstand what nation they were for lacke of an interpreter: howbeit they dealt with them by signes; and hauing shewed vnto them certaine stones of rich metall, and inquired whether there were any such in their countrey: they answered by the same signes, that fiue dayes iourney Westward from thence there was great quantity therof, and that they would conduct them thither, and shew it vnto them; as afterward they performed their promise, & bare them company 22 leagues, which was all inhabited by people of the same nation.

Another prouince.

Very great quantity of siluer.

Next vnto the foresayd prouince they came vnto another further vp the great riuer aforesayd, being much more populous then the former, of whom they were well receiued, and welcomed with many presents, especially of fish, whereof they haue exceeding great store, by reason of certaine great lakes not far from thence, wherein they are bred in the foresayd plenty. They stayed among these people three dayes; all which time both day and night they made before them many dances, according to their fashion, with signification of speciall ioy. They could not learne the name of this nation for want of an interpreter, yet they vnderstood that it extended very farre, and was very great. Among these people they found an Indian of the foresayd nation of the Conchos, who told them, and shewed them by signes, that fifteene dayes iourney from thence toward the West there was a very broad lake, and nere vnto it very great townes, and in them houses of three or foure stories high, and that the people were well apparelled, and the countrey full of victuals and prouision. This Concho offered himselfe to conduct our men thither, whereat our company reioyced, but left off the enterprise, onely to accomplish their intent for which they vndertooke the voyage, which was to go Northward to giue ayd vnto the two friers aforesayd. The chiefe and principall thing that they noted in this prouince was, that it was of very good temperature, and a very rich soile, and had great store of wilde beasts, and wilde-fowle, and abundance of rich metals, and other excellent things, and very profitable.

Another prouince.

Great lakes.

A mighty lake.

Rich metals.

From this prouince they folowed their iourney for the space of fifteene dayes without

Woods of pine trees.

meeting any people all that while, passing thorow great woods and groues of pine trees bearing such fruit as those of Castile: at the end whereof, hauing trauelled, to their iudgement, fourescore leagues, they came vnto a small hamlet or village of fewe people, in whose poore cottages couered with straw they found many deeres-skinnes as well dressed as those of Flanders, with great store of excellent white salt. They gaue our men good entertainment for the space of two dayes while they remained there, after which they bare them company about twelue leagues, vnto certaine great townes, alwayes trauelling by the riuer called Rio del Norte abouesayd, till such time as they came vnto the countrey called by them New Mexico. Here all along the shore of the sayd riuer grew mighty woods of poplar being in some places foure leagues broad, and great store of walnut trees, and vines like those of Castillia.

New Mexico. Woods of poplar and walnut trees. Vines.

Hauing trauelled two dayes thorow the said woods of Poplar and Walnut trees, they came to ten townes situate on both sides of the sayd riuer, besides others which they might see further out of the way, wherein there seemed to be great store of people, and those which they saw were aboue ten thousand persons. In this prouince they receiued them very courteously, and brought them to their townes, whereas they gaue them great plenty of victuals and hennes of the countrey, with many other things, and that with great good will. Here they found houses of foure stories high, very well built, with gallant lodgings, and in most of them were Stooues for the Winter season. Their garments were of Cotton and of deere-skinnes, and the attire both of the men and women is after the maner of the Indians of the kingdome of Mexico. But the strangest thing of all was to see both men and women weare shooes and boots with good soles of neats leather, a thing which they neuer sawe in any other part of the Indies. The women keepe their haire well combed and dressed, wearing nothing els vpon their heads. In all these townes they had Caçiques which gouerned their people like the Caçiques of Mexico, with Sergeants to execute their commandements, who goe thorow the townes proclaiming with a loud voice the pleasure of the Caçiques, commanding the same to be put in execution. In this prouince our men found many idols which they worshipped, and particularly they had in euery house an Oratory for the diuell, whereinto they ordinarily cary him meat: and another thing they found, that as it is an vse among the Christians to erect crosses vpon the high wayes, so haue this people certaine high chapels, in which they say the diuell vseth to take his ease, and to recreat himselfe as he trauelleth from one towne to another; which chapels are maruellously well trimmed and painted. In all their arable grounds, whereof they haue great plenty, they erect on the one side a little cottage or shed standing vpon foure studdes, vnder which the labourers do eat, and passe away the heat of the day, for they are a people much giuen to labour, and doe continually occupy themselues therein. This countrey is full of mountaines and forrests of Pine trees. The weapons that they vse are strong bowes and arrowes headed with flints, which will pierce thorow a coat of male, and macanas which are clubs of halfe a yard long, so beset with sharpe flints, that they are sufficient to cleaue a man asunder in the midst: they vse also a kinde of targets made of raw hides.

Houses of 4 stories high.

These high mountaines are a cause of the coldnes of the countrey.

The prouince of Tiguas. Poala.

Hauing remained foure dayes in this prouince, not farre off they came to another called The prouince of Tiguas conteining sixteene townes, in one whereof, called Poala, they vnderstood that the inhabitants had slaine the two fathers aforesayd, to wit, frier Francis Lopez, and frier Augustus Ruyz, whom they went to seeke, together with the three Indian boyes, and the mestiço. So soone as the people of this towne and their neighbours saw our men there, their owne consciences accusing them, and fearing that our men came to punish them, and to be auenged of the death of the foresaid fathers, they durst not abide their comming, but leauing their houses desolate they fled to the mountaines next adioyning, frō whence they could neuer cause them to descend, although our men attempted the same by diuers deuises and entisements. They found in the townes and houses good store of victuals, with infinite number of hennes in the countrey, and many sorts of metals, whereof some seemed to be very good. They could not perfectly vnderstand what numbers of people this prouince might conteine, by reason they were fled into the mountaines, as I haue sayd before.

Very rich and good metall.

auing found those to be slaine which they went to seeke, they entred into consultation, ther they should returne to Nueua Biscaya, from whence they came, or should proceed her in their iourney; whereabout there were diuers opinions: howbeit, vnderstanding e, that toward the Orient or East parts of that prouince, and very far distant from nce, there were great and rich townes: and finding themselues so far on the way, the captaine Antonio de Espeio with the consent of the foresayd frier called Frier Bernardine tran, and the greater part of his souldiers and companions determined to proceed on the ouery, till such time as they did see to what end it would come; to the end they might e certeine and perfect knowledge thereof to his Maiesty, as eye-witnesses of the same. so with one accord they determined, that while the army lay still there, the captaine two more of his company should prosecute their desire, which they did accordingly. within two dayes iourney they came vnto another prouince, where they found eleuen nes, and much people in them, which in their iudgement were aboue forty thousand sons. The countrey was very fertile and plentifull, whose confines bordered vpon the itories of Cibola, where there are great store of kine, with whose hides and with cotton y apparell themselues, imitating in the forme of their gouernment their next neighbours. his place are signes of very rich mines, some quantity of the metals whereof they found he houses of the Indians; which Indians haue and doe worship idols. They receiued men peaceably, and gaue them victuals. Hauing seene thus much, and the disposition the countrey, they returned to the campe, from whence they departed, to informe their panions of the things aboue mentioned.

This draweth toward Virginia.

Another prouince.

Being returned to the campe they had intelligence of another prouince called Los Quires, ch stood sixe leagues higher vp the riuer called Rio del Norte. And in their iourney herward, being arriued within a league of the place, there came forth very many Indians receiue them in peace, requesting them to beare them company to their townes: which y did, and were maruellous well interteined and cherished. In this prouince they found townes only, wherein were great store of people, and those which they saw were aboue 00 soules, who worship idols as their neighbours do. In one of these townes they found ie in a cage after the maner of Castile, and certaine shadowes or canopies like vnto those ch are brought from China, wherein were painted the Sunne, the Moone, and many res. Where hauing taken the height of the pole-starre, they found themselues to be in degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Northerly latitude.

Quires bordering vpon Rio del Norte.

Seuen & thirty degrees and a halfe.

hey departed out of this prouince, and keeping still the same Northerly course, fourene leagues from thence they found another prouince called The Cunames, where they other fiue townes, the greatest whereof was called Cia, being so large, that it conteined ht market-places, the houses whereof being plaistered and painted with diuers colours, e better then any which they had seene in the prouinces before mentioned: the people ch they heere saw, they esteemed to be aboue twenty thousand persons. They presented ur men many curious mantles, and victuals excellently well dressed; so that our men med this nation to be more curious, and of greater ciuility, and better gouernment, then other that hitherto they had seene. They shewed them rich metals, and the mountaines not farre off whereout they digged them. Heere our people heard of another prouince ding toward the Northwest, wherevnto they purposed to goe.

Cunames, or Punames. Cia a great city.

Rich metals.

auing trauelled about sixe leagues, they came to the sayd prouince, the people whereof e called Ameies, wherin were seuen very great townes, conteining, to their iudgement, ue thirty thousand soules. They reported that one of the seuen townes was very great ire, which our men would not go to see, both because it stood behinde a mountaine, lso for feare of some mishappe, if in case they should be separated one from another. people are like vnto their neighbours of the former prouince, being as well prouided ecessaries as they, and of as good gouernment.

Ameies, or Emexes.

ut fifteene leagues from this prouince, trauelling alwayes toward the West, they found towne called Acoma, conteining aboue sixe thousand persons, and situate vpon an ocke which was aboue fifty paces hie, hauing no other entrance but by a ladder or paire

Acoma or Acoman a towne conteining aboue 6000 persons.

paire of staires hewen into the same rocke, whereat our people maruelled not a little: all the water of this towne was kept in cisternes. The chiefe men of this towne came peaceably to visit the Spanyards, bringing them many mantles, and chamois-skinnes excellently dressed, and great plenty of victuals. Their corne-fields are two leagues from thence, and they fetch water out of a small riuer nere thereunto, to water the same, on the brinks whereof they saw many great banks of Roses like those of Castile. Here are many mountaines that beare shewes of mettals, but they went not to see them, because the Indians dwelling vpon them are many in number, and very warlike. Our men remained in this place three dayes, vpon one of the which the inhabitants made before them a very solemne dance, comming foorth in the same with gallant apparell, vsing very witty sports, wherewith our men were exceedingly delighted.

Signes of metals.

Twenty foure leagues from hence toward the West, they came to a certaine prouince called by the inhabitants themselues Zuny, & by the Spanyards Cibola, containing great numbers of Indians; in which prouince Francisco Vazquez de Coronado had bene, and had erected many crosses and other tokens of Christianity, which remained as yet standing. Heere also they found three Indian Christians which had remained there euer since the said iourny, whose names were Andrew de Culiacan, Gaspar de Mexico, and Antonio de Guadalajara, who had almost forgotten their owne language, but could speake that countrey speech very well; howbeit after some small conference with our men, they easily vnderstood one another. By these three Indians they were informed, that threescore dayes iourney from this place there was a very mighty lake, vpon the bankes whereof stood many great and good townes, and that the inhabitants of the same had plenty of golde, an euident argument wherof was their wearing of golden bracelets & earrings: and also that after the sayd Francis Vasquez de Coronado had perfect intelligence thereof, hee departed out of this prouince of Cibola to goe thither, and that hauing proceeded twelue dayes iourney, he began to want water; and thereupon determined to returne, as he did indeed, with intention to make a second voyage thither at his better opportunity; which afterward he performed not, being preuented of his determined iourney by death.

Zuny or Sunna.

Vasquez de Coronado was here 1540 & 1541.

A mighty lake 60 daies iourney from Cibola. Plenty of golde.

Vpon the newes of these riches the sayd Captaine Antony de Espeio was desirous to go thither; and though some of his companions were of his opinion, yet the greater part and the frier were of the contrary, saying that it was now high time to returne home vnto New Biscay from whence they came, to giue account of that which they had seene: which the sayd greater part within few dayes put in execution, leauing the captaine with nine companions onely that willingly followed him: who after hee had fully certified himselfe of the riches abouesayd, and of the great quantity of excellent mettals that were about that lake, departed out of this prouince of Cibola with his companions; and trauelling directly toward the West, after hee had passed 28 leagues, he foūd another very great prouince, which by estimation conteined aboue 50000 soules: the inhabitants whereof assoone as they vnderstood of their approch, sent them word, vpon paine of death to come no neerer to their townes: whereto the captaine answered, that their comming was in no wise to hurt them, as they should well perceiue, and therefore requested them not to molest him in his intended voyage, and withall gaue to the messenger a reward of such things as they brought with them: who thereupon made so good report of our people, and so appeased the troubled minds of the Indians, that they granted them free accesse vnto their townes, and so they went thither with 15. Indians their friends of the prouince of Cibola aforesaid, and the three Mexican Indians before mentioned. When they were come within a league of the first towne, there came forth to meete them aboue 2000. Indians laden with victuals, whom the Captaine rewarded with some things of small value, which they made great accompt of, and esteemed more precious then gold. As they approched neere vnto the towne which was named Zaguato, a great multitude of Indians came forth to meete them, and among the rest their Caçiques, with so great demonstration of ioy and gladnes, that they cast much meale of Maiz vpon the ground for the horses to tread vpon: with this triumph they entred the towne, where they were very wel lodged and much made of, which the Captaine did in

Another mightie prouince Westward of Cibola 28 leagues, called Mohotze.

Zaguato, or Ahuato a towne.

part requite, giuing to the chiefest among them hats, and beads of glasse, with many such trifles, which he caried with him for the like purpose. The said Caçiques presently gaue notice to the whole prouince of the arriual of these new guests, whom they reported to bee a courteous people, and such as offered them no harme: which was occasion sufficient to make them all come laden with presents vnto our people, and to intreat them to goe and make merry with them in their townes; which they yeelded vnto, though alwayes with great foresight what might follow. Whereupon the Captaine vsed a certaine policie, making the Caçiques beleeue, that forasmuch as his horses were very fierce (for they had told the Indians that they would kill them) therefore it was necessary to make a Fort of lime and stone to inclose them, for the auoyding of such inconueniences as otherwise might happen vnto the Indians by them. This tale was so stedfastly beleeued by the Caçiques, that in fiue houres they assembled such store of people together, that with incredible celeritie they built the said Fort which our men required.

A witty policie to be vsed by the English in like cases.

Moreouer, when the Captaine saide that he would depart, they brought vnto him a present of 40000. mantles of cotton, both white and of other colours, and great store of handtowels, with tassels at the corners, with diuers other things, and among the rest rich mettals, which seemed to holde much siluer. Among these Indians they learned very much concerning The great Lake aforesaide, whose report agreed wholly with the relation of the former, as touching the riches and great abundance of gold about that lake.

Rich metals.

Great abundance of gold.

The Captaine reposing great confidence in this people & in their good disposition toward him determined after certaine dayes, to leaue there fiue of his companions with the rest of his Indian friends, that they might returne with his cariages to the prouince of Zuni, while himselfe with the foure other which remained should ride in post to discouer certaine very rich Mines, whereof he had perfect information. And putting this his purpose in execution he departed with his guides, and hauing traueiled due-west 45. leagues he came vnto the said Mines, and tooke out of the same with his owne hands exceeding rich metals holding great quantitie of siluer: and the mines which were of a very broad veine were in a mountaine whereon they might easily ascend, by reason of an open way that led vp to the same. Neere vnto these mines were certaine townes of Indians dwelling vpon the mountaines, who shewed them friendship, & came forth to receiue them with crosses on their heads, and other tokens of peace. Hereabout they found two riuers of a reasonable bignesse, vpon the banks whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, and great groues of walnut-trees, and much flaxe like that of Castile: and they shewed our men by signes, that behinde those mountaines there was a riuer about 8. leagues broad, but they could not learne how neere it was: howbeit the Indians made demonstration that it ran towards the North sea, and that vpon both sides thereof stood many townes of so great bignesse, that in comparison thereof those wherein they dwelt were but small hamlets.

Exceeding rich Mines of siluer

A mighty Riuer of eight leagues broad running toward the North sea. Perhaps this Riuer may fall into the Chesepiouk bay, or into the great lake of Tadoac.

After he had receiued all this information, the said Captaine returned toward the prouince of Zuni, whither he had sent his said companions: and being arriued there in safety, hauing trauailed vpon a very good way, he found in the same place his 5. companions, & the said father Frier Bernardin Beltran, with the souldiers which were determined to returne, as is aforesaid, but vpō certaine occasions were not as yet departed: whom the inhabitants had most friendly intreated, & furnished with all things necessary in abundance, as afterward likewise they vsed the Captaine, and those that came with him, comming foorth to meete them with shew of great ioy, and giuing them great store of victuals to serue them in their iourney homewards, and requesting them to returne againe with speed, and to bring many Castilians with them (for so they call the Spaniards) to whom they promised food sufficient. For the better performance whereof they sowed that yeere more graine and other fruits, then they had done at any time before.

Zuni.

At this present the Frier and souldiers aforesaid resolued themselues in their former determination, & agreed to returne vnto the prouince from whence they came with intention before mentioned, to seek the two Friers that were slaine, to whom also Gregorio Hernandez who had bene standard-bearer in the iourney, ioyned himselfe. Who being departed, the Captaine accompanied onely with 8. souldiers, determined to prosecute his former attempt, & to passe vp higher the saide riuer called Rio del Norte, which he did accordingly. And hauing traueiled about 60. leagues toward the prouince of the Quires aforesaid, 12 leagues frō thence toward the Orient or East they found a prouince of Indians called Hubates, who receiued them peaceably, and gaue them great store of victuals, informing them also of very rich Mines which they found whereout they got glistering & good metal, and therewith returned to the towne from whence they came. This prouince contained by their estimation 25000. persons all very well apparelled in coloured mantles of cotton, and Chamois-skins very well dressed. They haue many mountaines full of Pines and Cedars, and the houses of their townes are of 4. and 5. stories high. Here they had notice of another prouince distant about one dayes iourney frō thence inhabited by certaine Indians called Tamos, and containing aboue 40000. soules: whither being come the inhabitants would neither giue them any victuals, nor admit them into their townes: for which cause, and in regard of the danger wherein they were, and because some of the souldiers were not well at ease, and for that they were so fewe (as we haue said) they determined to depart thence, and to returne toward the land of the Christians, which they put in execution in the beginning of Iuly 1583, being guided by an Indian that went with them, who led them another way then they went forth by, downe a riuer, which they called Rio de las vacas; that is to say, The riuer of oxen, in respect of the great multitudes of oxen or kine that fed vpon the bankes thereof, by the which they traueiled for the space of 120. leagues, still meeting with store of the said cattell. From hence they went forward to the riuer of Conchos by which they entered, and thence to the valley of S. Bartholomew, from whence they first entered into their discouerie. Vpon their cōming thither they found that the said Frier Bernardin Beltran and his company were safely arriued at the said towne many dayes before, & were gone from thence to the towne of Guadiana. In this towne the foresaid captaine Anthony de Espeio made most certaine relation of all that is aforesaid, which relation presently hee sent vnto the Conde of Corunna Vizroy of Nueua Espanna, who sent the same to his Maiestie, & the Lords of his royal counsel of the Indies, to the end they might take such order as they thought best, which they haue already performed with great care and circumspection.

60. leagues.

Hubates.

Very rich Mines.

Houses of 4. and fiue stories high.

Tamos.

Their returne.

Rio de las vacas.

120. leagues.

Guadiana.

Almighty God vouchsafe his assistance in this busines, that such numbers of soules redeemed by his blood may not vtterly perish, of whose good capacitie, wherein they exceed those of Mexico and Peru (as we be giuen to vnderstand by those that haue delt with them) we may boldly presume that they will easily embrace the Gospel, and abandon such idolatrie as now the most of them doe liue in: which Almightie God graunt for his honour and glory, and for the increase of the holy Catholique faith.

A letter of Bartholomew Cano from Mexico the 30. of May 1590. to Francis Hernandes of Siuil, concerning the speedy building of two strong Forts in S. Iohn de Vllua, and in Vera Cruz, as also touching a notable new and rich discouery of Cibola or New Mexico 400. leagues Northwest of Mexico.

IT may please you Sir, to be aduertised that I haue receiued your letters, whereby I vnderstand that our ship with the treasure is safely arriued, God be praised therefore. The frigate arriued here in safetie which brought the letters of Aduise from the King to the Viceroy. She arriued in S. Iohn de Vllua the 29. of May, & departed from S. Lucar in Spaine the 6. of April. By which his Maiestie writeth vnto the Viceroy, what time the Fleete shall depart from hence, and what course they shall take, not as they had wont for to do: by reason that there are great store of men of war abroad at the sea, which meane to encounter with the Fleete. I pray God sende them well to Spaine: for here wee were troubled very sore with men of warre on this coast. His Maiestie hath sent expresse cōmandement vnto the Marques of Villa Manrique his cosen, Viceroy of Noua Hispania, that immediatly vpon sight of his letters he shal cōmand to be builded in S. Iohn de Vllua, & in

The marches of Villa Maurique Viceroy of Noua Hispania, in Vera Cruz two strong Forts for the defence of these countries, of his Maiesties charges: And that there shalbe garisons in both the Forts for the defence of the ships which ride there, and for the strength of the countrey.

There are departed out of Mexico and other townes hereabout by the commaundement of the Viceroy 500. souldiers Spaniards, vnder the cōduct of Rodrigo del Rio the gouernour of Nueua Biscaia which are gone to win a great City called Cibola, which is 400. leagues beyond Mexico to the Northwest, and standeth vp in the maine land. It is by report a very great citie, as bigge as Mexico, and a very rich countrey both of golde Mines and siluer Mines: and the King of the countrey is a mighty King, and he will not become subiect to his Maiestie. There were certaine Spaniards sent to that king from the Viceroy in an ambassage: It is thought that they are slaine, for we can here no newes of them.

500. Spaniards sent to conquer the great citie of Cibola which is 400. leagues from Mexico North westward.

The other newes that I can certifie you of at this instant is, that there is a Iudge of the city of Guadalajara called don Nunno de villa Inscensia lately maried. Also the kings Atturney of Guadalajara maried his daughter of 8. yeres old with a boy of 12. yeres old. But the Viceroy saith that he hath a warrant from his Maiestie, that if any Iudge whatsoeuer dwelling in that kingdome of Guadalajara should mary any sonne in that iurisdiction, that then the said Viceroy is to depriue him of his office. And therefore he went about to depriue the Iudge & the kings Attourney of their offices. Whereupon the people of that prouince would not thereunto consent, nor suffer them to be dismissed of their offices, nor to be arrested, nor caried prisoners to Mexico. When the viceroy had intelligence thereof, & that the Countrey did resist his commandement, and would not suffer them to be apprehended, he sent certaine Captaines with souldiers to goe and apprehend the Iudge, the kings Attourney, and as many as did take their parts. So the citizens of Guadalajara withstood the viceroies forces, & put themselues in defence; and are vp in armes against the viceroy: yet they do not rebel against the king, but say: God saue king Philip, and will submit themselues to his Maiestie, but not to the viceroy. So that all the kingdome of Guadalajara is vp in armes, and are all in a mutinie against vs of Mexico. I beseech Almighty God to remedy it, and that it may be qualified in time: or else all Noua Spania wil be vtterly spoiled. I write this thing, because it is publiquely knowen in all places. And thus I rest, from Mexico the 30. of May 1590.

A dangerous rebellion in Guadalajara a prouince of Noua Hispania.

Bartholomew Cano.

THE FIRST AND SECOND DISCOUERY

OF THE GULFE OF CALIFONIA, AND OF THE SEA-COAST ON THE NORTHWEST OR BACK SIDE OF AMERICA, LYING TO THE WEST OF NEW MEXICO, CIBOLA AND QUIUIRA, TOGETHER WITH SIR FRANCIS DRAKES LANDING AND TAKING POSSESSION VPON NOUA ALBION IN THE BEHALFE OF THE CROWNE OF ENGLAND, AND THE NOTABLE VOYAGE OF FRANCIS GAULE; WHEREIN AMONGST MANY OTHER MEMORABLE MATTERS IS SET DOWNE THE HUGE BREDTH OF THE OCEAN SEA FROM CHINA AND IAPAN TO THE NORTHWEST PARTS OF AMERICA, IN THE 38. AND 40. DEGREES.

A relation of the discouery, which in the Name of God the Fleete of the right noble Fernando Cortez Marques of the Vally, made with three ships; The one called Santa Agueda of 120. tunnes, the other the Trinitie of 35. tunnes, and the thirde S. Thomas of the burthen of 20. tunnes. Of which Fleete was Captaine the right worshipfull knight Francis de Vlloa borne in the Citie of Merida. Taken out of the third volume of the voyages gathered by M. Iohn Baptista Ramusio.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vlloa a captaine of Cortez departeth with a Fleet from the port of Acapulco, and goeth to discouer vnknowen lands, he passeth by the coast of Sacatula and Motin, and by tempest runneth to the riuer of Guajaual, frō whence he crosseth ouer to the hauen of Santa Cruz, along the coast whereof he discouereth 3. smal Ilands, and within two dayes and an halfe returning to the maine land he discouereth the riuer called Rio de san Pedro y san Pablo, and not far distant from thence two other riuers as big or greater then that of Guadalquiuir which runneth by Siuil, together with their head-springs.

Acapulco in 17. degrees of latitude.

The coast of Sacatula and Motin.

S. Iago de Colima.

The Isles of Xalisco.

Guajaual.

Santa Cruz in the point of California.

Three Ilands.

Rio de san Pedro y san Pablo.

Two great riuers.

Certaine great lakes.

WE imbarked our selues in the hauen of Acapulco on the 8. of Iuly in the yeere of our Lord 1539, calling vpon almighty God to guide vs with his holy hand vnto such places where he might be serued, and his holy faith aduanced. And we sailed from the said port by the coast of Sacatula and Motin, which is sweete and pleasant through the abundance of trees that grow thereon, and riuers which passe through those countreis, for the which wee often thanked God the creatour of them. So sailing along we came to the hauen of S. Iago in the prouince of Colima: but before we arriued there, the maine mast of our ship called Santa Agueda was broken by a storme of winde that tooke vs, so as the ship was forced to saile without her mast vntil we arriued in the said hauen. From the port of Acapulco to this hauen of Colima wee were sayling the space of 20. dayes. Here wee stayed to mende our mast and to take in certaine victuals, water, and wood, the space of 27. dayes. And wee departed from the saide hauen the 23. of August, and sayling by the Isles of Xalisco the 27. or 28. of the saide moneth wee were taken with an extreame tempest wherein wee thought we should haue perished, and being tossed and weather-beaten, wee ranne as farre as the riuer of Guajaual in the Prouince of Culiacan. In this storme wee lost the pinnesse called Sant Thomas, and because wee had lost her wee crossed ouer to the port of Santa Cruz in California: for while wee were so beaten in the former tempest, the pilot of the Barke signified vnto vs, that he perceiued she beganne to leake, and that already she had receiued in much water, insomuch that she beganne to founder: whereupon, to helpe her neede, and that wee might meete together in a knowen hauen, if by chance the tempest should separate vs, as it did indeed, we willed him to repaire to the hauen of Santa Cruz, where we meant to repaire his harmes and our owne. Wherefore being all arriued in this place of Santa Cruz, wee stayed there fiue dayes and tooke in water, wherein we heard no newes of our Barke which we had lost: Whereupon the Captaine resolued to follow on our voyage; wherefore we set saile the 12. of September, and as wee sailed wee saw along the coast of the saide hauen 3. Islands, whereof the Captaine made no great accompt, thinking their coulde be no great good found in any of them. These Islands seemed not to be great; wherefore he commanded the Masters and pilotes to proceed on their voyage, and not to leese time without any profit. So sailing ouer the gulfe of California, in two dayes and an halfe we came to the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, finding before we entred into the same a small Island in the mouth of the Riuer, being 4. or 5. miles distant from the maine. On both sides of this Riuer wee beheld goodly and pleasant great plaines full of many greene and beautifull trees, and farther within the land we beheld certaine exceeding high mountaines full of woods very pleasant to beholde. From this Riuer wee sailed still along the coast the space of 15. leagues, in which course wee found two other Riuers in our iudgement as great or greater then Guadalquiuir the Riuer of Siuilia in Spaine. Al the coast by these Riuers is plaine as the other which we had passed, with many woods: likewise within the lande appeared great mountaines couered with woods very beautifull to beholde, and beneath in the plaine appeared certaine lakes of water. From these Riuers we sailed 18. leagues, and found very pleasant plaines, and certaine great lakes whose mouthes opened into the Sea: here our Captaine thought good throughly to discouer what those lakes were, and to search whether there were any good hauen for his ships to ride in, or to harbour themselues, if any tempest should arise; and so hee commaunded a boat to be hoised out into the Sea, with a Master and fiue or sixe men to view them, and to sound the depth, and bottom of them: who went thither, and found the coast very sholde, and the mouthes of the lakes; whereupon they made no accompt of them, onely because the shore was so shallow, for otherwise the land was very pleasant. Here at euening we saw on the shore 10. or 12. Indians and fires. The aforesaide two Riuers are two leagues distant the one from the other little more or lesse, and are great, as I haue saide, and being in the last of them we went vp to the ship-top, and saw many lakes, and one among the rest exceeding great, and wee supposed that they had their springs out of this great lake, as other Riuers also haue from other lakes, for wee sawe the course of them seuerally each by themselues, hauing goodly woods growing all along their bankes. The currents of these Riuers might be discerned three leagues within the Sea: and at the mouthes of them were many small stakes set vp for markes: the shore here is plaine and sandie, and the countrey very pleasant.

Chap. 2.

Sailing along the coast from the two aforesaid great Riuers, they discouer three mouthes of lakes and a goodly Countrey, they come vnto Cabo Roxo, and take possession of those countreys for the Emperours Maiesty. A discourse of the faire hauens that are on those coastes, and of very many Islands which they saw, before they came to the Cape called Capo de las Plaias.

THis day wee sailed along the coast the space of 16. leagues, and in the midst of this voyage there is a Bay very faire of 4. or 5. leagues, hauing certaine bankes or fences in it, in beholding whereof we tooke great pleasure. The night following we road in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage toward the North, and hauing sailed 3. or 4. leagues we saw 3. mouthes of lakes which entred into the land, where they became like standing pooles. Wee road a league distance from these mouthes in 6. fadome water, to see what they were, and sent our boat with certaine men, to see if there were any entry for our ships: for halfe a league from shore we had not past one or two fadome water. Here our men saw 7. or 8. Indians, and found sundry sorts of greene herbes somewhat differing from those of Nueua Espanna. The Countrey is plaine, but farre within land they saw great and small hils extending themselues a great way, and being very faire and pleasant to behold. The day following we proceeded on our voyage sayling alwayes in sight of the plaine coast toward the Northwest, in 10. or 15. fadome water. And hauing sailed 6. good leagues we found a Bay on the coast within the land of about 5. leagues ouer, from whence the coast trendeth Northwest, and this day we sailed about 16. leagues. All this coast is plaine, and not so pleasant as that which we had passed: here are certaine small hilles, but not so high as those which we had found before. Thus we sailed all night Northwest, and vntil the next day at noone, at which time we fell with a headland of white sand, where by the height which we tooke that day we found our selues to be in the latitude of 27. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. This cape we called Capo Roxo. All the coast is plaine and faire and cleane sand, and we saw within land some few trees not very great, with certaine mountaines & woods 3. or 4. leagues distant from the said cape: and here likewise appeared a mouth of a riuer, which (as far as we could discerne) made certaine lakes vp within the land: frō the mouth whereof for the space of a league into the sea it seemed to be very sholde, because the sea did breake very much. Here we saw within the land 3. or 4. riuers. In this sort we sailed on our voiage to the Northward, & because we had not good weather we road that night in a great hauen lying in our way, where on the shore wee saw certaine plaines, and vp within the land certaine hilles not very high: and continuing our course toward the North about 3. leagues from this hauen, we found an Iland of about one league in circuite lying before the mouth of the said hauen. And sailing forward we found an hauen which hath two mouthes into the Sea, into which we entered by the Northermost mouth, which

The coast runneth Northward.

Capo Roxo.

The coast runneth Northward.

hath 10. or 12. fadome water, & so decreaseth till it come to 5. fadome, where we anckered in a poole which the Sea maketh, which is a strange thing to beholde, for there are so many entrances & mouths of streames and hauens, that we were all astonied at the sight thereof; and these hauens are so excellently framed by nature, as the like are not to be seene in the world, wherein we found great store of fish. Here wee anckered, and the Captaine went on shore, and tooke possession, vsing all such ceremonies as thereunto belong. Here also wee found certaine weares to catch fish made by the Indians, and certaine small cottages, wherein were diuers pieces of earthen pots as finely made as those in Spaine. Here by cōmandement of the Captaine a Crosse was erected vpon an hill, and it was set vp by Francis Preciado. In this place we saw the Countrey full of fresh and greene grasse, howbeit differing from that of New Spaine, and vp within the Countrey wee saw many great and very greene mountaines. This Countrey seemed very goodly and delightsome to all of vs, in regard of the greennesse and beautie thereof, and we iudged it to be very populous within the land. From this hauen we departed and kept our way toward the Northwest with good weather, and began to finde hard by the sea-shore exceeding high mountaines spotted with white, and in them we saw many foules which had their nestes in certaine holes of those rocks, and sailed 10. leagues vntil night, all which night we were becalmed. The next day we followed our course Northwest with good weather: and from that day forward we began to see on the Westerne shore (whereon the foresaid hauen of S. Cruz standeth) certaine Islands or high lands, whereat we reioyced not a little. And so sayling forward we met with an Island about two leagues in bignesse, and on the East shore hauing still the maine land and Islands in sight, we sailed 15. leagues vntil the euening, alwayes finding hard by the sea-coast exceeding high mountaines bare of trees, the land appearing still more plainely vnto vs on the Westerne shore. Whereupon wee began to be of diuers opinions, some thinking that this coast of Santa Cruz was a firme land, and that it ioyned with the continent of Nueua Espanna, others thought the contrary, and that they were nothing else but Islands, which were to the Westward. And in this sort we proceeded forward, hauing the land on both sides of us, so farre, that we all began to wonder at it. This day we sailed some 15. leagues, and called this Cape Capo de las Plaias.

Fishing weares like those of Virginia.

An Island.

Some take the land of California to be nothing but Islands.

Chap. 3.

Of the Streight which they discouered on the coast of Capo de las Plaias, and of the pleasant Countrey which they found before they came to the rockes called Los diamantes. Of the wonderfull whitenesse of that Sea, and of the ebbing and flowing thereof: and of the multitude of Islands and lands, which extend themselues Northward from the hauen of Santa Cruz.

THe day folowing we sailed vntil night with so good weather, that we ran about 20. leagues. All this coast along the shore is full of little hilles without grasse or trees: and that night we anckered in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage beginning to saile before breake of day Northwestward, and we came into the midst of a Streight or mouth which was 12 leagues broad from one land to the other, which Streight had two Ilands in the midst thereof being 4. leagues distant the one from the other: and here we discerned the countrey to be plaine, and certaine mountaines, & it seemed that a certaine gut of water like a brooke ran through the plaine. This streight (as far as we could perceiue) was very deep, for we could finde no botome: and here we saw the land stretching afarre off from the one shore to the other, and on the Westerne shore of the hauen of S. Cruz, the land was more high with very bare mountaines. The day following we passed on our way toward the North, and sailed some 15. leagues, and in the midst of our way we found a circuit or bay of 6. leagues into the land with many cooues or creeks, and the next day following continuing our course we sailed some 10. leagues, and the coast in this dayes iourney was all of high mountaines naked and bare without any tree. It is very deepe hard by the shore, and that night we were constrained to stay by reason of the contrary winde. The next morning

A Streight of 12. leagues broad, of exceeding depth.

The Streight here runneth Northward.

before breake of day we sailed still along the coast to the Northwest vntil euening, and ranne about some 15. leagues. All along this shore wee sawe very goodly mountaines within the land, and many plaines and downes with some few trees, & the sea shore was all sandy. In the midst of this dayes course we found certaine small rockes in the sea 4 leagues distant from the maine, were the said land maketh a great point into the sea, and here we stayed the rest of the night, where we had a very great shower of raine. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, and sailed vntill night by a compasse or turning, some 8. or 9. leagues, and saw within land a few mountaines hauing no trees vpon them, but the Sunne shining alwayes very cleare, as farre as wee could descry, they were very great, on the Westerne shore of the hauen of Santa Cruz. Here we stayed all night because we found very shallow water and sawe the sea very white, and in a maner like to chalke, so that we all beganne to maruelle thereat. The day following wee went forward againe along the coast Northwestward, and sailed eight leagues, and saw another land which stretched Northwest, and was full of high mountaines. And still continuing this course we searched very diligently to see if there were any passage through betweene both the landes, for right forward wee sawe no land. And thus sayling wee alwayes found more shallow water, and the Sea thicke, blacke, and very muddie, and came at length into fiue fadome water: and seeing this, wee determined to passe ouer to the land which wee had seene on the other side, and here likewise wee found as little depth and lesse, whereupon we rode all night in fiue fadome water, and wee perceiued the Sea to runne with so great a rage into the land, that it was a thing much to be marueilled at, and with the like fury it returned backe againe with the ebbe: during which time wee found 11. fadome water, and the flood and ebbe continued from sixe to sixe houres.

Small rocks called Los Diamantes.

The day following the Captaine and Pilote went vp to the shippes top, and sawe all the lande full of sand in a great round compasse, and ioyning it selfe with the other shore, and it was so low, that whereas wee were a league from the same wee could not well discerne it, and it seemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes, whereby the Sea went in and out. There were diuers opinions amongst vs, and some thought that that current entered into those lakes, and also that some great Riuer there might be the cause thereof. And when we could perceiue no passage through, nor could discerne the countrey to be inhabited, the Captaine accompanied with certaine of vs went to take possession thereof. The same day with the ebbe of the Sea wee fell downe from the other coast from the side of Nueua Espanna, though alwayes we had in sight the firme land on the one side of vs, and the other Islands on our left hande, on the side of the port of Santa Cruz situate on the Westerne shore: for on that side there are so many Islands and lands, so farre as we could descry, that it was greatly to be wondered at: for from the said hauen of Santa Cruz, and from the coast of Culiacan we had alwayes in a maner land on both sides of vs, and that so great a countrey, that I suppose if it should so continue further inwarde, there is countrey ynough for many yeeres to conquer. This day wee had the winde contrary, and cast ancker vntil the flood increased, which was in the afternoone, and then wee set saile likewise with contrary winde vntill midnight, and then cast ancker.

The next day wee departed, shaping our course along the coast Southwest, vntill midnight with little winde, and wee sawe within the land high mountaines with some openings, and wee made way some three leagues, and all the next night wee were becalmed, and the next day we continued our course but a little while, for we sailed not aboue fiue leagues, and all the night were becalmed, and sawe the lande full of bare and high mountaines, and on our left hande wee descried a plaine countrey, and saw in the night certaine fires.

Chap. 4.

They land vpon an Island to discouer the same, and there they see many fires, which issue out of certaine mountaines, and many Seale-fishes. Here they take an Indian, and can not vnderstand his language. Running along they discouer another Island, and take possession thereof for the Emperours Maiestie, and a great hauen in the firme land, which they call Ancon de Sant Andres, or The hauen of S. Andrew.

Burning mountaines.

THe next day following our course we saw a great hauen with an Iland in the sea, within a crosse-bow shoote of the firme land, and in this Island and on the firme land were seene many smokes by the iudgement of all the company; wherefore the captaine thought good that wee should goe on land to know the certainty of these smokes and fires, himselfe taking ten or twelue of vs with a boate in his company: and going on shore in the Island, we found that the smokes proceeded out of certaine mountaines and breaches of burned earth, whereout ascended into the aire certaine cinders and ashes which mounted vp to the middle region of the aire, in such great quantitie, that we could not esteeme lesse then twenty lodes of wood to bee burned for the causing of euery of those smokes, whereat wee were all not a little amazed.

Abundance of Seales.

A raft of canes.

Bottles of beasts skins and fish-hooks of bone.

In this Island were such abundance of Seales, as it was wonderful. Here we stayed that day, and killed a great number of these Seals, with whom we had some trouble: for they were so many, and ayded one another so well, that it was strange to behold; for it fell out, that while we were occupied in killing some of them with staues, they assembled twentie or thirty together, and lifting themselues vp assayled vs with their feete in a squadron, and ouerthrew two or three of our company on the ground: whereupon letting goe those which they had in their hands, they and the others escaped vs and went into the sea, howbeit wee killed good store of them, which were so fatte as it was wonderfull: and when we opened some of them to haue their liuers, we found certaine small blacke stones in their bodies, whereat wee much marueiled. The next day wee rode at anker here for lacke of good weather to sayle withall: whereupon the Captaine determined to goe on shore with nine or ten in his company, to see whether there were any people there, or any signe of people that had bene there, and they found on the maine land seuen or eight Indians like to Chichimecas, which were gone a fishing, and had a raft of canes; who so soone as they espied vs ranne away and betooke themselues to flight, but being pursued by vs, in the end we tooke one of them, whose language was so strange that wee could by no meanes vnderstand him; his clothing was nothing at all, for he was starke naked. These people caried their water in bottels made of beasts skins, they fished with hookes of bone, and wee found good store of their fishes, whereof we tooke three or foure dozen.

The Indian which we had taken seeing himselfe in our hands did nothing but weepe, but the Captaine called him, and made much of him, giuing him certaine beades, with a hat and certaine hookes of ours, and then let him goe. And it seemed that after hee was returned to his companions, he declared vnto them how we had done him no harme at all, shewing them the things which we had giuen him: whereupon they also determined to come vnto vs to our boate, but because it was now night, and that our shippes were farre from vs, we forced not to stay for them, especially because it was a bad place and a dangerous. This countrey hath on the sea-coast high and bare mountaines with certaine grasse in some places like vnto our broomes, or like vnto woods of rosemary.

Ancon de S. Andres, or The hauen of S. Andrew in 32 degrees.

The next day wee sayled neere to the coast on the same side, with very scarce winde, and in a manner calme, and ranne not aboue fiue leagues, and all the night following we lay becalmed, and we saw on the shore fiue or sixe fires. The land is high with very high mountaines without grasse, hauing certaine caues in them: the next day also, and part of the night following we were becalmed: and the morow after we followed our course along the sayd coast, and passed betweene a great Island full of exceeding high mountaines, and the maine land, where we saw a very great hauen in the firme land in which wee ankered to see what it was, and being come to an anker, the Captaine and some of vs went on land the same day to see if there were any people and fresh water, and wee found certaine small cottages couered with drie grasse, with certaine little staues layd ouerthwart, and we went a little way into the countrey which was very baren, by certaine small and streight pathes, and found a little pond or pit, but drie and without water; and here the Captaine tooke possession for the Marques of the valley in the name of his Maiestie, and after this we returned to our ship, and that night we sawe foure or fiue fires on the land. The next day the Captaine determined, because hee had seene these fires, to goe on shore, and so with our two boates we went fifteene or twenty of vs vnto certaine crooked strands two leagues from the place where our ships rode, and where we had seene the fires, and we found two Indians of exceeding huge stature, so that they caused vs greatly to wonder; they caried their bowes and arrowes in their hands, and as soone as they saw vs leap on shore they ran away, and wee followed them vnto their dwellings and lodgings, which were certaine cottages and bowers couered with boughs, and there we found great and small steps of many people, but they had no kind of victuals but onely cuttle-fishes which wee found there. The countrey toward the sea side seemed but barren, for we saw neither trees nor greene grasse there, yet were there certaine smal pathes not well beaten, and along the sea-coast we saw many tracts of dogges, hares, and conies, and in certaine small Islands neere vnto the maine we saw Seale-fishes. This hauen is called Ancon de Sant Andres.

Two Indians of exceeding huge stature.

Ancon de Sant Andres.

Chap. 5.

They discouer a mountainous Island very great, and neere vnto it certaine other Islands with a goodly greene and pleasant countrey. They haue sight of certaine Indians in Canoas of canes, whose language sounded like the Flemish tongue, with whome they could not haue any traffique.

THe next day we proceeded on our voyage, sayling betweene the maine and an Island, which we suppose to be in circuit about a hundreth or eighty leagues, sayling sometimes within one, and sometimes within two leagues of the maine. The soile of this Island is of certaine mountaines not very steepe with caues in them, and as farre as wee could descrie by the coast, there appeared no signe of any plaine countrey. Here from this day forward wee began to bee afraid, considering that we were to returne to the port of Santa Cruz; for it was supposed, that all along this mighty gulfe from the entrance in at Culiacan vntil the returning backe vnto the said hauen, was all firme land, and also because wee had the firme land alwayes on our right hand and it goeth round circle-wise vnto the sayd hauen; but many thought and hoped that we should finde some mouth or out-let, whereby wee might passe through vnto the other coast. What our successe was we will declare in the relation following.

A great Island.

The next day being Thursday wee sayled with scant winde, for it was almost calme, and passed beyond that great Island, hauing firme land alwayes on our right hand, and coasting (as I sayd) very neere vnto it. The next day likewise we sayled with little winde, it being in a manner calme, and passed neere vnto the shore by certaine round baies, and certaine points which the land made, which was pleasant to behold being somewhat greene, and there seemed to be some creeke there. This Friday at night wee sayled altogether with a fresh gale, and at breake of day wee were betweene the maine land, and an Island on our left hand, which was somewhat big, as farre as we could discerne. here was a great bay in the firme land, and before it was a point which stretched farre into the sea. The firme land seemed to bee much fresher and pleasanter then those lands which we had passed, hauing many bankes and hilles of indifferent height, and beautifull to behold.

They returne from the bottome of the gulf of California.

Another Islãd.

The countrey (as farre as wee could discerne) was so pleasant and delightfull, that wee all desired to goe on shore, and to search vp into it two or three dayes iourney, to see whether it were inhabited or not. Wee saw within the land of that bay two fires. The night following being Saturday we sailed continually with a prosperous and fresh gale, and the wind was so great that we drew our bonet to our maine sayle, and sayled so till the morning.

On Sunday the twelfth of October we found our selues altogether inclosed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compassed vs before and behinde, and on the left hand with an Island of a league and a halfe; and betweene the maine and the Island in the midst of the sea there lay a small Islet, and also betweene the sayd maine and the Island there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a passage whereby afterwad we passed through. This maine was much more fresh and greene then the other which wee had passed, and had certaine plaines and points of mountaines of pleasant view, and full of greene grasse. Here all this night we saw two or three villages which were very great, and at breake of day we saw a Canoa or boate made of canes, which came from the land out of a creeke, and wee stood still vntill it came neere vnto vs in the ship, and they began to speake in their language which no man vnderstood, whose pronuntiation was like to the Flemings, and being called they returned with great haste vnto the shore, and we were very sory because our boate had not followed them.

Here happened vnto vs a very strange thing, which was, that as this Indian returned to the shore in certaine of these creekes where a number of his fellow Indians were, as wee viewed that part, we sawe fiue Canoas issue foorth, which came toward vs: whereupon wee stayed to see what they would doe. In the meane while our Admirall came vp vnto vs, which was neere the shore, for she also had seene them, and so being come together we cast anker, expecting what those Canoas would doe. In the meane while our Generall commanded vs to make ready our boate, and to furnish the same with oares and men, to trie if we could by any meanes take some of them, that we might come to some knowledge of them, and that wee might giue them some of our trifles, and specially of our hookes and beads to winne their friendship. The Indians with their fiue Canoas approched within one or two stones cast of vs, and then began to speake very loude vnto vs in a very strange language, alwayes standing vpon their guard to retire themselues with speede. When our Captaine saw this, and that they would not come neere vs, but rather retired, he commanded sixe mariners to goe into the boate from the sterne of the ship, and himselfe also went with them with all possible haste toward the Indians. The Indians returned to the shore with so great celeritie, that they seemed to flie in those little Canoas of canes. Neuerthelesse our men vsed such diligence that one of the Canaos was boorded & taken; but the Indian in the Canoa seeing himselfe now taken leapt into the water, and our men followed with their boat to take him, but seeing himselfe within their reach, he ducked with his head vnder their boate, and so deceiued them, and then rose vp againe, and with their oares and with staues they gaue him certaine blowes, to amaze him, but nothing would serue them; for as they were about to lay handes vpon him hee still diued vnder water, and with his hands and feete got neere to the shore: and as he rose vp aboue the water, hee called to his felowes which stood on the shore to behold, crying Belen with a loud voyce, and so they pursued him, and strooke him sometimes being very neere the shore, and he alwayes went calling the rest of his fellowes to come and helpe him, whereupon within a short while after three other Canoas came foorth to succour him, being full of Indians with bowes and arrowes in their handes, crying with a loude voyce, that wee should come on shore: these Indians were of great stature and saluage, fat also and well set, and of a browne colour. Our Captaine perceiuing this, least they should wound any of our people with their arrowes, returned backe, and commanded vs immediately to set sayle, and so foorthwith wee departed.

This day the wind skanted, and we returned to anker in the foresayd place, and our Admirall rode from the firme land toward the Island, and wee which were in the ship called The Trinitie lay neere vnto the maine, and before breake of day wee departed with a fresh gale. And before we disemboqued out of that chanell we saw certaine grasse very high and greene vpon the maine: whereupon a mariner, and the Pilot went vp into the top, and saw the mouth of a riuer which ranne through that greene countrey into the sea. But because our

Admirall was vnder all her sayles farre from vs, we could not tell them of this riuer, where wee would haue taken water, whereof we had some neede, and because it was a very good hauen to goe on shore to take it, and therefore without watering we followed our course. On Munday we departed from this hauen which is like vnto a lake, for on all sides we were compassed with land, hauing the continent before, behinde vs, and on our right side, and the Island on our left side, and we passed foorth at those mouthes before mentioned, which shewed an out-let into the open sea. Thus wee sayled along still viewing the situation of the countrey, reioycing all of vs at the sight thereof, for it alwayes pleased vs more and more, still appearing more greene and pleasant, and the grasse which wee found neere vnto the shore was fresh and delectable, but not very high, being (to all our iudgements) not past a spanne long. Likewise the hilles which wee saw, which were many, and many downes made a very pleasant prospect, especially because we iudged, that there were many valleys and dales betweene them.

Port Belen a very good hauen.

Chap. 6.

They discouer a very great bay with foure small Islands in it, whereas they take possession. As they sayle along and discouer diuers Islands they come at length to the port of Santa Cruz, where not being able to get any knowledge of those Indians, although they lay in waite for them at a place called The well of Grijalua, they departed thence. They haue a perilous and long tempest, which ceased, after they had seene a light on their shrowdes.

AT our comming out of these openings we began to finde a Bay with a very great hauen, enuironed with diuers small hilles hauing vpon them greene woods and pleasant to behold. In this bay and strand were two small Islands neere vnto the shore, one of the which was like vnto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almost as big as the former. These Islands serued vs onely to content our sight, for we passed by them without staying, hauing but a slacke wind on Munday morning: all which day we followed our course with the foresayd slacke winde, and within a while after it became flat contrary, so that we were constrained to anker at the sayd point of the sayd hauen; and on Tewesday at breake of day we set sayle, but made but little away all the day, because the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this hauen; but about midnight wee began to haue a fresh gale, and on Wednesday in the morning wee were seuen leagues distant from that point. This countrey shewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the rest, with certaine small woody hilles, and within the other point which was before descried, the situation seemed to be more pleasant and delightsome then the rest which we had passed. And at the vttermost end of the point were two small Islets. The sayd Wednesday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we sayled by euening between seuen and eight leagues, and came ouer against a land not very high, where wee saw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into euery of which a riuer seemed to fall, because the soyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then those which we had found before. Here the Captaine with fiue or sixe men went on shore, and taking possession passed vp one of those riuers, and found the footing of many Indians vpon the sand. On the bankes of that riuer they saw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees, and other white trees: they found also in the wood three or foure beasts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The same night wee set sayle with the winde off the land, which blew so freshly, that it made vs to strike our foresayle; and on the sixeteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere vnto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thursday we made little way, because the winde ceased, but it rose againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the sayd point being sixe or seuen leagues off. The land seemed to bee very mountainous with certaine sharpe points not greatly clad with grasse, but somewhat bare. On our left hand wee saw two Islands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not so much, and it seemed that we drew neere to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were sory, because we were

A great hauen.

were alwaies in good hope to find some out-let into the maine Ocean in some place of that *land, and that the same port was the same out-let,* and also that by the sayd coast we might *returne to the foresayd hauen of Santa Cruz,* and that we had committed a great error, because *we had not certainely sought out the secret,* whether that were a Streit or a riuer, which wee *had left behind vs vnsearched at the bottome of this great sea or gulfe.*

All Friday and the night following we sayled with a scant winde, and on Saturday at breake *of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay,* wherein we saw before and behinde foure or fiue great and small Islands. The land was very mountainous, part wherof was couered with grasse, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hils, and in this place we were come neere vnto the hauen of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be diuided in the very nooke by some streite or great riuer which parteth it from the maine, which because we had not throughly discouered, all of vs that were imployed in this voyage were not a little grieued. And this maine land stretcheth so farre in length, that I cannot well expresse it: for from the hauen of Acapulco, which standeth in seuenteene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coast of the firme land on our right hand, vntill we came to the great current of the white & red sea: and here (as I haue said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it were caused by a riuer or by a streit: and so supposing that the coast which wee had on our right hand was closed vp without passage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes descending Southward by our degrees, vntill wee returned vnto the sayd hauen of Santa Cruz, finding still along the coast a goodly and pleasant countrey, and still seeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in fresh water at the hauen of Santa Cruz, to runne along the outward Westerne coast, and to see what it was, if it pleased God. Here we rested our selues, and eat of the plummes and fruits called Pithaias: and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and stayed there eight daies to take in wood and water resting our selues all that while, that our men might strengthen and refresh themselues. Our captaine determined to diuide amongst vs certain garments of taffata, with clokes and saies, and a piece of taffata, and likewise ordained, that wee should goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of vs went out of our ship by night, and lay in ambush in a place which is called The well of Grijalua, where we stayed vntill noone betweene certaine secret wayes, and could neuer see or descrie any one Indian: wherefore wee returned to our ships, with two mastiue-dogs which we caried with vs to catch the Indians with more ease: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to spie what wee did: but because wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, these Indians issued out of the thickets, and fled away, and wee ranne after them, and our dogges saw them not: wherefore by reason of the thicknes of the wilde thistles, and of the thornes and bryars, and because we were weary, we could neuer ouertake them: they left behinde them certaine staues so finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, considering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

A bay with 4 or 5 Islands.

This current is in 32 degrees, and the sea is white and red.

This returne is mentioned cap. 5.

They arriue at the hauen of Santa Cruz.

The Spaniards vse mastiues to take the Indians.

Reade more of these staues cap. 10.

The nine and twentieth of October being Wednesday, we set sayle out of this hauen of Santa Cruz with little winde, and in sayling downe the chanell our shippe called the Trinitie came on ground vpon certaine sholdes: this was at noone at a low water, and with all the remedy that we could vse wee could not draw her off, whereupon wee were constrained to vnderprop her, and to stay the next tide: and when the tide began to increase wee vsed all diligence to draw her off, and could not by any meanes, whereat all the company and the Captaine were not a little grieued: for wee thought wee should haue lost her there, although wee ceased not with all our might to labour with both our boates, and with our cable and capsten. In the ende it pleased God about midnight at a full sea with the great force which wee vsed to recouer her, that wee drew her off the sand, for which we gaue God most hearty thankes, and rode at anker all the rest of the night, wayting for day-light for feare of falling into any further danger or mishap. When day was come, wee set forward with a fresh gale, and proceeded on our voyage, directing our prows to the maine sea, to see whether it would please God to let vs discouer the secret of this point. But whether it pleased not his great goodnesse, or whether it were for our sinnes, wee spent eight dayes from this port, before we could double the poynt, by reason of contrary winds, and great raine, and lightning and darknesse euery night: also the windes grew so raging and tempestuous, that they made vs all to quake, and to pray continually vnto God to ayde vs. And hereupon wee made our cables and ankers ready, and the chiefe Pilot commanded vs with all speede to cast anker, and in this sorte we passed our troubles: and whereas wee rode in no securitie, he caused vs foorthwith to weigh our ankers, and to goe whither the wind should driue vs. And in this sorte wee spent those eight dayes, turning backe by night the same way that wee had gone by day, and sometimes making good in the night that which we had lost in the day, not without great desire of all the company to haue a winde which might set vs forward on our voyage, being afflicted with the miseries which wee indured by reason of the thunders, lightnings, and raine, wherewith we were wet from toppe to toe, by reason of the toyle which we had in weighing and casting of our ankers, as neede required.

And on one of these nights, which was very darke and tempestuous with winde and raine, because we thought we should haue perished, being very neere the shore, we prayed vnto God that he would vouchsafe to ayde and saue vs, without calling our sinnes to remembrance. And straightway wee saw vpon the shrowdes of the Trinity as it were a candle, which of itselfe shined, and gaue a light, whereat all the company greatly reioyced, in such sort that wee ceased not to giue thankes vnto God. Whereupon we assured our selues, that of his mercie hee would guide and saue vs, and would not suffer vs to perish, as indeede it fell out; for the next day wee had good weather, and all the mariners sayd, that it was the light of Saint Elmo which appeared on the shrowdes, and they saluted it with their songs and prayers. These stormes tooke vs betweene the Isles of Saint Iago and Saint Philip, and the Isle called Isla de perlas lying ouer against the point of California supposed to be firme land.

Chap. 7.

Sayling on their way they discouer a pleasant Countrey, and in their iudgement greatly inhabited, and finde the Sea-coast very deepe. They went to discouer or viewe the Isle of perles. And by a current one of their ships is separated from the other, and with great ioy after three dayes they had sight again of her, and following their voyage they discouer certaine great, greene, and pleasant plaines.

Nouember.

From hence forward they saile on the westerne or backside of California.

California.

WE began to sayle along the coast the seuenth or eight of Nouember, the land alwayes shewing very greene with grasse pleasant to behold, and certaine plaines neere the shore, and vp within the countrey many pleasant hils replenished with wood, and certaine valleys, so that wee were delighted aboue measure, and wondered at the greatnes and goodly view of the countrey: & euery night we saw fires, which shewed that the countrey is greatly inhabited. Thus we proceeded on our voyage vntill the tenth of the sayd moneth of Nouember, hauing alwayes the coast of the maine Ocean on our right hand, and the farther we sailed, wee alwayes found the countrey more delightsome and pleasant, as well in beholding the greennes therof, as also in that it shewed certaine plaines and deepe valleys, through which riuers did fall downe into the land, within certaine mountaines, and hilles full of great woods which were not very high, and appeared within the countrey. Here we were 54 leagues distant from California little more or lesse, alwayes toward the Southwest, seeing in the night three or foure fires, whereby it appeareth that the countrey is inhabited, and full of people, for the greatnes of the countrey argueth no lesse: and we supposed that there must needs bee great townes inhabited within the land, although in this poynt we were of diuers opinions. The sea is so deepe on all this coast that we could scarce find ground in 54 fadomes. On the greatest part of the coast there are hilles of very white sand, and it seemeth to be a dangerous coast, because of the great and swift tides which goe there, for the sand sheweth

Isla de perlas.

so much for the space of ten or twelue leagues, for so the Pilots affirmed. This day being Saturday the winde increased, and wee had sight of the Isle of pearles, which on this side of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all couered ouer with trees, and sheweth much fairer then on the other side, and wee entred into the Porte of Santa Cruz. From the ninth of Nouember to the fifteenth we sayled not aboue tenne leagues, because we had contrary winds, and great showres: and besides this we had another mischance which did not a little grieue vs: for wee lost company of the ship called The Trinitie, and could neuer see her for the space of three dayes, whereupon wee suspected that shee was returned home vnto New Spaine, or that she was seuered from our company: wherefore we were grieued out of measure to see our selues so left alone, and the Captaine of all others was most sad, though he ceased not to encourage vs to proceede on our voyage, saying that notwithstanding all this wee ought not to leaue off this enterprise which we had begunne, and that though we were left alone we should deserue the greater commendation and credite: whereupon wee all answered him, that wee would not haue him thinke that any of vs would euer be discouraged, but that we would follow him vntill hee should thinke it reasonable that we should not proceede any further in the enterprise, and that we were in danger of perishing, and that vntill then wee would bee at his commandement: but withall we perswaded him that after he had seene any great difficulty to proceede any further, he should doe well to returne backe to make relation of our successe to the R. H. lord the Marques de Valle. Hereupon he made an Oration vnto vs wherein he told vs, that he could not beleeue, much lesse could imagine, wherefore the shippe called the Trinitie should returne into Newe Spaine, nor why she should willingly depart from vs, and goe vnto any other place, and that he thought by all reason, that some current had caried her out of our sight, and that through contrary weather and tempests she could not fetch vs vp, and that notwithstanding all that which we had done in the voyage, he had an instruction, that if by chance we were separated one from the other, wee were to take this course to meete againe together, namely to returne backe eight or tenne leagues to seeke one another, beyond certaine head-lands which lay out into the sea, and that therefore we should doe well to returne to seeke her vp. This sentence pleased vs all, and so returning to seeke her, we espied her two leagues distant from vs, comming toward vs with a fresh gale of winde, whereat we greatly reioyced.

A curent.

They are 70 leagues from the port of Santa Cruz.

Thus being come together we ankered for that day, because the weather seemed very contrary, and the Captaine chid them for their negligence in sayling, because they had in such sort lost our company; and they excused themselues, that they could doe no lesse, because a current had caried them away aboue three leagues, whereby they could neuer reach vnto vs. The next day being the sixeteenth of Nouember wee set forward, but sayled very little, for the North and North west winds were against vs. Here we discouered certaine plaines, in my iudgement very great and greene, and right before vs we could not discerne any mountaines or woods, whereat wee marueiled to see so great a countrey. And wee met an Indian in a Canoa on the shore whereon the sea did breake, who stayed to beholde vs a great while, and oftentimes hee lifted vp himselfe to view vs the better, & then returned backe along the coast: we vsed al diligence to see whether he would come out further from the shore, to giue him chase, and to trie whether we could catch him, but he very cunningly viewed vs without comming neere vnto vs, and returned to the shore with his Canoa. Here we saw in the euening but one fire, and wist not whether it were done by the cunning of the Indians, because they would not haue vs know that there were people there, or that it was so indeede. From the said 16 day of Nouember vntill the 24 of the same moneth we could not proceede on our way aboue 12 or 15 leagues: and looking into our Sea-chart, we found our selues distant from the Xaguges of the Port of Santa Cruz about 70 leagues. Now on the 24 day being Munday very early in the morning we beganne to take very good view of that Countrey, and all along the coast we saw many faire plaines with certaine furrowes made in the midst like vnto halfe plaines, the said plaine still appearing vp into the Countrey, with pleasant champions, because the grasse which grew there was very beautifull, short, and greene, and good pasture for cattell. Howbeit because we rode so farre off, we could not perfectly iudge what kind of grasse it was, but it shewed very short and greene, and without thornes. These plaines on the right hand made a bay into a valley which seemed to be a piece of a mountaine: the rest shewed to be al plaines without any thistles or weedes, but full of grasse good for cattel very green and faire, as I haue saide.

Chap. 8.

> One of their ships by tempest was separated from the other, and afterward meeting with her consort she reporteth that the land stretcheth to the West by the mouth of the great lake. The Pilots are of diuers iudgements touching the state of this coast inhabited by Chichimecas. They enter into an hauen to take in fresh water, and are suddenly assayled by two squadrons of Indians. They defend themselues valiantly, and the Captaine with some of his souldiers are grieuously wounded.

THe 26 of this moneth being Wednesday at night the North wind tooke vs, which still increased more and more so greatly that it put vs to much trouble, for it continued two dayes, in which the Sea was alwayes boisterous; and this night againe we lost the Trinity being beaten with the North winde aforesaid (and we had sight of her on Munday the 24) wherewith we were all of vs greatly agrieued, both Captaines, Souldiers and Mariners, because we saw we were left alone, and our ship call Santa Agueda wherein we were, was but badly conditioned, and this grieued vs more then the trouble which we had with the boisterousnesse of the Sea, imagining that if we should leese the Trinity, or if any mishap should fall vnto vs, we should not be able to follow our voyage according to our Captaines and our owne desire. This said 24 day being Munday we saw a Countrey with high mountaines toward the Northwest, and it seemed that the land stretched on still forward, whereat we exceedingly reioyced, because we iudged that the lande grew alwayes broader and broader, and that wee should meete with some speciall good thing. Whereupon we desired that it would please God to send vs good weather for our voyage, which hitherto we found alwayes contrary, so that in 26 dayes we sayled not aboue 70 leagues, and that with much trouble, sometimes riding at anker and sometimes sayling, and seeking the remedies and benefite of the shore to auoide perils. In this Countrey which we discouered the 26 day we alwayes saw (as I haue said) along the shore, and within the land, goodly plaines without any tree, in the midst wherof was a lake or gathering together of the Sea-water, which (to our iudgement) was aboue 12 leagues in compasse, and the sea-coast reached to the mountaines before mentioned. And this day we saw our ship called the Trinitie, which rode 2 leagues distant from vs, which so soone as she saw vs, set saile, and we came together and reioyced greatly. They brought vs great quantity of gray fishes, and of another kinde: for at the point of those mountaines they found a fishing which was very wonderfull, for they suffered themselues to be taken by hand: and they were so great that euery one had much adoe to finde roome to lay his fish in. They found also on the said point a fountaine of fresh water which descended from those hilles, and they told vs that at the same place they had found a narrow passage, whereby the Sea entered into the said lake. They comforted vs much with the report of these things, and in telling vs that the lande trended to the West; for the chiefe Pilot thought, and the other Pilot was of the same opinion, that we should finde a good Countrey. This night we set saile to goe to that point to take in fresh water which we wanted, and to see this lake, and to put some men on shore; and after midnight the winde came vpon vs so forcibly at the North that we could not stay there: whereupon wee were constrained to put further into the Sea, and returned the same way backe againe vnto the shore with much adoe, and came to an anker a great way short of the place from whence we were driuen: and there we rode vntill Thursday at noone with this bitter North winde, and on Friday about noone, when we most thought it would haue ceased, it beganne to increase againe, which grieued vs not a little seeing the weather so contrary, hoping alwayes that it would cease, and that some winde would blow from the shore, whereby

Land running towards the Northwest.

Note.

A wonderfull fishing place like Newfoundland.

by we might recouer the point of land to take in fresh water, and to search whether there were any people about that lake. Here we lay from the 26 of the saide moneth till the 29, driuing vp and downe the Sea, winding in by little and little vntill we had gotten vnder the shelter of those mountaines: which being obtayned wee rode the sayd 29 of the moneth halfe a league from those woddy mountaines, which we had seene in the Sea. We stayed in this place at our ease all the Sunday, and Iuan Castilio the chiefe Pilot went that day in the bote on shore with seuen in his company, and they landed neere the Sea, and on a certaine low ground they found foure or fiue Indians Chichimecas of great stature, and went toward them, who fled away like Deere that had beene chased. After this the Pilot went a little way along the Sea-shore, and then returned to his boate, and by that time he was entered thereinto, he saw about fifteene Indians of great stature also, with their bowes and arrowes which called vnto him with a loude and strong voice, making signes with their bowes; but the Pilot made no account of their gesture, but rather returned to the shippes, and declared what had passed betweene him and the Indians. The same day the Captaine commaunded that our caske should be made readie against the next morning to take in water, for in both the shippes there were about fiue and twentie buttes emptie. The first of December, and the second day in the morning the Captaine went with both the barkes on shore with some dozen souldiers, and the greatest part of the Mariners which laboured in filling of water, leauing in the shippes as many as were needefull, and as soone as wee were come on shore at the watering place the Captaine caused the buttes to be taken out, to the ende they might be filled with water, and while they returned to fetch the barrels and hogsheads of the shippe, the Captaine walked a turne or two vpon the shore for the space of one or two crossebow shoots, and afterwarde we went vp to certaine of those mountaines, to view the disposition of the countrey, and in trueth we found it in that place very bad to our iudgement, for it was very ragged, full of woods and caues, and so stonie, that we had much adoe to goe. Being come vnto the top we found certaine small hilles full of woods, and cliffes that were not so craggie, although very troublesome to climbe vp; and while we looked from these little hilles, we could not discerne any more mountaines, but rather iudged that from that place forward there were great plaines. The Captaine would not suffer vs to goe any further, because in those places we had seene certaine Indians which seemed to be spies, and warning vs thereof he commanded vs to retire vnto the shore, where we were to take in water, and to dispatch our businesse quickly, and appointed vs to make certaine pits, that our buts might more easily be filled with water. And setting our Guardes or Centinels, we beganne to fill water. In the meane while the Captaine tooke certaine souldiers, and went to the top of an high hill, from whence he descryed a great part of the Sea, and a lake which is within the land: for the Sea entereth in the space of a league, and there is a good fishing place round about: and the lake was so great, that it seemed vnto vs to be very neere 30 leagues in compasse, for we could not discerne the end thereof. Then we came downe with no lesse trouble then wee had mounted vp vnto the hill, by reason of the steepenesse of the place, and some tumbled downe with no small laughter of the rest. And being come somewhat late to our watering place (for it was then past noone) we set our selues to dinner, alwayes appointing some of our company in Centinell, vntill we were called to dinner, and when some were called two others were appointed in their roomes. And about two of the clocke after dinner, the Captaine and the rest suspecting no danger of assalt of Indians, both because the place seemed not to be fit for it, as also for that we had set our Centinels at the passages; two squadrons of Indians came vpon vs very secretly and couertly, for one came by the great valley through which the water ranne which we tooke, and the other came by a part of that great hill which we had ascended to see the lake, and all of them came so couertly, that our Centinels could neither see nor heare them; and wee had not perceiued them, if a souldier by chance lifting vp his eyes had not sayde, Arme, Arme, my maisters, for many Indians come vpon vs. When we heard this the Captaine leapt vp in a great rage, because the guards were changed out of their place: and with his sword and target, being followed by a souldier, whose name was Haro, and afterward by

A fishing place and a lake of 30 leagues compasse.

A sudden assalt of the Indians with stones, arrows and staues.

the rest, he and the said souldier went toward a little gate of certaine stones, whither the rest of vs were to follow him : for if the Indians had gotten that place from vs, we should haue incurred great danger, and the greatest part of vs had like to haue beene slaine, and none could haue escaped but such as by chance could haue leapt into the boates, and the tide went so high, that none could be saued but such as were most excellent swimmers. But at length the Captaine bestirred himselfe very nimbly, vsing all celeritie that was possible. Therefore when he and Haro had wonne the gate, the rest of the souldiers gate vp after them, and the Captaine and Haro turned themselues to the Indians and made head against them, and the Indians assailed them with such numbers of stones, arrowes, & iauelins (which was a very strange thing) that they brake in pieces the target which the Captaine had on his arme, and besides that wounded him with an arrow in the bending of his knee, and though the wound was not great, yet was it very painefull vnto him. While they thus stood to withstand their assalt, they strooke Haro which was on the other side so forcibly with a stone, that they threw him flat vpon the ground: and by and by another stone lighted vpon him which shiuered his Target, and they hit the Captaine with another arrow, and shot him quite through one of his eares. Another arrow came and strooke a souldier called Grauiello Marques in the legge, of which he felt great paine and went halting. In the meane space Francis Preciado, and certaine other souldiers came vp and ioyned himselfe with the rest on the left hand of the Captaine, saying vnto him, Sir, withdrawe your selfe, for you be wounded, but be you not dismayed, for they are but Indians and cannot hurt vs. In this wise we beganne to rush in, among them vpon the side of a rocke alwayes gayning ground of them, which greatly incouraged our mindes, and when we beganne to inforce them to retire, we wanne a small wooddy hill, where we sheltered our selues, whereas before they shot vpon vs from aloft, for they were on the higher ground vnder couert in safetie, & then by no meanes we could offend them, but by running forcibly vpon them with our targets on our armes, and our swords in our hands. On the other side, to approch and seeke to ouertake them was a vaine thing, seeing they were as swift as wilde goates. By this time Haro was gotten vp on foot, and hauing clapt a woollen cloth vpon his head, which had bled extremely, he ioyned himselfe vnto vs, of whom we receiued no small aide. In the meane space the Indians fortified themselues on the cragge of a rocke, from whence they did not a little molest vs, & we likewise fortified our selues vpon an hillocke, whereby we descended into their Fort, and there was a small valley betweene them & vs, which was not very deepe from the vpper part. There we were 6 souldiers & two Negroes with the Captaine, & all of vs were of opinion that it was not good to passe that place, least ẏ Indians being many might destroy vs all, for the rest of our souldiers which were beneath at the foote of the hill, making head against the other squadron of the Indians, kept them frõ hurting those which tooke in water on the strand and from breaking the buts of water, and being but few, we concluded to stay here, and so we stood still fortifying our selues as well as we could, especially considering that we had no succour on any side; for Berecillo our Mastiue-dogge which should haue aided vs was grieuously wounded with 3 arrowes, so that by no meanes we could get him from vs: this mastiue was wounded in the first assalt when the Indians came vpon vs, who behaued himselfe very wel, & greatly aided vs; for he set vpon them, and put 8 or 10 of them out of array, & made them run away, leauing many arrowes behind them: but at length (as I haue said) he was so wounded, that by no meanes we could get him to goe from vs to set any more vpon the Indians, & the other two mastiues did vs more harme then good: for when they went against them, they shot at them with their bowes, and we receiued hurt and trouble in defending them. The Captaines legge when he waxed cold was so swolne, that we lapped it vp in a wollen cloth, and he halted much of it: and while the Indians thus stood still, one part of them beganne to dance, sing, and shout, and then they began all to lade themselues with stones, and to put their arrowes into their bowes, and to come downe toward vs verie resolutely to assalt vs, and with great out-cries they beganne to fling stones and to shoot their arrowes. Then Francis Preciado turned him to the Captaine and said: Sir, these Indians know or thinke, that we

The Spaniards vse mastiues in their warres against the Indians. Reade more hereof cap. 12.

be affeard of them, & in trueth it is a great falt to giue them this incouragement, it were better for vs resolutely to set vpon them with these dogs, & to assalt them on this hill, that they may know vs to be no dastards, for they be but Indians and dare not stande vs; and if we can get their Fort vpon the hill, God will giue vs victory in all the rest. The Captaine answered, that he liked well of the motion, and that it was best so to doe, although for any further pursuit vp the hill, he thought we were to take another course. By and by Francis Preciado getting his target on his arme, and his sword in his hand, ranne vnto the other side of the valley, which on that part was not very steepe, crying S. Iago, vpon them my masters, and after him leapt Haro, Tereça, Spinosa, and a Crossebow-man called Montanno, and after them followed the Captaine, though very lame, with a Negro and a souldier which accompanied him, incouraging and comforting them, willing them not to feare. Thus we draue them to the place where they had fortified themselues, and from whence they descended, and we tooke another hill ouer against them within a darts cast of them. And hauing breathed our selues a little, the Captaine came vnto vs, and said, Go too my maisters, vpon them before they strengthen themselues on this hill, for now we see plainely that they be affeard of vs, seeing we chase thē continually from their Forts: & suddenly 3 or 4 of vs went toward them well couered with targets, vnto the foot of their Fort where they were assembled, and the rest of our company followed vs: the Indians beganne to make head against vs, and to fling many stones vpon vs, and shoot many arrowes, and we with our swords in our hands rushed vpon them in such sort, that they seeing how furiously we set vpon them, abandoned the fort, and ranne downe the hill as swift as Deere, and fled vnto another hill ouer against vs, where the other squadron of the Indians stood, of whom they were rescued, and they began to talke among themselues, but in a low voyce, and ioyned together 6 and 6 and 8 & 8 in a company, and made a fire and warmed themselues, and we stood quietly beholding what they did.

Chap. 9.

After the skirmish the Captaine being wounded, and the rest of the souldiers seeing the Indians depart, returned vnto their ships. The next day taking in fresh water at the saide place he sent mariners to sound the mouth of the lake. Departing thence they came to the port called Baya de Sant Abad, and indured a dangerous storme at sea. And afterward comming neere the shore to take fresh water in the said hauen, they see certaine peaceable Indians.

BY this time it was late and the night approched, and the Indians seeing this, within a short while after determined to get them packing, and ech of them or the greatest part tooke fire-brandes in their hands, & got them away into craggy places. When the Captaine saw this he cōmanded vs to returne aboord our boats, it being now darke night, thanking vs all for the good seruice we had done him. And being not able to stand vpon his legge, he leaned with his arme vpon Francis Preciado; and thus we returned to our boats, where with much adoe we got aboord, by reason of the great tide and roughnesse of the sea, so that our boats were filled with euery waue. Thus very weary, wet, & some wounded (as is aforesaid) each man returned vnto his ship, where our beds which we found, and our refreshing, & the cheere we had at supper did not greatly comfort vs in regard of our former trauels. We passed that night in this sort, and the next day being Tuesday the Captaine found himselfe greatly payned with his wounds, & chiefly with that on his leg, because it was greatly swolne with his going vpon it. We lacked 12 buts to fill with water, and the barrels in both the ships, and the Captaine would haue gone out to cause them to be filled, but we would not suffer him, and therefore we left off the businesse for that day. But he appointed that the crossebowes should be made readie, and two speciall good harquebuzes, & the next day being Wednesday very early, he commanded Iuan Castilio chiefe Pilot to goe out with both the botes and with all the souldiers and mariners that he could make, hauing the day before commanded the Trinitie to go as neere the shore as she might, & to make ready some of her ordinance, that if the Indians should shew themselues, they might affright them, &

doe them as much hurt as they could. Wherfore on the Wednesday al we that were souldiers, sauing the wounded persons, went on shore with certaine mariners in the best order that we could, and tooke the first hill, where we had fortified our selues, standing all vpon our guard vntill the water was filled, and vntill we were called, during which time not one Indian shewed himselfe. Thus we went aboord when we thought good our selues, at least without any suspition of the Indians, although the tide of the Sea went so high ẏ it put vs to great trouble, for oftentimes with great waues it beat into our boats. This was on the Wednesday the 3 of December. And to auoide losse of time the Captaine commanded Iuan Castilio the chiefe Pilot to take a boat and certaine mariners as he should thinke good, and to view the mouth of the lake to see whether the entrance were deepe enough for to harbour the ships. He taking the boat of the Admirall with 8 mariners, and ours of the Trinity, went and sounded the mouth, & on the shallowest place of the barre without they found 3 fadome depth, and farther in 4, & vp higher 5, alwayes increasing vnto 10 or 12 fadomes, when they were come into the two points of the said lake, which was a league broad from one point to the other, and all their sounding was exceeding good ground. Then they went ouer to the southeast point, & there they saw a great boat or raft which they indeuoured to take to carrie vnto their ships. In ẏ meane while they espied certaine cottages, which the Pilot determined to goe and see, and being come neere they saw 3 other raftes with 3 Indians on them distant from the cottages one or two cross-bowes shot, and he leapt on land with 4 or 5 mariners in his companie: and while they behelde those cottages, they saw many Indians descending downe a small hill in warlike manner with their bowes and arrowes, whereupon they determined to retire to their boats, and to returne to their ships, and they were not gone from the sea-shore scarse a stones cast, but the Indians were come vpon them to shoot at them with their arrowes, and because they were vnarmed, they would not fight with them, hauing gone on shore for no other purpose, but to sound the mouth and enterance of that lake. On Thursday the 4 of December we set saile with a fresh gale of winde, and sayled some 8 or 10 leagues, and came vnto certaine mouthes or inlets which seemed to all of vs as though they had beene Ilands, and we entered into one of them, and came into an hauen which we called Baya del Abad all inclosed and compassed with land, being one of the fairest hauens that hath beene seene: and about the same, especially on both sides the lande was greene and goodly to behold; we discryed certaine riuers on that part which seemed greene, & therefore we returned backe, going out at that mouth wherby we came in, alwayes hauing contrary wind: yet the Pilots vsed their best indeuour to make way: and we saw before vs certaine wooddy hils, and beyond them certaine plaines; this we saw from the Friday the 5 of the said moneth, vntill the Tuesday, which was the ninth. As we drew neere to these woods they seemed very pleasant, and there were goodly and large hilles and beyond them towardes the sea were certaine plaines, and through all the countrey we saw these woods. From the day before, which was the Conception of our Lady, we saw many great smokes, whereat we much maruelled, being of diuerse opinions among our selues, whether those smokes were made by the inhabitants of the countrey or no. Ouer against these woods there fell euery night such a dew, that euery morning when we rose, the decke of the ship was so wet, that vntill the sunne was of a good height, we alwaies made the decke durtie with going vpon it. We rode ouer against these woods from the Tuesday morning when we set saile, vntill Thursday about midnight, when a cruell Northwest winde tooke vs, which, whither we would or no, inforced vs to way our anker; and it was so great, that the ship Santa Agueda began to returne backe, vntill her cable broke, and the ship hulled, and suddenly with a great gust the trinket and the mizen were rent asunder, the Northwest winde still growing more and more: within a short while after the maine saile was rent with a mighty flaw of winde, so that we were inforced, both souldiers, captaine, and all of vs, to doe our best indeuor to mend our sailes; and the Trinitie was driuen to do the like, for she going round vpon her anker, when she came a-head of it, her cable broke, so that there we lost two ankers, each ship one. We went backe to seeke Baya del Abad, for we were within 20 leagues of the same, and this day we came within foure leagues of it, and being not able to

A special good hauen.

Baya del Abad is 100 leagues from the point of California.

Many great smokes, of which also Francis Gualle maketh mention.

fishing place.

Great tides vpō his coast.

reach it by reason of contrary windes, we rode vnder the lee of certaine mountaines and hilles which were bare, and almost voide of grasse, neere vnto a strand full of sandie hilles. Neere vnto this road wee found a fishing-place vnder a point of land, where hauing let downe our lead to see what ground was there, a fish caught it in his mouth, and began to draw it, and he which held the sounding-lead crying and shewing his fellowes that it was caught, that they might helpe him, as soone as he had got it aboue the water, tooke the fish, and loosed the cord of the sounding-lead, and threw it againe into the sea, to see whether there were any good depth, and it was caught againe, whereupon he began to cry for helpe, and all of vs made a shout for ioy; thus drawing the fish the rope of the sounding-lead being very great was crackt, but at length we caught the fish which was very faire. Here we stayed from Friday when we arriued there, vntill the Munday, when as it seemed good to our Captaine, that we should repaire to the watering place, from whence we were some sixe leagues distant, to take in 12 buttes of water, which wee had drunke and spent, because he knew not whither we should from thencefoorth finde any water, or no; and though we should finde water, it was doubtfull whither we should be able to take it by reason of the great tide that goeth vpon that coast. We drewe neere to that place on Munday at night, when as we sawe certaine fires of the Indians. And on Tuesday morning our Generall commaunded that the Trinitie should come as neere our ship & to the shore as it could, that if we had neede, they might helpe vs with their great ordinance: and hauing made 3 or 4 bourds to draw neere the shore, there came 4 or 5 Indians to the sea-side; who stood and beheld while we put out our boat and anker, marking also how our bwoy floated vpon the water; and when our boat returned to the ship, two of them leapt into the sea, and swamme vnto the bwoy, and beheld it a great while; then they tooke a cane of an arrow, and tyed to the sayd bwoy a very faire and shining sea-oyster of pearles, and then returned to the shore, neere to the watering place.

Chap. 10.

They giue vnto the Indians many trifles which stand vpon the shore to see them, and seeke to parley with them by their interpreter, which was a Chichimeco, who could not vnderstand their language. They go to take fresh water. Francis Preciado spendeth the time with them with many signes, and trucking and being afeard of their great multitude, retireth himselfe wisely with his companions, returning with safety to the ships.

WHen the Captaine and we beheld this, we iudged these Indians to be peaceable people; whereupon the Captaine tooke the boat with 4 or 5 mariners carrying with him certain beades to truck, and went to speake with them. In the meane while he commanded the Indian interpreter our Chichimeco, to be called out of the Admirall that he should parley with them. And the Captaine came vnto the boy, and laid certaine things vpon it for exchange, & made signes vnto the Sauages to come and take them; and an Indian made signes vnto our men with his hands, his armes, and head, that they vnderstood them not, but signified that they should go aside. Whereupon the Captaine departed a smal distance from that place with his boat. And they made signes againe that he should get him further; whereupon we departing a great way off, the saide Indians leapt into the water, came vnto the boy, and tooke those beades, and returned backe againe to land, and then came vnto the other three, and all of them viewing our things, they gaue a bowe and certaine arrowes to an Indian, and sent him away, running with all haste on the shore, and made signes vnto vs that they had sent word vnto their lord what things we had giuen them, and that he would come thither. Within a while after the said Indian returned, running as he did before, and beganne to make signes vnto vs, that his Lord was comming. And while we stayed here, we saw on the shore ten or twelue Indians assemble themselues, which came vnto the other Indians, and by and by we saw another company of 12 or 15 more appeare, who assembled themselues all together. And againe they began to make signes vnto vs, to come foorthwith to our boates, and shewed vs many Oysters of pearles on the top of certaine canes, making signes that they would giue them vs. When we beheld this, the Captaine commanded vs to make readie our boate, and went aboord it with the said mariners, and rowed to a certaine stone in forme of a rocke, which lay in the sea neere vnto the shore. And hither came first 2 or 3 Indians, and layd downe one of those Oysters, and a garland made of Parats feathers, or sparrowes feathers painted red; they layd downe also certaine plumes of white feathers, and others of blew colour. In the meane while we sawe continually Indians assemble to the shore by tenne and tenne, and so by little and little they came in squadrons; and one of them assoone as hee sawe the boat beganne to leape forward and backeward with so great nimblenesse, that doubtlesse he seemed to all of vs a man of great agilitie, and we tooke no small pleasure while we beheld him fetching those gambols: but the rest of the Indians which stood at the mouth of the fresh water ranne toward him, and cryed vnto him, forbidding him to vse those gestures, because we were come thither in peaceable sort, and by this meanes he came with the rest to the watering place, where by little and little in this manner there assembled aboue a hundred of them all in order, with certaine staues with cordes to fling them, and with their bowes and arrowes, and they were all painted. In the meane while our Chichimeco-interpreter borne in the Ile of California, was come vnto vs, and the Captaine againe commanded a mariner to strippe himselfe, and to swimme and laye vpon the said rocke certaine belles, and more beades, and when he had layd them there, the Indians made signes that he should goe away; and so they came thither and tooke them, and our men drew neere with their boat. The Captaine commanded the Indian our Chichimeco to speake vnto them, but they could not vnderstand him, so that we assuredly beleeue, that they vnderstand not the language of the Ile of California. This day being Tuesday vntill night the Indians stayed at this watering place, taking some of our beades, and giuing vnto vs their feathers and other things, and when it was very late they departed. The morrow following being Wednesday very early the Captaine commanded that our buttes should be made ready, that before breake of day, and before the Indians should take the hill, which stood ouer the watering place, we might be landed in good order: which was put in execution: for we went on shore with as many as could goe, sauing those that had charge to take in the water, and such as were to stay on ship-boord, which in all were about fourteene or fifteene persons, in as good order as we could deuise: for we were foure crossebowes, two harquebuziers, and eight or nine targets, and the most part of vs carryed very good slings, and euery one eighteene riuer-stones, which weapon the Captaine inuented, because the Indians at the first had handled vs very shrewdly with the multitude of stones which they flang at vs: we had nothing to defende vs sauing our targets, and to seeke to winne the fortes from whence they indamaged vs; he therefore thought with these slings, that we might offend them, and we likewise thought well of his opinion, for making tryall of them, we threw very well with them, and much farther then we thought we could haue done: for the slings being made of hempe, we flung very farre with them. Nowe being come to the watering place the sayd Wednesday by breake of day we tooke the fort of the fountaine, which were certaine cragges or rockes hanging ouer the same, betweene which there was an opening or deepe valley through which this water runneth, which is no great quantitie, but a little brooke not past a fadome broad. So standing all in order, other foure or fiue Indians came thither, who as soone as they sawe vs to be come on shore, and to haue gotten the toppe of the watering place, they retired vnto a small hill on the other side, for the valley was betweene them and vs: neither stayed they long before they beganne to assemble themselues as they had done the day before by 10 and 10, and 15 and 15, ranging themselues on this high hill, where they made signes vnto vs. And Francis Preciado craued license of the Generall to parley with these Indians, and to giue them some trifles; wherewith he was contented, charging him not to come too neere them, nor to goe into any place where they might hurt him. Whereupon Francis went vnto a plaine place, vnder the hill where the Indians stood, and to put them out of feare he layd downe his sword and target, hauing onely a dagger hanging downe at his girdle, and in a skarfe which he carried at his necke, certaine beades to exchange with them, combs, fishinghooks and comfits. And he began to goe vp the hill, and to shew them diuerse of his marchandise. The Indians

Truck & traffique with the Indians for mother of pearle, and other things.

as soone as he had layd those things on the ground, and gone somewhat aside, came downe from the hill and tooke them, and carried them vp, for it seemed that their Lord was among them, to whom they carried those trifles. Then they came downe againe, and layd to giue vnto him in the said place, an oyster of pearles, and two feathers like haukes feathers, making signes to Preciado that he should come and take them; which he did, and againe layde there a string of belles, and a great fishhooke, and certaine beades; and they taking the same, layd there againe another oyster of pearle, and certaine feathers: and he layd downe other beads, two fishhookes, and more comfits, and the Indians came to take them vp, and approched much neerer vnto him, then at other times, and so neere that a man might haue touched them with a pike, and then they began to talke together: and 7 or 8 more came downe, vnto whom Francis Preciado made signes, that they should come downe no lower, and they incontinently layd their bowes and arrowes on the ground, and hauing layd them downe came somewhat lower, and there with signes, together with them which came first, they began to parle with him, and required mariners breeches & apparell of him, and aboue all things a red hat pleased them highly, which the said Francis ware on his head, and they prayed him to reach it vnto them, or to lay it in the place; and after this certaine of them made signes vnto him to knowe whether he would haue a harlot, signifying with their fingers those villanies and dishonest actions, and among the rest they set before him an Indian of great stature dyed wholly with black, with certaine shels of the mother of pearle at his necke, and on his head, and speaking by signes to Francis Preciado touching the foresaid act of fornication, thrusting their finger through a hole, they said vnto him, that if hee would haue a woman, they would bring him one; and he answered, that he liked well of it, and that therfore they should bring him one. In the meane space on the other side where the Generall stood with his company, another squadron of Indians shewed themselues, whereupon the Generall and his company made a stirre, and put themselues in battell array: whereupon Francis Preciado was inforced to come downe from them, to ioyne with the Generall & his company: and here the Indians which came last began to make signes that we should lay downe something to truck, and that they would giue vs some of their shels of mother of pearle, which they brought vpon certaine small stickes, and herewithall they came very neere vnto vs, wherewith we were not well content. And Francis Preciado said vnto the Captaine, that if it pleased him, hee would cause all the Indians to come together and to stay vpon that high hill; and he answered, that it was best to draw them all together, for by this time our men had taken in all their water, and stayed for the boat: whereupon Francis taking a crowne of beades went toward the valley, through which the water ran toward the Indians, and made signes vnto them to call the rest, and to come all together, because hee would goe to the olde place, to lay things on the ground for exchange, as at the first; and they answered that he should doe so, and that they had called the others, and that they would doe, as he would haue them, and so they did, for they caused them to come vnto them, which they did, and Francis likewise went alone towards them, in which meane space the Generall commanded his people to get into the boat. Francis comming vnto the place beganne to lay downe his marchandise of traffique, and afterwards made signes vnto them to stay there, because hee would goe to the ships to bring them other things, and so he returned to the place where the Captaine was, and found them all got into the boates, sauing the Generall and three or foure others, and the Generall made as though he had giuen other trifles to Preciado to carry vnto the Indians, and when he was gone a little from him, he called him backe againe, and all this while the Indians stood still, and being come vnto him, wee went faire and softly to our boates, and got into them at our ease, without any thronging, and thence we came aboord our ship.

The Indians seeing vs thus gone aboord came downe to the strand where the brooke of water was, and called vnto vs to come foorth with our boates, and to come on shore, and to bring our beades, and that they would giue vs of their mother of pearles: but we being now set at dinner made no account of them: whereupon they beganne to shoot arrowes at the ship, and although they fell neere vs, yet they did not reach vs. In the meane season certaine mariners went out in the boat, to wey the anker, whereupon the Indians seeing them comming towards them, & bringing them nothing, they beganne in scorne to shew them their buttockes, making signes that they should kisse their bums: and these seemed to be those that came last. The Generall seeing this, commanded a musket to be once or twise shot off, and that they should take their iust ayme. They seeing these shot to be made readie, some of them rose and went to shoot their arrowes at our mariners, which were gone to weigh the ankers, then the Generall commanded the great ordinance speedily to be shot off, whereupon three or foure bullets were discharged, and we perceiued that we had slaine one of them, for we assuredly saw him lye dead vpon the shore; and I thinke some of the rest were wounded. They hearing this noyse, and seeing him dead ranne away as fast as euer they could, some along the shore, and some through the vallies, dragging the dead Indian with them, after which time none of them appeared, saue ten or twelue, which peeped vp with their heads among those rocks; whereupon another piece of ordinance was discharged aloft against the place where they were, after which time we neuer saw any more of them.

Chap. 11.

At the point of the Trinitie they spend three dayes in fishing, and in other pastime: after which setting sayle they discouer pleasant countries, and mountaines voide of grasse, and an Iland afterward called Isla de los Cedros, or the Ile of Cedars, neere which they suffer sharpe colde and raine, and to saue themselues they returne thither.

IMmediatly we set saile to ioyne with the ship Santa Agueda, which was aboue halfe a league in the high sea from vs, and this was on the Wednesday the seuenteenth of December. Being come together because the windes were contrary, we drew neere to a headland, which wee called Punta de la Trinidad, and here wee stayed fishing, and solacing our selues two or three dayes, although we had alwayes great store of raine. Afterward we beganne to sayle very slowly, and at night we rode ouer against those mountaines where we had left our ankers, and vpon knowledge of the place we receiued great contentment seeing we had sailed some fiue and thirtie leagues from the place where we had taken in water: neither was it any maruell that wee so reioyced, because that the feare which we had of contrary windes caused vs to be so well appayd of the way which we had made. The day of the holy Natiuitie of our Lord, which was on the Thursday the fiue and twentieth of the said moneth, God of his mercy beganne to shewe vs fauour in giuing vs a fresh winde almost in the poope, which carried vs beyond those mountaines, for the space of tenne or twelue leagues, finding the coast alwayes plaine: and two leagues within the land, which we coasted along, and betweene these mountaines, there was a great space of plaine ground, which we might easily discerne with our eyes, although others were of another opinion. We beganne from Christmas day to saile slowly with certaine small land-windes, and sayled from morning to night about seuen or eight leagues, which wee esteemed no small matter, alwayes praying to God to continue this his fauour toward vs; and thanking him for his holy Natiuitie, and all the dayes of this feast the Frier sayd masse in the Admirall, and the father Frier Raimund preached vnto vs, which gaue vs no small comfort, by incouraging vs in the seruice of God.

On Saturday at night being the 27. of the said moneth we ankored neere vnto a point which seemed to be plaine land all along the shore, and within the countrey were high mountaines with certaine woods, which woods and mountaines ranne ouerthwart the countrey, and continued along with certaine small hilles sharpe on the toppe, and certaine little vallies are betweene those mountaines. And in truth to me which with diligent eyes beheld the same both in length and in the breadth thereof, it could not chuse but be a good countrey, and to haue great matters in it, as well touching the inhabiting thereof by the Indians, as in golde and siluer; for there was great likelihood that there is store thereof. This night we saw a fire farre within the lande towards those mountaines, which made vs thinke that the countrey was throughly inhabited. The next day being Sunday and Innocents day, the 28 of the said moneth, at breake of day we set sayle, and by nine or ten of the clocke had sayled three or

Great apparance of gold and siluer.

Ianuary 1540. Forty leagues.

Two small Islets neere the maine.

foure leagues, where we met with a point which stretched towarde the West, the pleasant situation whereof delighted vs much. From the eight and twentieth of December we ranne our course vntill Thursday being Newyeares day of the yeere 1540, and we ran some 40 leagues, passing by certaine inlets and bayes, and certaine high mountains couered with grasse in colour like rosemary: but toward the sea-side very bare and burned, and toward the top were certaine cragges somewhat of a red colour, and beyond these appeared certaine white mountaines, and so all the countrey shewed vnto a point which appeared beyond those burnt white and red mountaines which haue neither any grasse nor tree vpon them, whereat we maruelled not a little. This Newyeares day we sawe neere the maine two small Ilands, and reioyced greatly to see them; for we stood in great feare, that contrary windes would driue vs as farre backe in one day, as we had sayled in tenne, which if they had taken vs, we could not haue withstood them. Wee ranne from the first of Ianuary vntill Munday which were fiue dayes, and the land alwayes stretched Northwest from the mountaines aforesaid.

Isla de los Cedros mentioned in the 13 chap.

The land trendeth here Northwest 35 leagues.

Floting weeds for 50 leagues.

Thirtie degrees of Northerly latitude.

Twentie leagues beyond the Ile of Cedars.

And on the Sunday we saw a farre off a-head of vs a high land somewhat seuered from the maine shore, and all of vs beganne to dispute whether it were the land which trended toward the Northwest, for that way the Pilots hoped to discouer a better countrey: and the said Munday the fift of Ianuarie we came to this high land beforesaid, and it was two Ilands the one a small one and the other a great one: we coasted these two Ilands some sixe leagues, which were greene, and had on the toppe of them many high slender trees; and the great Iland was twentie leagues in compasse. We coasted in 6 leagues in length without seeing or discouering any other things, but we saw before vs high land which stretched eight or tenne leagues Northward, where we rode on Munday at night. From Thursday being Newyeares day vntill the next Munday we sayled about 35 leagues. And in this course we felt great cold, which grieued vs much, especially being assailed by two or three windie showers, which pinched vs much with colde. We rode ouer against this land two or three nights, hauing it neere vnto vs, alwayes keeping watch by equall houres, one while mariners, and another souldiers, all the night long with great vigilancie. On Tuesday being Twelfe day we came within two or three leagues of this land, which we had descryed the day before, seeming to vs very pleasant for it shewed greene with greene trees of an ordinary bignesse, and we saw many vallies, out of which certaine small mists arose, which continued in them for a long time, whereupon we gathered, that they rose out of certaine riuers. The same morning, to our great comfort we saw great smokes, though we were aboue foure leagues distant from them, and the Captaine made no great reckoning to approch neere vnto them, nor to seeke nor serch what the matter was, and perchance because he was not then in the Santa Agueda, but was aboord the Trinitie, as his maner was to come and stay there two or three dayes, as well to passe the time, as to giue order for things that were needefull. In this countrey the winter and raine seemed to be like that of Castile. We rode al night two or three leagues distance from shore, and toward euening we saw fiue or sixe fires, whereat we all reioyced, but did not maruell thereat, because the situation of that countrey shewed to be habitable, being faire, pleasant, and all greene, and likewise because the Iland which we had left behind vs being (as I haue said) twenty leagues in circuit, made shewe that it was well peopled. On the Wednesday we were 3 or 4 leagues at sea from the land, and began to see two fires more, & therfore we assured our selues that the countrey was very well inhabited; and the farther we sayled, we alwayes found it more ciuill. And for the space of fifty leagues before we came hither we alwayes found swimming on the sea certaine flotes of weedes of a ships length, and of the bredth of two ships, being round and full of gourds, and vnder these weedes were many fishes, and on some of them were store of foules like vnto white sea-meawes. We supposed that these floting weeds did grow vpon some rocke vnder the water. We were now in 30 degrees of Northerly latitude. We sailed from the 7 of Ianuary vntill the 9 still with contrary windes: and on Fryday about noone there rose a North and Northeastern winde, which forced vs to returne vnder the shelter of that Iland which we left behind vs, from whence we had sayled aboue twentie leagues. And that Friday at night somewhat late wee had sayled backe aboue twelue leagues of the same, and because it was night wee stayed in the sea, where we and our shippes were not a little troubled, so that all that night none of vs slept a winke, but watched euery one. The next morning betimes being Saturday we proceeded on our voyage, and gate vnder the shelter of the said Iland, riding in thirtie fadome water: and on that side where we ankored, we found high and closed mountaines, with heapes of a certaine earth which was all ashes and burned, and in other places skorched and as blacke as coles, and like the rust of yron, and in other places whitish, and here and there small blacke hilles, whereat we maruelled exceedingly, considering that when we passed by, it seemed vnto vs an habitable countrey full of trees, and now we saw not a sticke growing on this side.

All of vs supposed that on the other side toward the firme lande the trees grewe which we sawe, although (as I haue sayde) wee sayled foure or fiue leagues distant from the same.

We stayed here vnder the shelter of these mountaines Saturday, Sunday, and Munday, alwayes hauing the Northren winde so strong, that we thinke if it had caught vs in the sea, wee should haue bene cast away.

Chap. 12.

They enuiron and land vpon the Iland of Cedars, to discouer the same, and to seeke water and wood. They are assailed of the Indians, and many of them wounded with stones: but at length getting the vpper hand, they goe to their cottages, and ranging farther vp into the Iland they find diuerse things which the Indians in their flight had left behind them.

ON Friday the 13 of Ianuary the Captaine commanded vs to hoise out our boates, and to goe on shore, which was done accordingly, and we did row along the shore for the space of a good halfe league and entered into a valley: for (as I said) all this countrey was full of high and bare hils, of such qualitie as I mentioned before: and in this and other small valleys we found some water which was brackish, and not farre from thence certaine cottages made of shrubs like vnto broome; likewise we found the footings of Indians both small and great, whereat we much maruelled that in so rough and wilde a countrey (as farre as we could discerne) there should be people. Here we stayed all day, making foure or fiue pits to take in water which we wanted, which though it were bad, and in small quantitie we refused not; and so the euening being come, we returned to our boates, and so came vnto our ships which rode a good league from the shore. The next day being Wednesday the fourteenth of the said moneth our Generall commanded vs to set saile, and we sailed about the said Iland on the same side which we coasted when we came from Nueua Espanna: for when we arriued on the coast we saw fiue or sixe fires; wherefore he desired to see and learne whether it were inhabited; and at the farthest ende of this inlet or bay where we rode there came out before vs a Canoa, wherein were foure Indians which came rowing with certaine small oares, and came very neere vs to see what we were: whereupon we tolde our Generall, that it were best to send some of vs out with our boates to take these Indians or some one of them to giue them something that they might thinke vs to be good people: but hee would not consent thereto, because he minded not to stay, hauing then a prety gale of winde, whereby he might saile about this Iland, hoping that afterward we might finde and take some others to speake with them, and giue them what we would to carry on shore; and as we sayled neere the land, we saw a great hill full of goodly trees of the bignesse of the trees and Cypresses of Castile. We found in this Iland the footing of wilde beasts and conies, and saw a peece of pine tree-wood, wherof we gathered, that there was store of them in that countrey. Thus sayling neere vnto the shore, we sawe another Canoa comming toward vs with other foure Indians, but it came not very neere vs, and as we looked forward, we sawe toward a point which was very neere before vs, three other Canoas, one at the head of the point among certaine flattes, and the other two more into the sea, that they might descry vs without comming ouer neere vs. Likewise betweene certaine hilles which were neere the point, there appeared here three and there foure of them, and afterward we saw a small troope of some twentie of them together, so that all of vs reioyced greatly to behold them. On this side the land shewed greene with pieces of plaine ground which was neere the sea, and likewise all those coasts of hils shewed greene, and were couered with many trees, although they grew not very thicke together. Here at euening we rode neere the shore hard vpon the said point, to see if we could speake with those Indians, and likewise to see if we could get fresh water, which now we wanted, and still as soone as we were come to an anker, we saw the Indians shew themselues on land neere vnto their lodgings, comming likewise to descry vs in a Canoa, by sixe and seuen at a time, whereat we maruelled, because we neuer thought that one of those Canoas would hold so many men. In this wise we stayed looking still what would be the successe, and in the place where we rode we were two small leagues distant from the shore, where we found these Indians in their Canoas: whereupon wee maruelled not a little to see so great an alteration in so small a distance of countrey, as well because we still discouered pleasant land with trees (whereas on the other side of the isle there were none) as also because it was so well peopled with Indians, which had so many Canoas made of wood, as we might discerne, and not raftes or Balsas, for so they call those floats which are made all flat with canes.

A Balsa is a flat raft made of canes.

The next day being Thursday the fifteenth of the said moneth about breake of day foure or fiue Indians shewed themselues at the head of that point, who as soone as they had spyed vs retired behind the point, and hid themselues among the bushes vpon certaine small hilles that were there, from whence they issued forth, and couered all the greene hils and mountaines, which were along that coast; whereupon we gathered that they had their dwellings there, in regard of the cōmoditie of the water and the defence against ill weather and the benefite of fishing. At sun-rising we saw the Indians appeare in greater companies, going vp vnto the hilles in small troopes, and from thence they stood and beheld vs. Immediatly we saw fiue or sixe Canoas come out into the sea a good distance from vs, and those which were in them stood often on their tip-toes, to view and descry vs the better. On the other side we stirred not at all for all these their gestures, but stood still riding at anker; and the Generall seemed not to be very willing to take any of them, but this day in the morning very early commanded the Masters mate to conueigh him to our other shippe called The Trinitie. Things passed in this sort, when about ten of the clocke we saw three Canoas lanch farre into the sea to fish very neere vnto vs, whereat we tooke greate pleasure. At 12 of the clocke the Generall returned from the Trinitie and commanded the boat & men to be made readie, as well souldiers as mariners, and that we should goe on shore to see if we could get any wood and water, and catch one of those Indians to vnderstande their language if it were possible: and so all the men that were readie went into the Admirals boate, and went toward the Trinitie which by this time with the other ship had a small gale of winde, wherewith they entered farther within the point, and we discouered the lodgings and houses of the Indians, & saw neere the waters side those fiue or sixe Canoas which at the first came out to view vs, drawen on shore, and ouer against this place the ships cast anker in 30 and 35 fadome water, and we were very neere the land; whereat we maruelled much to find so great depth of water so neere the shore. Being gone abord our botes, we made toward the shore ouer against a village of the Indians, who as soone as they saw vs about to come on land, left an hill whereon they stood to behold what we did, & came downe to the shore, where we were prepared to come on land: but before they came against vs they caused their women and children to fly into the mountaines with their goods, & then came directly towards vs, threatning vs with certaine great staues which they carried in their handes some 3 yardes long and thicker then a mans wrest: but perceiuing that for all this we ceased not to come neere the sea shore to come on land, they began to charge vs with stones and to fling cruelly at vs, and they hit 4 or 5 men, among whom they smote the Generall with two stones. In the meane while the other bote landed a little beneath, whereupon when they saw that they were forced to diuide themselues to keepe the rest of our company from com-

A village of the Indians.

A skirmish of the Indians fighting with stones.

ming on land, they began to be discouraged, and did not assaile the Generals boate so fiercely, who began to cause his people to goe on shore with no small trouble; for albeit he was neere the land, yet as soone as they leapt out of the boat they sunke downe, because they could finde no fast footing; and thus swimming or otherwise as they could, first a souldier called Spinosa got on land, and next to him the General, and then some of the rest, and began to make head against the Indians, and they came hastily with those staues in their hands, for other kinds of weapons we saw none, sauing bowes and arrowes of pine-tree. After a short combate they brake in pieces the targets of the Generall, and of Spinosa. In the meane while those of the other boat were gotten on land, but not without much difficultie, by reason of the multitude of stones which continually rained downe vpon them, and they stroke Terazzo on the head a very shrowd blow, and had it not bene for our targets, many of vs had beene wounded, and in great distresse, although our enemies were but few in number. In this maner all our company came on shore with swimming and with great difficultie, and if they had not holpen one another, some of them had bene drowned. Thus we landed, and within a while after those of the other bote were come on land, the Indians betooke themselues to flight, taking their way toward the mountaines, whether they had sent their women, children and goods: on the other side we pursued them, & one of those Indians which came to assaile the Generals boat, was slaine vpon the strand, & two or three others were wounded, and some said more. While we pursued them in this maner our mastiue dogge Berecillo ouertooke one of them not farre from vs (who because we were so wet could not run very fast) and pulled him downe, hauing bitten him cruelly, and doubtlesse he had held him till we had come, vnlesse it had happened that another of his companions had not followed that Indian which the dogge had pulled downe, who with a staffe which he had in his hands gaue the dogge a cruell blow on the backe, and without any staying drew his fellow along like a Deere, and Berecillo was faine to leaue him for paine, neither had he scarse taken the dogge off on him, but the Indian got vp, and fled so hastily towarde the mountaine, that within a short while hee ouertooke his fellowe which had saued him from the pawes of the dogge, who (as it appeared) betooke him lustily to his heeles, and thus they came vnto their fellowes which descended not downe to the shore being about some twentie, and they were in all about fiftie or sixtie.

The great vse of targets against arrows and stones.

The vse of mastiues in the warre against Indians.

After we had breathed our selues a while, we viewed their houses where they stood, which were certaine cottages couered with shrubs like broome and rosemary, with certaine stakes pight in the ground; and the Generall willed vs to march all together without dispersing of our selues, a little way vp those mountaines, to see if there were any water and wood, because we stood in great neede of them both. And while we marched forward, we saw in certaine little vallies the goods which the women had left there behind them in their flight: for the Indians as soone as they saw vs pursue them ouertooke the women, and for feare charged them to flie away with their children leauing their stuffe in this place. We went vnto this booty, and found good store of fresh-fish, and dried fish, and certaine bags containing aboue 28 pound weight full of dried fish ground to pouder, and many seal-skins, the most part dressed with a faire white graine vpon them, and others very badly dressed. There were also their instruments to fish withall, as hookes made of the prickes of certaine shrubs and trees. Here we tooke the said skins without leauing any one in the place, and then we returned to the sea, because it was now night, or at least very late, and found our botes waiting for vs.

Seale-skins well dressed with a white graine.

Chap. 13.

A description of the Canoas of the Indians of the Ile of Cedars, and how coasting the same to find fresh water they found some, and desiring to take thereof they went on shore, and were diuersly molested with the weapons of the Indians. They christen an old Indian, and returne vnto their ships.

THe Canoas which they had were certaine thicke trunkes of Cedars, some of them of the thicknesse of two men, and three fadome long, being not made hollow at all, but being laid along and fastened together, they shoue them into the sea, neither were they plained to any purpose, for we found no kind of edge-toole, sauing that there were certaine sharp stones, which we found vpon certaine rockes that were very keene, wherewith we supposed that they did cut & flea those seales. And neere the shore we found certaine water, wherewith we filled certaine bottles made made of the skins of those seales, contayning ech of them aboue a great paile of water. The next day our Generall commanded vs to set saile, whereupon sailing with a fresh gale about 2 leagues from the shore of this Iland, trending about the same to see the end thereof, and also to approch neere the firme land, to informe our selues of the state thereof, because we had seene 5 or 6 fires, we compassed the same about: for by this meanes we performed 2 or 3 good actions, namely, we returned to our right course, and searched whether any riuer fell out of the coast of the firme land, or whether there were any trees there, or whether any store of Indians did shew themselues or no.

In this maner proceeding on our way all the Friday being the 16 of Ianuary at euening, and seeking to double the point of the Iland, so fierce and contrary a Northren winde encountered vs, that it draue vs backe that night ouer against the lodgings and habitations of the Indians, and here we stayed all Saturday, what time we lost the Trinitie againe, but on Sunday-night being the 18 we saw her againe, and beganne to proceede on our way to compasse that Iland, if it pleased God to send vs good weather.

Isla de los Cedros, or the Ile of Cedars in 28 deg. and a quarter.

On Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday (which was the twentieth of the said moneth of Ianuarie) wee sailed with scarse and contrary windes, and at length came to the cape of the point of the Iland, which we called Isla de los Cedros or the Ile of Cedars, because that on the tops of the mountaines therein, there growes a wood of these Cedars being very tall, as the nature of them is to be. This day the Trinitie descryed a village or towne of the Indians, and found water: for on Sunday night we had newly lost her, and had no sight of her vntill Tuesday, whenas we found her riding neere the shore, not farre from those cottages of the Indians. And as soone as we had descryed her, we made toward her, and before we could reach her, we espied three Canoas of Indians which came hard aboord the said ship called the Trinitie, so that they touched almost the side of the ship, and gaue them of their fish, and our people on the other side gaue them certaine trifles in exchange, and after they had spoken with them, the Indians went backe to the shore, and at the same instant we came vp vnto the Admirall and rode by them, and they all saluted vs, saying that the Indians were neere them, and telling what had passed betweene them, whereat the Generall and we receiued great contentment. They told vs moreouer, that they had found fresh water, whereby they increased our great ioy, because we stood in much neede thereof, for at the other place of the Indians we could get but a little.

These mighty deepe and high weedes are described in the end of this treatise.

While we thus rode at ankor, we saw a Canoa with 3 Indians put out into the sea from their cottages, and they went vnto a fishing place, among certaine great and high weedes, which grow in this sea among certaine rockes, the greatest part of which weedes groweth in 15 or 20 fadome depth: and with great celeritie they caught seuen or eight fishes, and returned with them vnto the Trinity, and gaue them vnto them, and they in recompense gaue the Indians certaine trifles. After this the Indians stayed at the sterne of the ship, viewing the same aboue three houres space, and taking the oares of our boat they tryed how they could rowe with them, whereat they tooke great pleasure; and we which were in the Admirall stirred not a whit all this while, to giue them the more assurance, that they should not flie away, but should see that we ment to doe them no harme, & that we were good people. As soone as we were come to anker, & beheld all that had passed betweene the Indians and those of the Trinity, after the Indians were gone to the shore in their Canoas made of the bodies of trees, the General commanded the boat which was without to be brought vnto him: and when it was come, he, and Francis Preciado, and two others went into it, and so we went aboord the Trinity. The Indians seeing people comming out of the other ship into the Trinitie, sent two Canoas vnto the sterne of the ship, and brought vs a bottle of water, and we gaue vnto them certain beads, and continued talking with them a little while; but euening approching the aire grew somewhat cold. The Indians returned on shore to their lodgings, and the General and we to our ship. The next day being Wednesday in the morning, the General commanded certaine of vs to take the bote and goe ashore, to see if we could find any brooke or well of fresh water in the houses of the Indians, because he thought it vnpossible for them to dwell there without any water to drinke. The father frier Raimund likewise went out in our company, because the day before seeing the Indians came to the sterne of the shippe and parlying with vs, he thought he might haue spoken a little with them, with the like familiarity. In like sort many mariners and souldiers went out in the boat of the Trinity, and going altogether with their weapons toward the shore, somewhat aboue the lodgings of the Indians, very early in the morning they watched the boats, and perceiued that wee would come on land, wherevpon they sent away their women & children with certaine of them, who caried their goods vp into certaine exceeding steepe mountaines and hilles, and 5 or 6 of them came toward vs, which were excellently well made, and of a good stature. Two of them had bowes and arrowes, and other two 2 bastonadoes much thicker then the wrist of a mans hand, and other two with 2 long staues like iauelins with very sharpe points, and approched very neere vs being nowe come on shore. And beginning by signes very fiercely to braue vs, they came so neere vs, that almost they strooke with one of those staues one of our souldiers called Garcia a man of good parentage, but the General commanded him to withdraw himselfe, and not to hurt any of them. In the meane season the General and frier Raimund stept foorth, the frier lapping a garment about his arme, because they had taken vp stones in their hands, fearing that they would do them some mischiefe. Then began both of them to speake vnto them by signes & words, to be quiet, signifying, that they ment them no harme, but only were come to take water; and the frier shewed them a drinking cup; but nothing would serue to make them leaue that bragging, and flinging of stones: and the General continuing still in a mind not to hurt them, commanded his men gently to come neere vnto them, and that by signes they should all shew them, that they meant in no wise to hurt them, but that we were come on land onely to take water. On the other side refusing vtterly to take knowledge of these things they still insulted more and more: whereupon Francis Preciado counselled the General to giue him leaue to kill one of them, because all the rest would flee away, wherby at our ease we might take water: but he replied that he would not haue it so, but willed them to looze the two mastiues Berecillo and Achillo: wherefore the dogs were let loose, and as soone as they saw them, they vanished immediately, betaking them to their heeles, and running vp those cliffes like goates. Also others which came from the mountains to succour them, betooke themselues to flight. The dogs ouertooke two of them, and bit them a little, and we running after, laid hold on them, and they seemed as fierce as wild & vntamed beasts, for 3 or 4 of vs held either of them, to cherish & pacifie them, and to seeke to giue them some thing: but we auailed not, for they bit vs by the hands, and stooped downe to take vp stones for to strike vs with them. We led them a while in this maner, & came vnto their lodgings, where the Generall gaue a charge, that no man should touch any thing of theirs, commanding Francis Preciado to see that this order were obserued, in not taking any thing frõ them, although in very deed there was little or nothing there, because the women and Indians which were fled had caried al away. Here we found an old man in a caue so extreamly aged as it was wonderful, which could neither see nor go, because he was so lame and crooked. The father frier Raimund sayd, it were good, (seeing he was so aged) to make him a Christian; whereupon we christened him. The captaine gaue the Indians which we had taken two paire of eare-rings, and certaine counterfeit diamonds, and making much of them, suffered them to depart at their pleasure, and in this sort faire and softly they returned to the rest of their fellowes in the mountaine. We tooke the matter of that village which was but a small quantity, and then the Generall commanded vs to returne to our ship, because we had eaten nothing as yet, and after our repast we sayled towards a bay which lay beyond that village, where we saw a very great valley, and those of the Trinitie sayd, that they had

The great vse of mastiues in pursuit of the Indians.

seene there good store of water, and sufficient for vs; wherefore wee ankered neere vnto that valley. And the General went on shore with both the boates, and the men that went on land in the morning with the two fathers frier Raimund, and frier Antony: and passing vp that valley a crossebow-shot, we found a very small brooke of water which neuertheles supplied our necessity for we filled two buts thereof that euening, leauing our vessels to take it with on shore vntill the next morning: and we reioyced not a little that we had found this water, for it was fresh, and the water which we had taken vp before was somewhat brackish, and did vs great hurt both in our bodies and in our taste.

Chap. 14.

They take possession of the Isle of Cedars for the Emperours Maiestie, and departing from thence they are greatly tossed with a tempest of the sea, and returne to the Island, as to a safe harbour.

THe next day being the two and twentieth of Ianuary very early the General commanded vs to go on shore, and that we should haue our dinner brought vs, and should take in the rest of our water, which we did, and filled 17 buts without seeing any Indian at al. The next day going out to fill 8 or 9 vessels which were not yet filled, a great winde at Northwest *tooke vs, wherenpon they made signes to vs from the ships, that with all haste wee should come on boord againe, for the wind grew still higher, and higher, and the Masters were affraid that our cables would break, thus we were in the open sea. Therefore being come aboord againe not without great trouble, we returned backe ouer against the village of the Indians, * where we had slaine the Indian, and because the wind grew more calme about midnight, the Pilots did not cast anker, but hulled vnder the shelter of this Island,* which (as I haue said) is called The Isle of Cedars, and is one of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan, the greatest & chiefest of them, where the General tooke possession. While we hulled here, about midnight, the next Friday being the 23 of the moneth, without our expectation we had a fresh gale of wind from the Southeast, which was very fauourable for our voyage, & the longer it continued, the more it increased; so that betweene that night and the next day being Saturday the 24 of the said moneth we sailed 18 great leagues. While wee were thus on our way, the wind grew so contrary and so tempestuous, that to our great griefe we were constrained to coast about with our ships, and returned twenty leagues backe againe, taking for our succour the second time, the point of the lodgings of the Indians, where the foresayd Indian was slaine, and here we stayed Munday, Tewsday, and Wednesday, during which time the Northwest and the North wind blew continually, whereupon we determined not to stirre from thence vntill we saw good weather, and well setled for our voyage: for in this climate these winds doe raigne so greatly, that we feared they would stay vs longer there then we would; and we were so weary of staying, that euery day seemed a moneth vnto vs. Vnder this shelter we rode Thursday, Friday, and Saturday vntill noone, which was the last of Ianuary in the yeere 1540. About noone the wind began to blow softly at Southwest, whereupon the General told the Pilots, that we should doe well to put ouer to the maine land, where upon the Generall told the Pilots that we should doe well to put ouer to the maine land, where with some wind off the shore we might by the grace of God saile somewhat farther. Thus we hoised our sailes, and sailed vntil euening three or foure leagues, for the wind scanted, and wee remained becalmed. The night being come there arose a contrary winde, and we were inforced of necessitie to retire the third time to the same shelter of the Isle of Cedars, where we stayed from the first of February vntil Shrouesunday, in the which meane time we tooke in two buts of water which we had spent. During the space of these eight dayes we sought to make sayle two or three times, but as we went out a little beyond the point of this Isle, we found the wind so boystrous and contrary, and the sea so growen, that of force we were constrained to returne vnder the succour of the Island, and often times wee were in great feare that we should not be able to get in thither againe. During this time that we could not proceed on our iourney, we imployed our selues in catching a few fishes for the Lent. From Shrouesunday being the 8 of February, on which day we set sayle, we sayled with a very

Cap. 11.

Isla de los Cedros is the greatest of the 3 Isles of S. Stephan.

Read cap. 11. about the end.

February.

very scant wind, or rather a calme, vntill Shrouetewsday, on which we came within kenne of the firme land, from whence we were put backe these twenty leagues (for in these two dayes and a halfe wee sayled some 20 small leagues) and we lay in sight of the sayd poynt of the firme land. And on the Tewsday we were becalmed, waiting till God of his mercy would helpe vs with a prosperous wind to proceed on our voyage.

On Shrouesunday at night, to make good cheere withall wee had so great winde and raine, that there was nothing in our ships which was not wet, and a very colde ayre. On Ash-wednesday at sun-rising we strooke saile neere a point which we fel somewhat short withall in a great bay running into this firme land: and this is the place where we saw fiue or sixe fires, and at the rising of the sunne being so neere the shore that we might well descrie and viewe it at our pleasure we sawe it to bee very pleasant, for wee descried as farre as wee could discerne with our eyes, faire valleys and small hilles, with greene shrubs very pleasant to behold, although there grew no trees there. The situation shewed their length and breadth. This day was little winde, it being in a manner calme, to our no small griefe: and the father frier Raimund sayd vs a drie masse, and gaue vs ashes, preaching vnto vs according to the time and state wherein we were: with which sermon we were greatly comforted. After noonetide we had contrary wind, which still was our enemie in all our iourney, at the least from the point of the port of Santa Cruz. Here we were constrained to anker in fiue fadome water, and after wee rode at anker wee began to viewe the countrey, and tooke delight in beholding how goodly and pleasant it was, and neere vnto the sea wee iudged that wee saw a valley of white ground. At euening so great a tempest came vpon vs of winde and raine, that it was so fearefull and dangerous a thing that a greater cannot bee expressed; for it had like to haue driuen vs vpon the shore, and the chiefe Pilot cast out another great anker into the sea, yet all would not serue, for both these ankers could not stay the ship. Whereupon all of vs cryed to God for mercy, attending to see how he would dispose of vs; who of his great goodnesse, while we were in this danger, vouchsafed a little to slake the tempest, and with great speede the chiefe Pilot commanded the mariners to turne the capsten, and the Generall commanded and prayed all the souldiers to helpe to turne the capsten, which they were nothing slow to performe: and thus we beganne to weigh our ankers, and in weighing of one which was farre greater then the other, the sea was so boisterous that it forced the capsten in such sorte, that the men which were at it could not rule the same, and it strooke a Negro of the Generals such a blowe, that it cast him downe along vpon the decke, and did the like vnto another mariner and one of the barres strooke our fire-furnace so violently, that it cast it ouerboord into the sea. Yet for all these troubles wee weighed our ankers, and set sayle, and albeit we had great tempests at sea, yet made wee no account thereof in respect of the ioy which we conceiued to see our selues freed of the perill of being cast on that shore with our ships, especially seeing it fell out at midnight, at which time no man could haue escaped, but by a meere myracle from God.

A great bay in the firme land.

The point of Santa Cruz otherwise called Punta de Balenas.

Wee sayled vp and downe the sea all Thursday, and vntill Friday in the morning being the fourteeneth day of February, and the waues of the sea continually came raking ouer our deckes. At length, on Saturday morning at breake of day we could finde no remedy against the contrary windes, notwithstanding the Generall was very obstinate to haue vs keepe out at sea, although it were very tempestuous, least we should be driuen to put backe againe, but no diligence nor remedie preuailed: for the windes were so boysterous and so contrary, that they could not be worse, and the sea went still higher, and swelled more and more, and that in such sorte, that we greatly feared wee should all perish. Whereupon the Pilot thought it our best course to returne to the Isle of Cedars, whither wee had repaired three or foure times before by reason of the selfe same contrary windes, for wee tooke this Island for our father and mother, although we receiued no other benefite thereby saue this onely, namely, to repaire thither in these necessities, and to furnish our selues with water, and with some small quantitie of fish.

Being therefore arriued at this Island, and riding vnder the shelter thereof, the contrary windes did alwayes blow very strongly, and here we tooke water which we drunke, and wood for our fewel, and greatly desired, that the windes would bee more fauourable for proceeding on our iourney. And though we rode vnder the shelter of the Isle, yet felt wee the great fury of those windes, and the rage of the sea, and our ships neuer ceased rolling.

At breake of day the twentieth of February wee found the cable of our Admirall cracked, whereupon, to our great griefe, we were constrained to set sayle, to fall downe lower the space of a league, and the Trinitie came and rode in our company.

Chap. 15.

They goe on land in the isle of Cedars, and take diuers wilde beasts, and refresh and solace themselues. They are strangely tossed with the Northwest winde, and seeking often to depart they are forced, for the auoiding of many mischiefes, to repaire thither againe for harbour.

THe two and twentieth of February being the second Sonday in Lent, the General went on shore with the greatest part of his people and the friers, neere vnto a valley which they sawe before them. And hearing masse on land, certaine souldiers and mariners, with certaine dogges which we had in our company went into the said valley, and we met with certaine deere, whereof we tooke a female, which was little, but fat, whose haire was liker the haire of a wild goat then of a deere, and we found her not to be a perfect deere, for she had foure dugs like vnto a cowe full of milke, which made vs much to marueile. And after we had flayed off her skinne, the flesh seemed more like the flesh of a goate, then of a deere. We killed likewise a gray conie, in shape like vnto those of Nueua Espanna, and another as blacke as heben-wood. In the cottages at the shelter aboue, where we brake our cable, we found many pine-nuts opened, which (in mine opinion) the Indians had gathered together to eate the kernels of them. On Munday the 23 of the said moneth we rode at anker, taking our pleasure and pastime with fishing. And the Northwest winde began to blow, which waxed so great a little before midnight, as it was wonderfull: so that although we were vnder the shelter of the Island, and greatly defended from that wind, yet for all that it was so furious, and the sea became so raging and boisterous, that it greatly shook our ships, and we were in great feare of breaking our cables, whereof (to say the trueth) we had very much neede: for hauing spent longer time in this voyage then we looked for, wee had broken two, and lost two of our best ankers. This furious winde continued vntill the next day being Tewsday the 24 when as we went on shore with the friers, who sayd vs masse, recommending our selues to God, beseeching him to vouchsafe to succour and help vs with some good weather that we might proceede on our voyage, to the aduancement of his seruice. And still the winds were so high and outragious, that the deuill seemed to be loosed in the aire. Whereupon the Pilots caused all the masts to be let downe, least they should be shaken with the wind, and tooke off all the shrowds, and likewise caused the cabbens in the sterne to be taken away, that the winds might haue more free passage, for the safetie of the ships: yet for al this they ceased not to be in great trouble. On Tewsday the second of March, about midnight or somewhat after, riding vnder the Island in this distresse, there came a gust of Northwest winde, which made the cable of the Admirall to slip, and the Trinitie brake her cable, and had bene cast away, if God of his mercy had not prouided for vs, together with the diligence which the Pilots vsed, in hoising the sailes of the trinkets and mizzen, wherewith they put to sea, and rode by another anker vntill day, when the men of both the ships went with their boats to seeke the anker vntill noone, which at length they found and recouered, not without great paines & diligence which they vsed in dragging for it, for they were till noone in seeking the same, and had much adoe to recouer it. After this we set vp our shrowdes, and all things necessary to saile, for to proceede on our voyage, if it pleased God, and not to stay alwayes in that place, as lost and forlorne. Thus on the Wednesday two or three houres after dinner we wee set saile, with a scarce winde at Southeast, which was fauourable for our course and very scant; and our Pilots & all the rest of vs were in no smal feare, that it would not continue long. We began therfore to set forward, although we seemed to see before our eies, that at the end of the Island we should meete with contrary winde at North and Northwest. This day about euening when our ships had discouered the point of this Isle of Cedars, wee began to perceiue those contrary windes, and the sea to goe so loftily, that it was terrible to behold. And the farther we went, the more the winds increased, so that they put vs to great distresse, sayling alwayes with the sheates of our mainesaile and trinket warily in our hands, and with great diligence we loosed the ties of all the sailes, to saue them the better, that the wind might not charge them too vehemently. For all this the mariners thought it best to returne backe, and that by no means we should runne farre into the sea, because we were in extreame danger. Whereupon wee followed their counsel, turning backe almost to the place from whence we departed, whereat we were al not a little grieued, because we could not prosecute our voyage, and began to want many things for the furniture of our ships. The 8 of March being Munday about noone the Generall commanded vs to set saile, for a small gale of winde blew from the West, which was the wind whereof we had most need, to follow our voyage, whereat wee were all glad for the great desire which we had to depart out of that place. Therefore we began to set saile, & to passe toward the point of the Island, and to shape our course toward the coast of the firme land, to view the situation thereof. And as we passed the Island, and were betwixt it and the maine, the Northwest being a contrary wind began to blow, which increased so by degrees, that we were constrained to let fall the bonets of our sailes, to saue them, striking them very low. And the Trinitie seeing this bad weather returned forthwith vnto the place from whence we departed, and the Admiral cast about all night in the sea, vntill the morning; and the chiefe Pilot considering that by no means we could proceed farther without danger, if we should continue at sea any longer, resolued that wee should retire our selues againe to that shelter, where we rode at anker vntill Thursday. And on Friday about noone we set saile againe with a scarce winde, & in comming forth vnto the point of the Island, we met againe with contrary winde at Northwest: whereupon running all night with the firme land, on Saturday in the morning being S. Lazarus day and the 13 of March, we came in sight thereof, in viewing of the which we all reioyced, and we souldiers would very willingly haue gone on shore. This night fel great store of raine like the raine in Castilia, and we were all well wet in the morning, & we tooke great pleasure in beholding the situation of that firme land, because it was greene, and because we had discouered a pleasant valley and plaines of good largenes, which seemed to bee enuironed with a garland of mountains. At length for feare of misfortunes, seeing the sea so high, we durst not stay here or approch neere the land, & because we had great want of cables and ankers, we were again constrained to put to sea; and being in the same, and finding the said contrary windes, the Pilots iudged that we had none other remedie, but againe to retire our selues to our wonted shelter. And thus we returned, but somewhat aboue the old place. On Sunday we rode here to the great grief of all the cōpany, considering what troubles we indured, & could not get forward; so that this was such a corrasiue, as none could be more intollerable. This day being come to an anker wee had a mighty gale of wind at Northwest, which was our aduersary and capital enemie, and when day was shut in, it still grew greater and greater, so that the ships rouled much. And after midnight, toward break of day, the Trinitie brake her two cables, which held the two ankers which she had, and seeing her selfe thus forlorne, she turned vp and downe in the sea vntill day, and came & rode neere vs, by one anker which shee had left. This day all of vs went to seeke these lost ankers, and for all the diligence which wee vsed, wee could find but one of them. We rode at anker all day vntil night, when the Trinitie againe brake a cable, which certaine rocks had cut asunder: wherupon the General commanded that she should ride no longer at anker, but that shee should turne vp and downe, as she had done before in sight of vs, which she did al day long, and at night she came to an anker ouer against a fresh water somewhat lower, and wee went and rode hard by her. On Palmesunday we went on shore with the fathers, which read the passion vnto vs and said masse, and we went in procession with branches in our hands. And so being comforted, because we had receiued that holy Sacrament, we returned to our ships.

The firme land very green and pleasant with goodly valleys and plaines.

Chap.

Chap. 16.

Returning to the Isle of Cedars weather-beaten, and with their ships in euil case, they conclude, that the ship called Santa Agueda or Santa Agatha should returne vnto Nueua Espanna. Of the multitude of whales which they found about the point of California: with the description of a weede, which groweth among the Islands of those seas.

HEre we continued vntill the Wednesday before Easter being the foure and twentieth of March, on which day wee consulted together, that because the ships were ill conditioned, and wanted necessary furniture to proceede any further, it were best for vs to returne backe to New Spaine, as also because our clothes were consumed: but the Generall seemed not willing to returne, but to proceed on his voyage: and in fine it was resolued, that seeing both the ships could not proceede forward, as well because they had lost their necessary furnitures, as also that the Santa Agatha had neede of calking, because she receiued much water. and was the worst furnished of the twaine, that shee should returne backe to aduertize the Marques of our successe in this voyage, and what hindred our proceeding, and in what case wee stoode, and howe wee were bereft of our necessary furniture. And because the Trinitie was the swifter ship, and better appointed then the other, it was concluded, that it should be prouided in the best maner that might be, & that the General should proceed on his iourney in her with such cõpanie as he should make choise of, and that the rest should returne at their good leisure. Wherefore vpon this determination we went vnder a point of this Island, because it was a fit place to carene the ship: & in recouering the same we spent Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday till noone, and yet for all that wee could not wel double it, vntil Easter day about noone. Here we ankered very neere the shore, and in a valley we found very excellent fresh water, wherof we made no smal account, & here stayed all the Easter-holidayes, to set our selues about the furnishing vp of the Trinity: and after the worke was taken in hand by the two Masters which were very sufficient calkers (one of which was Iuan Castiliano chiefe Pilot, and the other Peruccio de Bermes) they finished the same so well in fiues dayes, as it was wonderfull; for no man could perceiue how any droppe of water could enter into any of the seames. Afterward they mended the other ship from Saturday till Munday, during which time all those were shriuen that had not confessed, and receiued the communion, and it was resolued by charge of the confessors, that all those seale-skins which they had taken from the Indians should bee restored againe; and the Generall gaue charge to Francis Preciado to restore them all, charging him on his conscience so to doe. Thus they gathered them together, and deliuered them into the hands of the fathers, to bee kept vntill they returned to the place, where they were to restore them. After this maner on Munday before noone we tooke our leaues of the Generall Francis Vlloa, and of the people that stayed with him, who at our departure shed no small number of teares, and we chose for our captaine in the Santa Agueda master Iuan Castiliano the chiefe pilot, as well of the ship, as of vs all, and set saile the same day being the fift of April, hauing our boat tied at our sterne, till we came ouer against the cottages, whence wee had taken the seale-skins. From the countrey of the Christians and the port of Colima we were now distant some three hundreth leagues, which is the first port where wee determined to touch at. And hauing sailed a league from the Trinitie the captaine Iuan Castiliano commanded vs to salute them with three pieces of great Ordinance, and she answered vs with other three, and afterward we answered one another with two shot apiece.

The Santa Agueda returneth for New-spaine the 5. of April.

The Isle of Cedars 300 leagues from Colima.

The sixt of Aprill.

We sailed on Munday & * Tewsday til noon with contrary wind in sight of the Island, and at noone we had a fresh gale in the poupe, which brought vs ouer against the cottages of the Indians where we tooke away those seal-skins; & there certain souldiers & mariners with the father frier Antony de Melo leapt on shore with the boat, carying the skins with them, & flung them into the sayd cottages out of which they were taken, and so returned to their ship. This day the weather calmed, whereupon we were driuen to cast anker, fearing that we should foorthwith be distressed for want of victuals, if we should stay there any long time: but God which is the true helper prouided better for vs then we deserued or imagined; for as we rode here, after midnight the Wednesday following before ten of the clocke wee had a fauourable gale of winde from the Southeast, which put vs into the sea; whither being driuen, wee had the wind at Northwest so good and constant, that in sixe dayes it brought vs to the cape of the point of the port of Santa Cruz: for which so great blessing of God we gaue vnto him infinite thankes. And here we began to allow our selues a greater proportion of victuals then wee had done before, for wee had eaten very sparingly for feare lest our victuals would faile vs. Before we came to this point of the hauen of Santa Cruz by sixe or seuen leagues we saw on shore between certaine valleys diuers great smokes. And hauing passed the point of this port, our captaine thought it good to lanch foorth into the maine Ocean: yet although we ran a swift course, aboue 500 whales came athwart of vs in 2 or 3 skulles within one houres space, which were so huge, as it was wonderfull, and some of them came so neere vnto the ship, that they swam vnder the same from one side to another, whereupon we were in great feare, lest they should doe vs some hurt, but they could not because the ship had a prosperous and good winde, and made much way, whereby it could receiue no harme, although they touched and strooke the same.

The 7 of April.

They sail from the Isle of Cedars to the point of Santa Cruz or California in sixe daies.

Punta de Balenas.

Among these Islands are such abundance of those weedes, that if at any time wee were inforced to sayle ouer them they hindred the course of our ships. They growe fourteene or fifteene fadome deepe vnder the water, their tops reaching foure or fiue fadome aboue the water. They are of the colour of yellow waxe, & their stalke groweth great proportionably. This weede is much more beautifull then it is set foorth, and no maruell, for the naturall painter and creator thereof is most excellent.

Read more of these weeds cap. 13.

This relation was taken out of that which Francis Preciado brought with him.

After this ship the Santa Agueda departed from the Generall Vlloa, and returned backe the 5 of April, she arriued in the port of Sant Iago de buena esperança the 18 of the said moneth, and after she had stayed there foure or fiue dayes, she departed for Acapulco: howbeit vntill this present seuenteenth of May in the yeere 1540, I haue heard no tidings nor newes of her.

Sant Iago de Buena esperanza in 19 degrees.

Moreouer after the departure of the Santa Agueda for Nueua Espanna, the General Francis Vlloa in the ship called the Trinitie proceeding on his discouery coasted the land vntill he came to a point called Cabo del Enganno standing in thirty degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude, and then returned backe to Newspaine, because he found the winds very contrary, and his victuals failed him.

Cabo del Enganno in 30 degrees & a halfe.

The relation of the nauigation and discouery which Captaine Fernando Alarchon made by the order of the right honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Vizeroy of New Spaine, dated in Colima, an hauen of New Spaine.

Chap. 1.

Fernando Alarchon after he had suffered a storme, arriued with his Fleete at the hauen of Saint Iago, and from thence at the hauen of Aguaiaual: he was in great perill in seeking to discouer a Bay, and getting out of the same he discouered a riuer on the coast with a great current, entring into the same, and coasting along he descried a great many of Indians with their weapons: with signes hee hath traffique with them, and fearing some great danger returneth to his ships.

ON Sunday the ninth of May in the yeere 1540. I set saile with two ships, the one called Saint Peter being Admirall, and the other Saint Catherine, and wee set forward meaning to goe to the hauen of Saint Iago of good hope: but before wee arriued there wee had a terrible storme, wherewith they which were in the ship called Saint Catherine, being more afraid then was neede, cast ouer boord nine pieces of Ordinance, two ankers and one cable, and many other things as needfull for the enterprise wherein we went, as the shippe it selfe. Assoone as we were arriued at the hauen of Saint Iago I repaired my losse which I had receiued, prouided my selfe of things necessary, and tooke aboord my people which looked for my comming, and directed my course toward the hauen of Aguaiauall. And being there arriued I vnderstood that the Generall Francis Vazquez de Coronado was departed with all his people: whereupon taking the ship called Saint Gabriel which carried victuals for the armie I led her with mee to put in execution your Lordships order. Afterward I followed my course along the coast without departing from the same, to see if I could find any token, or any Indian which could giue me knowledge of him: and in sailing so neere the shore I discouered other very good hauens, for the ships whereof Captaine Francis de Vllua was Generall for the Marquesse de Valle neither sawe nor found them. And when we were come to the flats and shoalds from whence the foresaid fleete returned, it seemed as well to me as to the rest, that we had the firme land before vs, and that those shoalds were so perilous and fearefull, that it was a thing to be considered whither with our skiffes we could enter in among them: and the Pilotes and the rest of the company would haue had vs done as Captaine Vllua did, and haue returned backe againe. But because your Lordship commanded mee, that I should bring you the secret of that gulfe, I resolued, that although I had knowen I should haue lost the shippes, I would not haue ceased for any thing to haue seene the head thereof: and therefore I commanded Nicolas Zamorano Pilote maior, and Dominico del Castello that eche of them should take a boate, and their lead in their hands, and runne in among those shoalds, to see if they could find out the chanell whereby the shippes might enter in: to whom it seemed that the ships might saile vp higher (although with great trauell and danger) and in this sort I and he began to follow our way which they had taken, and within a short while after wee found our selues fast on the sands with all our three ships, in such sort that one could not helpe another, neither could the boates succour vs, because the current was so great that it was impossible for one of vs to come vnto another: whereupon we were in such great ieopardie that the decke of the Admirall was oftentimes vnder water, and if a great surge of the sea had not come & driuen our ship right vp, and gaue her leaue as it were to breath a while, we had there bin drowned: and likewise the other two shippes found themselues in very great hazard, yet because they were lesser and drewe lesse water, their danger was not so great as ours. Nowe it pleased God vpon the returne of the flood that the shippes came on flote, and so wee went forward. And although the company would haue returned backe, yet for all this I determined to goe forwarde, and to pursue our attempted voyage: and we passed forward with much adoe, turning our stemmes now this way, now that way, to seeke to find the chanel. And it pleased God that after this sort we came to the very bottome of the Bay: where wee found a very mightie riuer, which ranne with so great fury of a streame, that we could hardly saile against it. In this sort I determined as wel as I could to go vp this riuer, and with two boates, leauing the third with the ships, and twenty men, my selfe being in one of them with Roderigo Maldonado treasurer of this fleet, and Gaspar de Castilleia comptroller, and with certaine small pieces of artillerie I began to saile vp the riuer, and charged all my company, that none of them should stirre nor vse any signe, but he whom I appoynted, although wee found Indians. The same day, which was Thursday the sixe and twentieth of August, following our voyage with drawing the boats with halsers we went about some 6 leagues: and the next day which was Friday by the breake of day thus following our way vpward, I saw certaine Indians which went toward certaine cottages neere vnto the water, who assoone as they saw vs, ten or twelue of them rose vp furiously, and crying with a loud voyce, other of their companions came running together to the number of 50 which with all haste carried out of their cottages such things as they had, and layd them vnder certaine shrubs and many of them came running toward that part whether wee approched, making great signes vnto vs that we should goe backe againe, vsing great threatnings

The hauen of Saint Iago.

The hauen of Aguaiauall.

These shoalds are the bottome of mar Bermejo, or the Bay of California.

The bottome of the Bay of California.

They goe vp the riuer of Buena guia the 26. of August.

nings against vs, one while running on this side and an other while on that side. I seeing them in such a rage, caused our boates to lanch from the shore into the middes of the riuer, that the Indians might be out of feare, and I rode at anker, and set my people in as good order as I could, charging them that no man should speake, nor make any signe nor motion, nor stirre out of his place, nor should not be offended for any thing that the Indians did, nor should shewe no token of warre: And by this meanes the Indians came euery foote neere the riuers side to see vs: and I gate by little and little toward them where the riuer seemed to be deepest. In this meane space there were aboue two hundred and fiftie Indians assembled together with bowes and arrowes, and with certaine banners in warrelike sort in such maner as those of New Spayne doe vse: and perceiuing that I drewe toward the shore, they came with great cryes toward vs with bowes and arrowes put into them, and with their banners displayed. And I went vnto the stemme of my boate with the interpreter which I carried with me, whom I commanded to speake vnto them, and when he spake, they neither vnderstood him, nor he them, although because they sawe him to be after their fashion, they stayed themselues: and seeing this I drewe neerer the shore, and they with great cryes came to keepe mee from the shore of the riuer, making signes that I should not come any farther, putting stakes in my way betweene the water and the land: and the more I lingered, the more people still flocked together. Which when I had considered I beganne to make them signes of peace, and taking my sword and target, I cast them downe in the boate and set my feete vpon them, giuing them to vnderstand with this and other tokens that I desired not to haue warre with them, and that they should doe the like. Also I tooke a banner and cast it downe, and I caused my company that were with mee to sit downe likewise, and taking the wares of exchange which I carried with mee, I called them to giue them some of them: yet for all this none of them stirred to take any of them, but rather flocked together, and beganne to make a great murmuring among themselues: and suddenly one came out from among them with a staffe wherein certayne shelles were set, and entred into the water to giue them vnto mee, and I tooke them, and made signes vnto him that hee should come neere me, which when he had done, I imbraced him, and gaue him in recompence certaine beades and other things, and he returning with them vnto his fellowes, began to looke vpon them, and to parley together, and within a while after many of them came toward me, to whom I made signes to lay downe their banners, and to leaue their weapons: which they did incontinently, then I made signes that they should lay them altogether, and should goe aside from them, which likewise they did: and they caused those Indians which newly came thither to leaue them, and to lay them together with the rest. After this I called them vnto me, and to all them which came I gaue some smal trifle, vsing them gently, and by this time they were so many that came thronging about mee, that I thought I could not stay any longer in safety among them, and I made signes vnto them that they should withdraw themselues, and that they should stand al vpon the side of an hill which was there betweene a plaine & the riuer, and that they should not presse to me aboue ten at a time. And immediatly the most ancient among them called vnto them with a loud voyce, willing them to do so: and some ten or twelue of them came where I was: whereupon seeing my selfe in some securitie, I determined to goe on land the more to put them out of feare: and for my more securitie, I made signes vnto them, to sit downe on the ground which they did: but when they saw that ten or twelue of my companions came a shore after me, they began to be angry, and I made signes vnto them that we would be friends, and that they should not feare, & herewithal they were pacified, and sate down as they did before, and I went vnto them, & imbraced them, giuing them certain trifles, commanding mine interpreter to speake vnto them, for I greatly desired to vnderstand their maner of speech, and the cry which they made at mee. And that I might knowe what maner of foode they had, I made a signe vnto them, that wee would gladly eate, and they brought mee certaine cakes of Maiz, and a loafe of Mizquiqui, and they made signes vnto mee that they desired to see an harquebuse shotte off, which I caused to be discharged, and they were all wonderfully afraid, except two or three olde men among them which were not

He carried an interpreter with him.

A very good course taken to appease vnknowen Sauages.

mooued at all, but rather cried out vpon the rest, because they were afrayd: and through the speach of one of these olde men, they began to rise vp from the ground, and to lay hold on their weapons: whom when I sought to appease, I would haue giuen him a silken girdle of diuers colours, and hee in a great rage bitte his nether lippe cruelly, and gaue mee a thumpe with his elbowe on the brest, and turned in a great furie to speake vnto his company. After that I saw them aduance their banners, I determined to returne my selfe gently to my boates, and with a small gale of wind I set sayle, whereby wee might breake the current which was very great, although my company were not well pleased to goe any farther. In the meane space the Indians came following vs along the shore of the riuer, making signes that I should come on land, and that they would giue mee food to eate, some of them sucking their fingers, and others entred into the water with certaine cakes of Maiz, to giue me them in my boate.

Chap. 2.

Of the habite, armour and stature of the Indians. A relation of many others with whom he had by signes traffique, victuals and many courtesies.

IN this sort we went vp two leagues, and I arriued neere a cliffe of an hill, whereupon was an arbour made newly, where they made signes vnto me, crying that I should go thither, shewing me the same with their handes, and telling mee that there was meate to eate:

Good forecast.

But I would not goe thither, seeing the place was apt for some ambush, but followed on my voyage, within a while after issued out from thence aboue a thousand armed men with their bowes and arrowes, and after that many women and children shewed themselues, toward whom I would not goe, but because the Sunne was almost set, I rode in the middest of the riuer.

Indians besmoutched with cole.

These Indians came decked after sundry fashions, some came with a painting that couered their face all ouer, some had their faces halfe couered, but all besmouched with cole, and euery one as it liked him best. Others carried visards before them of the same colour which had the shape of faces. They weare on their heads a piece of a Deeres skinne two spannes broad set after the maner of a helmet, and vpon it certaine small sticks with some sortes of fethers. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes of hard wood, and two or three sorts of maces of wood hardened in the fire. This is a mightie people, well feitured, and without any grossenesse. They haue holes bored in their nostrels whereat certaine pendents hang: and others weare shelles, and their eares are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and shelles. All of them both great and small weare a girdle about their waste made of diuerse colours, and in the middle is fastened a round bunch of feathers, which hangeth downe behind like a tayle. Likewise on the brawne of their armes they weare a streit string, which they wind so often about that it becommeth as broad as ones hand. They weare certaine pieces of Deeres bones fastened to their armes, wherewith they strike off the sweate, and at the other certaine small pipes of canes.

Pipes and bagges of Tabacco.

They carry also certaine little long bagges about an hand broade tyed to their left arme, which serue them also instead of brasers for their bowes, full of the powder of a certaine herbe, whereof they make a certaine beuerage. They haue their bodies traced with coles, their haire cut before, and behind it hangs downe to their wast. The women goe naked, and weare a great wreath of fethers behind them, and before painted and glued together, and their haire like the men. There were among these Indians three or foure men in womens apparell. Nowe the next day being Saturday very early I went forward on my way vp the riuer, setting on shore two men for eache boate to drawe them with the rope, and about breaking foorth of the Sunne, wee heard a mightie crie of Indians on both sides of the riuer with their weapons, but without any banner. I thought good to attend their comming, aswell to see what they woulde haue, as also to try whether our interpreter could vnderstand them. When they came ouer against vs they leapt into the riuer on both sides with their bowes and arrowes, and when they spake, our interpreter vnderstoode them not: whereupon I beganne to make a signe vnto them that they should lay away their weapons, as the other had done. Some did as I willed them, and some did not, and those which did, I willed to come neere me and gaue them some things which we had to trucke withall, which when the others perceiued, that they might likewise haue their part, they layd away their weapons likewise. I iudging my selfe to be in securitie leaped on shore with them, and stoode in the middest of them, who vnderstanding that I came not to fight with them, began to giue some of those shels and beades, and some brought me certaine skinnes well dressed, and others Maiz and a roll of the same naughtily grinded, so that none of them came vnto me that brought mee not something, and before they gaue it me going a little way from mee they began to cry out amayne, and made a signe with their bodies and armes, and afterward they approched to giue me that which they brought. And now that the Sunne beganne to set I put off from the shore, and rode in the middest of the riuer. The next morning before breake of day on both sides of the riuer wee heard greater cryes and of more Indians, which leaped into the riuer to swimme, and they came to bring mee certaine gourdes full of Maiz, and of those wrethes which I spake of before. I shewed vnto them Wheate and Beanes, and other seedes, to see whether they had any of those kindes: but they shewed mee that they had no knowledge of them, and wondred at all of them, and by signes I came to vnderstand that the thing which they most esteemed and reuerenced was the Sunne: and I signified vnto them that I came from the Sunne. Whereat they marueiled, and then they began to beholde me from the toppe to the toe, and shewed me more fauour then they did before; and when I asked them for food, they brought me such abundance that I was inforced twise to call for the boates to put it into them, and from that time forward of all the things which they brought me they flang vp into the ayre one part vnto the Sunne, and afterward turned towards me to giue mee the other part: and so I was alwayes better serued and esteemed of them as well in drawing of the boats vp the riuer, as also in giuing me food to eat: and they shewed me so great loue, that when I stayed they would haue carried vs in their armes vnto their houses: and in no kind of thing they would breake my commandement: and for my suretie, I willed them not to carry any weapons in my sight: and they were so carefull to doe so, that if any man came newly thither with them, suddenly they would goe and meete him to cause him to lay them downe farre from mee: and I shewed them that I tooke great pleasure in their so doing: and to some of the chiefe of them I gaue certaine little napkins and other trifles; for if I should haue giuen somewhat to euery one of them in particular, all the small wares in New Spayne would not haue sufficed. Sometimes it fell out (such was the great loue and good wil which they shewed me) that if any Indians came thither by chance with their weapons, and if any one being warned to leaue them behind him, if by negligence, or because he vnderstood them not at the first warning, he had not layd them away, they would runne vnto him, and take them from him by force, and would breake them in pieces in my presence. Afterward they tooke the rope so louingly, and with striuing one with another for it, that we had no need to pray them to doe it. Wherefore if we had not had this helpe, the current of the riuer being exceeding great, and our men that drew the rope being not well acquainted with that occupation, it would haue beene impossible for vs to haue gotten vp the riuer so against the streame. When I perceiued that they vnderstood mee in all things, and that I likewise vnderstoode them, I thought good to try by some way or other to make a good entrance to find some good issue to obtaine my desire: And I caused certaine crosses to be made of certaine small sticks and paper, and among others when I gaue any thing I gaue them these as things of most price and kissed them, making signes vnto them that they should honour them and make great account of them, and that they should weare them at their necks: giuing them to vnderstand that this signe was from heauen, and they tooke them and kissed them, and lifted them vp aloft, and seemed greatly to reioyce thereat when they did so, and sometime I tooke them into my boate, shewing them great good will, and sometime I gaue them of those trifles which I caried with me. And at length the matter grew to such issue, that I had not paper and stickes ynough to make crosses. In this maner that day I was very well accompanied, vntill that when night approched I sought to lanch out into the riuer, and went to ride in the middest of the streame, and they came to aske leaue of me to depart, saying

Shels and beades.

A notable policie.

Swarmes of people.

An exceeding great current of the riuer.

saying that they would returne the next day with victuals to visite me, and so by litle and little they departed, so that there stayed not aboue fiftie which made fires ouer against vs, and stayed there al night calling vs, and before the day was perfectly broken, they leapt into the water and swamme vnto vs asking for the rope, and we gaue it them with a good will, thanking God for the good prouision which hee gaue vs to go vp the riuer: for the Indians were so many, that if they had gone about to let our passage, although we had bene many more then wee were, they might haue done it.

Chap. 3.

One of the Indians vnderstanding the language of the interpreter, asketh many questions of the originall of the Spaniards, he telleth him that their Captaine is the child of the Sunne, and that he was sent of the Sunne vnto them, and they would haue receiued him for their king. They take this Indian into their boat, and of him they haue many informations of that countrey.

IN this maner we sailed vntil Tuesday at night, going as we were wont, causing mine interpreter to speak vnto the people to see if peraduēture any of them could vnderstand him, I perceiued that one answered him, whereupon I caused the boates to be stayed, and called him, which hee vnderstoode, charging mine interpreter that hee should not speake nor answere him any thing else, but onely that which I said vnto him: and I saw as I stood still that that Indian began to speake to the people with great furie: whereupon all of them beganne to drawe together, and mine interpreter vnderstood, that he which came to the boate sayd vnto them, that he desired to knowe what nation we were, and whence wee came, and whither we came out of the water, or out of the earth, or from heauen: And at this speech an infinite number of people came together, which maruelled to see mee speake: and this Indian turned on this side and on that side to speake vnto them in another language which mine interpreter vnderstood not. Whereas he asked me what we were, I answered that we were Christians, and that we came from farre to see them: and answering to the question, who had sent me, I said, I was sent by the Sunne, pointing vnto him by signes as at the first, because they should not take mee in a lye. He beganne againe to aske mee, how the Sunne had sent me, seeing hee went aloft in the skie and neuer stoode still, and seeing these many yeeres neither he nor their olde men had euer seene such as we were, of whome they euer had any kind of knowledge, and that the Sunne till that houre had neuer sent any other. I answered him that it was true that the Sunne made his course aloft in the skie, and did neuer stand still, yet neuerthelesse that they might well perceiue that at his going downe and rising in the morning hee came neere vnto the earth, where his dwelling was, and that they euer sawe him come out of one place, and that hee had made mee in that land and countrey from whence hee came, like as hee had made many others which hee sent into other partes, and that nowe hee had sent me to visite and view the same riuer, and the people that dwelt neere the same, that I should speake vnto them, and shoulde ioyne with them in friendshippe, and should giue them things which they had not, and that I should charge them that they should not make warre one against another. Whereunto he answered, that I should tell him the cause why the Sunne had not sent mee no sooner to pacifie the warres which had continued a long time among them, wherein many had beene slaine. I tolde him the cause hereof was, because at that time I was but a child. Then he asked the interpreter whether wee tooke him with vs perforce hauing taken him in the war, or whether he came with vs of his own accord. He answered him that he was with vs of his owne accord, and was very wel appaid of our company. He returned to enquire, why we brought none saue him onely that vnderstood vs, and wherefore wee vnderstood not all other men, seeing we were the children of the Sunne: he answered, that the Sunne also had begotten him, and giuen him a language to vnderstand him, and me, and others: that the Sunne knew well that they dwelt there, but that because he had many other businesses, and because I was but yong hee sent me no sooner. And he turning vnto me sayd suddenly: Comest thou therefore

A wise deuise.

fore hither to bee our Lord, and that wee should serue thee? I supposing that I should not please him if I should haue said yea, answered him, not to be their Lord, but rather to be their brother, and to giue them such things as I had. He asked me, whether the Sunne had begotten me as he had begotten others, and whether I was his kinsman or his sonne: I answered him that I was his sonne. He proceeded to aske me whether the rest that were with me were also the children of the Sunne, I answered him no, but that they were borne all with me in one countrey, where I was brought vp. Then he cryed out with a loud voyce and sayd, seeing thou doest vs so much good, and wilt not haue vs to make warre, and art the child of the Sunne, wee will all receiue thee for our Lord, and alwayes serue thee, therefore wee pray thee that thou wilt not depart hence nor leaue vs: and suddenly hee turned to the people, and beganne to tell them, that I was the child of the Sunne, and that therefore they should all chuse me for their Lord. Those Indians hearing this, were astonied beyond measure, and came neerer still more and more to behold me. That Indian also asked mee other questions, which to auoyd tediousnesse I doe not recite: and in this wise we passed the day, and seeing the night approch, I began by all meanes I could deuise to get this fellow into our boat with vs: and he refusing to goe with vs, the interpreter told him that wee would put him on the other side of the riuer, and vpon this condition hee entred into our boate, and there I made very much of him, and gaue him the best entertaynement I could, putting him alwayes in securitie, and when I iudged him to be out of all suspition, I thought it good to aske him somewhat of that countrey. And among the first things that I asked him this was one, whether hee had euer seene any men like vs, or had heard any report of them. Hee answered mee no, sauing that hee had sometime hearde of olde men, that very farre from that Countrey there were other white men, and with beardes like vs, and that hee knewe nothing else. I asked him also whether hee knewe a place called Ceuola, and a Riuer called Totonteac, and hee answered mee no. Whereupon perceiuing that hee coulde not giue mee any knowledge of Francis Vazquez nor of his company, I determined to aske him other things of that countrey, and of their maner of life: and beganne to enquire of him, whether they helde that there was one God, creator of heauen and earth, or that they worshipped any other Idol. And hee answered mee no: but that they esteemed and reuerenced the Sunne aboue all other things, because it warmed them and made their croppes to growe: and that of all things which they did eate, they cast a little vp into the ayre vnto him. I asked him next whether they had any Lorde, and hee sayde no: but that they knewe well that there was a great Lorde, but they knewe not well which way hee dwelt. And I tolde him that hee was in heauen, and that hee was called Iesus Christ, and I went no farther in diuinitie with him. I asked him whether they had any warre, and for what occasion. Hee answered that they had warre and that very great, and vpon exceeding small occasions: for when they had no cause to make warre, they assembled together, and some of them sayd, let vs goe to make warre in such a place, and then all of them set forward with their weapons. I asked them who commanded the armie: he answered the eldest and most valiant, and that when they sayd they should proceede no farther, that suddenly they retired from the warre. I prayed him to tell me what they did with those men which they killed in battell: he answered me that they tooke out the hearts of some of them, and eat them, and others they burned; and he added, that if it had not bene for my comming, they should haue bin now at warre: and because I commanded them that they should not war, and that they should cease from armes, therefore as long as I should not command them to take armes, they would not begin to wage warre against others, & they said among themselues, that seeing I was come vnto them, they had giuen ouer their intention of making warre, & that they had a good mind to liue in peace. He complained of certaine people which dwelt behind in a mountaine which made great war vpon them, and slew many of them: I answered him, that from henceforward they should not need to feare any more, because I had cōmanded them to be quiet, & if they would not obey my commandement, I would chasten them and kill them. He enquired of me how I could kill them seeing we were so few, and they so many in number. And because it was now late,

Newes of bearded and white men.

The Sunne worshipped as God.

Certaine warlike people behind a mountaine.

and that I saw by this time he was weary to stay any longer with me, I let him goe out of my boat, and therewith I dismissed him very well content.

Chap. 4.

Of Naguachato and other chiefe men of those Indians they receiue great store of victuals, they cause them to set vp a crosse in their countreys, and hee teacheth them to worship it. They haue newes of many people, of their diuers languages, and customes in matrimony, how they punish adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the sicknesses which they are subiect vnto.

THe next day betimes in the morning came the chiefe man among them called Naguachato, and wished me to come on land because he had great store of victuals to giue me. And because I saw my selfe in securitie I did so without doubting; and incontinently an olde man came with rols of that Maiz, and certaine litle gourds, and calling me with a loud voyce and vsing many gestures with his body and armes, came neere vnto me, and causing me to turne me vnto that people, and hee himselfe also turning vnto them sayd vnto them, Sagueyca, and all the people answered with a great voyce, Hu, and hee offred to the Sunne a little of euery thing that he had there, and likewise a little more vnto me (although afterward he gaue me all the rest) and did the like to all that were with me: & calling out mine interpreter, by meanes of him I gaue them thanks, telling them that because my boats were litle I had not brought many things to giue them in exchange, but that I would come againe another time and bring them, and that if they would go with me in my boates vnto my ships which I had beneath at the riuers mouth, I would giue them many things. They answered that they would do so, being very glad in countenance. Here by the helpe of mine interpreter I sought to instruct them what the signe of the crosse meant, and willed them to bring me a piece of timber, wherof I caused a great crosse to be made, and commanded al those that were with mee that when it was made they should worship it, and beseech the Lord to grant his grace that that so great a people might come to the knowledge of his holy Catholike faith: and this done I told them by mine interpreter that I left them that signe, in token that I tooke them for my brethren, and that they should keepe it for me carefully vntill I returned, and that euery morning at the Sunne rising they should kneele before it. And they tooke it incontinently, & without suffring it to touch the ground they carried it to set it vp in the middest of their houses, where all of them might beholde it; and I willed them alwayes to worshippe it because it would preserue them from euill. They asked me how deep they should set it in the ground, & I shewed them. Great store of people followed the same, and they that stayed behinde inquired of mee, how they should ioyne their hands, and how they should kneele to worship the same; and they seemed to haue great desire to learne it. This done, I tooke that chiefe man of the Countrey, and going to our boates with him, I followed my iourney vp the Riuer, and all the company on both sides of the shoare accompanied me with great good will, and serued me in drawing of our boates, and in halling vs off the sands, whereupon we often fel: for in many places we found the riuer so shoald, that we had no water for our boats. As wee thus went on our way, some of the Indians which I had left behind me, came after vs to pray mee that I would throughly instruct them, how they should ioyne their hands in the worshipping of the crosse: others shewed me whether they were well set in such & such sort, so that they would not let me be quiet. Neere vnto the other side of the riuer was greater store of people, which called vnto me very often, that I would receiue the victuals which they had brought me. And because I perceiued that one enuied the other, because I would not leaue them discontented, I did so. And here came before me another old man like vnto the former with the like ceremonyes & offrings: and I sought to learne something of him as I had done of the other. This man said likewise to the rest of the people, This is our lord. Now you see how long ago our ancesters told vs, that there were bearded & white people in the world, and we laughed them to scorne. I which am old and the rest which are here, haue

These people are greatly inclined to learne the Christian faith.

The riuer in diuers places full of shelfes.

Another olde man.

Their ancesters told them that there were bearded and white men in the world.

haue neuer seene any such people as these. And if you wil not beleeue me, behold these people which be in this riuer: let vs giue them therefore meate, seeing they giue vs of their victuals: let vs willingly serue this lord, which wisheth vs so well, and forbiddeth vs to make warre, and imbraceth all of vs: and they haue mouth, handes and eyes as we haue, and speake as we doe. I gaue these likewise another crosse as I had done to the others beneath, and said vnto them the selfe same words: which they listened vnto with a better will, & vsed greater diligence to learne that which I said. Afterward as I passed farther vp the riuer, I found another people, whom mine interpreter vnderstood not a whit: wherefore I shewed them by signes the selfe same ceremonies of worshipping the crosse, which I had taught the rest. And that principal old man which I tooke with me, told me that farther vp the riuer I should find people which would vnderstand mine interpreter: and being now late, some of those men called me to giue me victuals, and did in all poynts as the others had done, dauncing and playing to shew me pleasure. I desired to know what people liued on the banks of this riuer: and I vnderstood by this man that it was inhabited by 23 languages, and these were bordering vpon the riuer, besides others not farre off, and that there were besides these 23. languages, other people also which hee knewe not, aboue the riuer. I asked him whether euery people were liuing in one towne together: and he answered me, No: but that they had many houses standing scattered in the fieldes, and that euery people had their Countrey seuerall and distinguished, and that in euery habitation there were great store of people. He shewed me a towne which was in a mountaine, and told me that there was there great store of people of bad conditions, which made continual warre vpon them: which being without a gouernour, and dwelling in that desert place, where small store of Maiz groweth, came downe into the playne to buy it in trucke of Deeres skinnes, wherewith they were apparelled with long garments, which they did cutte with rasors, and sewed with needles made of Deeres bones: and that they had great houses of stone. I asked them whether there were any there of that Countrey; and I found one woman which ware a garment like a little Mantle, which clad her from the waste downe to the ground, of a Deeres skin well dressed. Then I asked him whether the people which dwelt on the riuers side, dwelt alwayes there, or els sometime went to dwell in some other place: he answered mee, that in the summer season they aboade there, and sowed there; and after they had gathered in their croppe they went their way, and dwelt in other houses which they had at the foote of the mountaine farre from the riuer. And hee shewed me by signes that the houses were of wood compassed with earth without, and I vnderstood that they made a round house, wherein the men and women liued all together. I asked him whether their women were common or no: he tolde me no, and that hee which was married, was to haue but one wife only. I desired to know what order they kept in marying: and he told me, that if any man had a daughter to marry, he went where the people kept, and said, I haue a daughter to marry: is there any man here that wil haue her? And if there were any that would haue her, he answered that he would haue her: and so the mariage was made. And that the father of him which would haue her, brought something to giue the yong woman; and from that houre forward the mariage was taken to be finished, and that they sang & danced: and that when night came, the parents tooke them, and left them together in a place where no body might see them. And I learned that brethren, and sisters, and kinsfolks married not together: and that maydes before they were married conuersed not with men, nor talked not with them, but kept at home at their houses and in their possessions, and wrought: and that if by chance any one had company with men before she were maried, her husband forsooke her, and went away into other Countreyes: and that those women which fell into this fault, were accompted naughty packs. And that if after they were maried, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death: and that no man might haue more then one wife, but very secretly. They tolde mee that they burned those which dyed: and such as remayned widowes, stayed halfe a yeere, or a whole yeere before they married. I desired to know what they thought of such as were dead. Hee told me that they went to another world, but that they had neither punishment nor glory. The greatest sicknesse that this people dye of,

Another nation.

People of 23. languages dwelling along this riuer.

Acuco as Gomara writeth is on a strong mountaine.

Great houses of stone.

Round houses.

Dancing and singing at mariages of the Sauages.

They burne their dead.

Pipes to drinke Tabacco with.

Maiz, gourds, Mill. Grindestones, earthen pots, good fish.

This riuer ouerfloweth his bankes at certaine seasons.

is vomiting of blood by the mouth: and they haue Physicions which cure them with charmes and blowing which they make. The apparell of these people were like the former: they carried their pipes with them to perfume themselues, like as the people of New Spaine vse Tabacco. I inquired whether they had any gouernour, and found that they had none, but that euery family had their seuerall gouernour. These people haue besides their Maiz certaine gourds, and another corne like vnto Mill: they haue grindstones & earthen pots, wherein they boyle those gourds, and fish of the riuer, which are very good. My interpreter could goe no farther then this place: for he said that those which we should find farther on our way, were their enemies, and therefore I sent him backe very well contented. Not long after I espied many Indians to come crying with a loude voice, and running after me. I stayed to know what they would haue; and they told me that they had set vp the crosse which I had giuen them, in the midst of their dwellings as I had appointed, but that I was to wit, that when the riuer did ouerflow, it was wont to reach to that place, therefore they prayed mee to giue them leaue to remoue it, and to set it in another place where the riuer could not come at it, nor carry it away: which I granted them.

Chap. 5.

Of an Indian of that countrey they haue relation of the state of Ceuola, and of the conditions and customes of these people, and of their gouernour: and likewise of the countreys not farre distant from thence, whereof one was called Quicoma, and the other Coama: of the people of Quicoma, and of the other Indians not farre distant they receiue courtesie.

Colde and raine.

Ceuola 40 dayes iourney from thence by the riuer.

Turquesses in Ceuola.

THus sayling I came where were many Indians, and another interpreter, which I caused to come with me in my boat. And because it was cold, & my people were wet, I leapt on shore, and commanded a fire to be made, and as we stood thus warming our selues, an Indian came and strooke me on the arme, pointing with his finger to a wood, out of which I saw two companies of men come wͭ their weapons, & he told me that they came to set vpon vs: & because I meant not to fall out with any of them, I retired my company into our boats, & the Indians which were with me swam into the water, and saued themselues on the other side of the riuer. In the meane season I inquired of that Indian which I had with me, what people they were that came out of yͤ wood: and he told me that they were their enemies, and therefore these others at their approch without saying any word leapt into the water: and did so, because they meant to turne backe againe, being without weapons, because they brought none with them, because they vnderstood my wil & pleasure, that they should cary none. I inquired the same things of this interpreter which I had done of the other of the things of that countrey, because I vnderstood that among some people one man vsed to haue many wiues, and among others but one. Now I vnderstood by him, that he had bin at Ceuola, and that it was a moneths iourney from his country, and that from that place by a path that went along that riuer a man might easily trauel thither in xl. daies, and that the occasion that mouued him to go thither, was only to see Ceuola, because it was a great thing, & had very hie houses of stone of 3. or 4. lofts, and windowes on ech side; that the houses were compassed about with a wall conteining the height of a man & an halfe, and that aloft & beneath they were inhabited with people, and that they vsed the same weapons, that others vsed, which we had seene, that is to say, bowes & arrowes, maces, staues & bucklers: and that they had one gouernor, & that they were apparelled with mantles, and with oxe-hides, & that their mantles had a painting about them, and that their gouernour ware a long shirt very fine girded vnto him, and ouer the same diuers mantles: and that the women ware very long garments, and that they were white, and went all couered: and that euery day many Indians wayted at the gate of their gouernour to serue him, & that they did weare many Azure or blew stones, which were digged out of a rocke of stone, and that they had but one wife, with whom they were maried, and that when their gouernors died, all the goods that they had were buried with them. And likewise all the while they eate, many of their men waite at their table to court them, and see them eate, and that they eate with napkins, and that they haue bathes. On Thursday morning at breake of day the Indians came with the like cry to the banke of the riuer, and with greater desire to serue vs, bringing me meat to eat, and making me the like good cheere, which the others had done vnto me, hauing vnderstood what I was: & I gaue them crosses, with the self same order which I did vnto the former. And going farther vp the riuer, I came to a country where I found better gouernment: for the inhabitants are wholy obedient vnto one only. But returning againe to conferre with mine interpreter touching the dwellings of those of Ceuola, he tolde me, that the lord of that countrey had a dog like that which I caried with me. Afterward when I called for dinner, this interpreter saw certaine dishes caried in the first and later seruice, whereupon he told me that the lord of Ceuola had also such as those were, but that they were greene, and that none other had of them sauing their gouernour, and that they were 4, which he had gotten together with that dogge, and other things, of a blacke man which had a beard, but that he knew not from what quarter he came thither, and that the king caused him afterward to be killed, as he heard say. I asked him whether he knew of any towne that was neere vnto that place: he tolde me that aboue the riuer he knew some, & that among the rest there was a lord of a towne called Quicoma, and another of a towne called Coama: and that they had great store of people vnder them. And after he had giuen me this information, he craued leaue of me to returne vnto his companions. From hence I began againe to set saile, and within a dayes sayling I found a towne dispeopled: where assoone as I was entred, by chance there arriued there 500. Indians with their bowes & arrowes, and with them was that principall Indian called Naguachato, which I had left behind, and brought with them certaine conies & yucas: and after I had friendly interteined them all, departing from them, I gaue them license to returne to their houses. As I passed further by the desert, I came to certain cotages, out of which much people came toward me with an old man before them, crying in a language which mine interpreter wel vnderstood, and he said vnto those men: Brethren, you see here that lord; let vs giue him such as we haue, seeing he dooth vs pleasure, and hath passed through so many discourteous people, to come to visit vs. And hauing thus said, he offred to the Sunne, and then to me in like sort as the rest had done. These had certaine great bags & well made of the skins of fishes called Sea-bremes. And I vnderstood that this was a towne belonging vnto the lord of Quicoma, which people came thither onely to gather the fruit of their haruest in summer; and among them I found one which vnderstood mine interpreter very well: whereupon very easily I gaue them the like instruction of the crosse which I had giuen to others behind. These people had cotton, but they were not very carefull to vse the same: because there was none among them that knew the arte of weauing, & to make apparel thereof. They asked me how they should set vp their crosse when they were come to their dwelling which was in the mountaine, and whether it were best to make an house about it, that it might not be wet, & whether they should hang any thing vpō the armes therof. I said no; & that it sufficed to set it in a place where it might be seene of all men, vntil I returned: and lest peraduenture any men of warre should come that way, they offred mee more men to goe with me, saying that they were naughty men which I should finde aboue; but I would haue none: neuerthelesse 20. of them went with me, which when I drew neere vnto those which were their enemies, they warned mee thereof: and I found their centinels set vpon their guarde on their borders. On Saturday morning I found a great squadron of people sitting vnder an exceeding great arbour, & another part of them without: and when I saw that they rose not vp, I passed along on my voyage: when they beheld this, an old man rose vp which said vnto me, Sir, why doe you not receiue victuals to eate of vs, seeing you haue taken food of others? I answered, that I tooke nothing but that which was giuen me, & that I went to none but to such as requested me. Here without any stay they brought me victuals, saying vnto me, that because I entred not into their houses, and stayed all day and all night in the riuer, and because I was the sonne of the Sunne, all men were to receiue me for their lord. I made them signes to sit down, and called that old man which mine interpreter vnderstood, and asked him whose that countrey was, and whether the lord thereof were there, he said, yea: and I

This was the Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza.

Quicoma.

Coama.

Conies and yucas.

Cotton.

A mountaine.

called him to me; and when he was come, I imbraced him, shewing him great loue: & when I saw that all of them tooke great pleasure at the friendly interteinment which I gaue him, I put a shirt vpon him, and gaue him other trifles, and willed mine interpreter to vse the like speaches to that lord which he had done to the rest; and that done, I gaue him a crosse, which he receiued with a very good wil, as the others did: and this lord went a great way with me, vntill I was called vnto from the other side of the riuer, where the former old man stood with much people: to whom I gaue another crosse, vsing the like speach to them which I had vnto the rest, to wit, how they should vse it. Then following my way, I mette with another great company of people, with whom came that very same olde man whom mine interpreter vnderstood; and when I saw their lord which he shewed vnto me, I prayed him to come with me into my boat, which he did very willingly, and so I went still vp the riuer, and the olde man came and shewed me who were the chiefe lords: and I spake vnto them alwayes with great courtesie, & all of them shewed that they reioyced much thereat, & spake very wel of my comming thither. At night I withdrew my selfe into the midst of the riuer, & asked him many things concerning that country: and I found him as willing & wel disposed to shew them me, as I was desirous to know them. I asked him of Ceuola: and he told me he had bin there, and that it was a goodly thing, & that the lord thereof was very wel obeyed: and that there were other lords thereabout, with whom he was at continual warre. I asked him whether they had siluer & gold, and he beholding certain bels, said they had metal of their colour. I inquired whether they made it there, and he answered me no, but that they brought it from a certain mountaine, where an old woman dwelt. I demanded whether he had any knowledge of a riuer called Totonteac, he answered me no, but of another exceeding mighty riuer, wherein there were such huge Crocodiles, that of their hides they made bucklers, and that they worship the Sunne neither more nor lesse then those which I had passed: and when they offer vnto him the fruits of the earth, they say: Receiue hereof, for thou hast created them, and that they loued him much, because he warmed them; and that when he brake not foorth, they were acolde. Herein reasoning with him, he began somewhat to complaine, saying vnto me, I know not wherefore the Sunne vseth these termes with vs, because he giueth vs not clothes, nor people to spin nor to weaue them, nor other things which he giueth to many other, and he complayned that those of that country would not suffer them to come there, and would not giue them of their corne. I told him that I would remedie this, whereat he remayned very well satisfied.

Ceuola a goodly thing.

Gold and siluer in a mountaine neere Ceuola.

A mighty riuer.

This riuer seemeth to bee Northward by the colde.

Chap. 6.

They are aduertised by the Indians, wherefore the lorde of Ceuola killed the Negro, which went with Frier Marco, and of many other things: And of an old woman called Guatazaca, which liueth in a lake and eateth no food. The description of a beast, of the skinne whereof they make targets. The suspition that they conceiue of them, that they are of those Christians which were seene at Ceuola, and how they cunningly saue themselues.

THe next day which was Sunday before breake of day, began their cry as they were woont: and this was the cry of 2. or 3. sorts of people, which had lyen all night neere the riuers side, wayting for me: and they tooke Maiz & other corne in their mouth, and sprinkled me therewith, saying that that was the fashion which they vsed when they sacrificed vnto the Sunne: afterward they gaue me of their victuals to eat, and among other things, they gaue me many white peason. I gaue them a crosse as I had done to the rest: and in the meane season that old man tolde them great matters of my doing, and poynted me out with his finger, saying, this is the lord, the sonne of the Sunne: and they made me to combe my beard, & to set mine apparell handsomely which I ware vpon my backe. And so great was the confidence that they had in me, that all of them told me what things had passed, & did passe among them, & what good or bad mind they bare one toward another. I asked them wherefore they imparted vnto me all their secrets, and that old man answered mee: Thou art our lord, & we ought to hide nothing from our lord. After these things, following on our way, I began againe to inquire of him the state of Ceuola, & whether he knewe that those of this countrey had euer seene people like vnto vs: he answered me no, sauing one Negro which ware about his legs & armes certain things which did ring. Your lordship is to cal to mind how this Negro which went with frier Marco was wont to weare bels, & feathers on his armes & legs, & that he caried plates of diuers colours, and that it was not much aboue a yeere agoe since he came into those parts. I demanded vpon what occasion he was killed; and he answered me, That the lord of Ceuola inquired of him whether he had other brethren: he answered that he had an infinite number, and that they had great store of weapons with them, and that they were not very farre from thence. Which when he had heard, many of the chiefe men consulted together, and resolued to kil him, that he might not giue newes vnto these his brethren, where they dwelt, & that for this cause they slew him, and cut him into many pieces, which were diuided among all those chiefe lords, that they might know assuredly that he was dead; and also that he had a dogge like mine, which he likewise killed a great while after. I asked him whether they of Ceuola had any enemies, and he said they had. And he reckoned vnto me 14. or 15. lords which had warre with them: and that they had mantles, and bowes like those aboue mentioned: howbeit he told me that I should find going vp the riuer a people that had no warre neither with their neighbors, nor with any other. He told me that they had 3. or 4. sorts of trees bearing most excellent fruite to eate: and that in a certaine lake dwelt an olde woman, which was much honoured and worshipped of them: and that shee remayned in a litle house which was there, and that she neuer did eate any thing: and that there they made things which did sound, and that many mantles, feathers and Maiz were giuen vnto her. I asked what her name was, and he tolde me that she was called Guatuzaca, and that thereabout were many lords which in their life & death, vsed the like orders which they of Ceuola did, which had their dwelling in the summer with painted mantles, and in the winter dwelt in houses of wood of 2. or 3. lofts hie: and that he had seene all these things, sauing the old woman. And when againe I began to aske him more questions, he would not answere me, saying that he was wearie of me: and many of those Indians comming about me, they said among themselues: Let vs marke him well, that we may knowe him when he commeth backe againe. The Monday following, the riuer was beset with people like to them, and I began to request the old man to tell me what people were in that countrey, which told me he thought I would soone forget them: and here he reckoned vp vnto me a great number of lords, and people at the least 200. And discoursing with him of their armour, he said that some of them had certaine very large targets of lether, aboue two fingers thicke. I asked him of what beasts skinne they made them: and he described vnto me a very great beast, like vnto an Oxe, but longer by a great handfull, with broad feete, the legs as bigge as the thigh of a man, and the head seuen handfuls long, the forehead of three spannes, and the eyes bigger then ones fist, and the hornes of the length of a mans leg, out of which grew sharpe poynts, an handfull long, the forfeete and hinderfeete aboue seuen handfuls bigge, with a wrethed tayle, but very great; and holding vp his armes aboue his head, he said the beast was higher then that. After this hee gaue mee information of another olde woman which dwelt toward the sea side. I spent this day in giuing crosses to those people as I had done vnto the former. This old man that was with me leapt on shore, & fell in conference with another which that day had often called him; and here both of them vsed many gestures in their speach, moouing their armes, and poynting at me. Therefore I sent mine interpreter out, willing him to drawe neere vnto them, and listen what they said; and within a while I called him, and asked him whereof they talked, and he sayd, that he which made those gestures said vnto the other, that in Ceuola there were others like vnto vs with beards, and that they said they were Christians, and that both of them sayd that we were all of one company, and that it were a good deede to kill vs, that those others might haue no knowledge of vs, lest they might come to doe them harme: and that the old man had answered him, this is the sonne of the Sunne, & our lord, he doth vs good, and wil not enter into our houses, although we request him thereunto: he will take away nothing of ours, he wil

The Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza slaine.

The cause wherefore Stephan Dorantez the Negro was slaine.

They of Ceuola haue 14. or 15. lords their enemies.

An olde womã called Guatuzaca in a lake greatly worshipped.

Antonio d'Espejo speaketh of such a great lake.

200. Kindes of people.

This might be the crooke backed oxe of Quiuira.

The sea side.

The Sauages treasons to be taken heede of.

Certaine newes of the Spanyards at Ceuola.

meddle with none of our women, and that to be short, he had spoken many other things in my commendation and fauour: and for all this the other stedfastly affirmed that we were all one, and that the old man said, Let vs goe vnto him, and aske him whether he be a Christian as the other be, or els the sonne of the Sunne: and the old man came vnto me, and sayd: In the countrey of Ceuola whereof you spake vnto me doe other men like vnto you dwell. Then I began to make as though I wondred, and answered him, that it was impossible; and they assured me that it was true, and that two men had seene them which came from thence, which reported that they had things which did shoote fire, and swords as we had. I asked them whether they had seene them with their owne eyes? and they answered no; but that certaine of their companions had seene them. Then hee asked mee whether I were the sonne of the Sunne, I answered him yea. They said that those Christians of Ceuola said so likewise. And I answered them that it might well be. Then they asked mee if those Christians of Ceuola came to ioyne themselues with me, whether I would ioyne with them: and I answered them, that they needed not to feare any whit at all, for if they were the sonnes of the Sunne as they said, they must needes be my brethren, and would vse towards all men the like loue and courtesie which I vsed: whereupon hereat they seemed to be somewhat satisfied.

Chap. 7.

It is tolde him that they are ten dayes iourney distant from Ceuola, and that there be Christians there, which make warre against the lords of that countrey. Of the Sodomie which those Indians vse with foure yong men, appoynted for that seruice, which weare womens apparel. Seeing they could not send newes of their being there to them of Ceuola, they went backe againe downe the riuer to their ships.

Ceuola tenne dayes distant from this place. A desert of ten dayes iourney.

THen I prayed them to tel me how many dayes that kingdom of Ceuola, which they spake of, was distant from that riuer: and that man answered, that there was the space of tenne dayes iourney without habitation, and that he made none accompt of the rest of the way, because there were people to be found. Vpon this aduertisement I was desirous to certifie Captaine Francis Vazquez of my being there, and imparted my mind with my souldiers, among whom I found none that was willing to goe thither, although I offered them many rewards in your lordships name, onely one Negro slaue though with an euil wil offred himselfe vnto me to go thither: but I looked for the comming of those two Indians which they told me of, and herewithall we went on our way vp the riuer against the streame in such sort as we had done before. Here that olde man shewed me as a strange thing a sonne of his clad in womans apparel, exercising their office: I asked him how many there were of these among them, and he told me there were foure; & that when any of them died, there was a search made of all the women with child which were in the country, and that the first sonne which was borne of them, was appoynted to doe that duetie belonging vnto women, and that the women clad him in their apparell, saying, that seeing he was to doe that which belonged to them, he should weare their apparel: these yong men may not haue carnall copulation with any woman: but all the yong men of the countrey which are to marrie, may company with them. These men receiue no kind of reward for this incestuous act of the people of that countrey, because they haue libertie to take whatsoeuer they find in any house for their food. I saw likewise certaine women which liued dishonestly among men: and I asked the old man whether they were married, who answered me noe, but they were common women, which liued apart from the married women. I came at length after these discourses to pray them to send for those Indians, which they said had bin at Ceuola, & they told me that they were eight dayes iourney distant from that place, but that notwithstanding there was one among them which was their companion and which had spoken with them, as he met them on the way, when they went to see the kingdome of Ceuola, and that they told him that he were not best to goe any farther, for he should find there a fierce nation like vs, and of the same qualities and making, which had fought much with the people of Ceuola, because they had killed a Negro of their company,

pany, saying, Wherefore haue yee killed him? what did he to you? did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong? and such like speach. And they said moreouer, that these people were called Christians, which dwelt in a great house, & that many of them had oxen like those of Ceuola, and other litle blacke beasts with wooll and hornes, & that some of them had beasts which they rode vpō, which ran very swiftly; & that one day before their departure, from sunne rising vntill sunne setting these Christians were all day in comming thither, & all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged, & that these two met with two Christians, which asked them whence they were, & whether they had fields sowen with corne; and they told them that they dwelt in a farre country, and that they had corne, and that then they gaue each of them a litle cap, and they gaue them another to cary to their other companions, which they promised to do, & departed quickly. When I vnderstood this, I spoke againe with my company, to see if any one of them would go thither, but I found them vnwilling as at the first, and they layd against me greater incōueniences. Then I called the old man to see if he would giue me any people to goe with me, & victuals to trauel through that wildernes, but he laid before me many inconueniences & dangers, which I might incurre in that voyage, shewing me the danger that there was in passing by a lord of Cumana, which threatned to make warre vpon them, because his people had entred into the others countrey to take a stagge, and that I should not therefore depart thence without seeing him punished. And when I replied that in any wise I must needes goe to Ceuola, he willed me to surcease from that purpose, for they looked that that lord without al doubt would come to annoy them, & that therefore they could not leaue their countrey naked to goe with me, and that it would be better, that I would make an end of that warre betweene them, and that then I might haue their company to Ceuola. And vpon this point we grew to such variance, that we began to grow into choler, and in a rage he would haue gone out of the boat, but I stayed him, and with gentle speeches began to pacifie him, seeing that it imported mee much to haue him my friend: but for all my courtesies which I shewed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he stil remained obstinate. In this meane while I sent a man away vnto my ships to giue them knowledge of the iourney that I had determined to make. After this I prayed the old man that he would fetch him backe againe, because I had determined, that seeing I saw no meanes to be able to go to Ceuola, & because I would stay no longer among those people, because they should not discouer me, and likewise because I meant in person to visit my ships, with determination to returne againe vp the riuer, carying with me other companions, & leaue there some which I had sicke, and telling the olde man and the rest that I would returne, and leauing them satisfied the best I could (although they alwayes said that I went away for feare) I returned downe the riuer: and that way which I had gone against the streame vp the riuer in 15. dayes and an halfe, I made in my returne in 2. dayes and an halfe, because the streame was great and very swift. In this wise going downe the riuer, much people came to the banks, saying, Sir, wherefore doe you leaue vs? what discourtesie hath bin done vnto you? did you not say that you would remayne continually with vs, and be our Lord? And turne backe againe? if any man aboue the riuer hath done you any wrong we will goe with our weapons with you and kill him; and such like words ful of loue and kindnes.

Oxen of Ceuola.

A desert.

Cumana.

He returneth in 2. dayes and an halfe to his ships.

Chap. 8.

When they came to their shippes the Captaine named that coast La Campanna de la Cruz, and builded a Chapel vnto our Lady, and called the riuer El Rio de Buena Guia, and returned vp the same againe: when he came to Quicona and Coama the Lords of those places vsed him very courteously.

VPon mine arriuall at my ships I found all my people in health, although very heauie for my long stay, and because the current had fretted fower of their cables, and that they had lost two ankers which were recouered. After we had brought our ships together, I caused them to bring thē into a good harbour, & to giue the carena to the shippe called Sanct Peter, &

& to mend all things that were needfull. And here assembling all my company together, I opened vnto them what knowledge I had receiued of Francis Vasquez; and how it might be that in those sixeteene dayes space which I was in sayling vp the riuer he might peraduenture haue some knowledge of me, and that I was minded to returne vp the riuer once againe to try if I could finde any meanes to ioyne my selfe with him: and although some spake against my determination, I caused al my boates to bee made ready, because the ships had no need of them. I caused one of them to be filled with wares of exchange, with corne and other seedes, with hennes & cockes of Castile, and departed vp the riuer, leauing order that in that prouince called Campanna de la Cruz they should build an Oratorie or Chapell, and called it the Chappell of our Lady de la Buena Guia, and that they should call this riuer Rio de Buena Guia because that is your Lordships Deuise: I carried with me Nicolas Zamorano Pilote mayor, to take the height of the pole. And I departed on Tuesday the fourteenth of September, & on Wednesday I came vnto the first dwellings of the first Indians, which came running to hinder my passage, supposing that we had bene other people, for we caried with vs a fifer, & a drummer, and I was clad in other apparell then I went in before, when they saw me first of all: and when they knew me they stayed, though I could not grow vnto perfect friendship with them, whereupon I gaue them some of those seedes which I brought with mee; teaching them how they should sow them: and after I had sayled 3 leagues, my first interpretour came euen to my boat to seeke me with great ioy, of whom I demanded wherefore he had left me, he tolde me that certaine companions of his had led him away. I made him good countenance and better intertainment, because he should beare me companie againe, considering howe much it did importe me to haue him with me. He excused himselfe because he stayed there to bring mee certaine feathers of Parrats, which he gaue me. I asked him what people these were, and whether they had any Lord: hee answered me yea; and named three or foure vnto me, of foure or 25 names of people which he knew and that they had houses painted within, and that they had trafficke with those of Ceuola, and that in two moones hee came into the countrey. He told me moreouer many other names of Lords, and other people, which I haue written downe in a booke of mine, which I will bring my selfe vnto your Lordship. But I thought good to deliuer this briefe relation to Augustine Guerriero in this hauen of Colima, that he might send it ouerland to your Lordshippe, to whom I haue many other things to imparte.

Marke what things the Spaniardes cary with them in newe discoueries.

Rio de buena Guia.

Parrats in these parts.

Two moones to Ceuola.

Another booke written of the particulars of that countrey.

Quicama.

But to returne to my iourney, I arriued at Quicama, where the Indians came forth with great ioy and gladnes to receiue me, aduertizing me that their Lord waited for my comming; to whom when I was come I found that he had with him fiue or sixe thousand men without weapons, from whom he went aparte with some two hundred onely, all which brought victuals with them, and so he came towards me, going before the rest with great authoritie, and before him and on each side of him were certaine which made the people stande aside, making him way to passe. Hee ware a garment close before and behind and open on both sides, fastened with buttons, wrought with white and blacke checker worke, it was very soft and well made, being of the skinnes of certaine delicate fishes called Sea breams. Assoone as he was come to the waters side his seruants tooke him vp in their armes, and brought him into my boate, where I embraced him and receiued him with great ioy, shewing vnto him much kindnesse: vpon which intertainment his people standing by and beholding the same seemed not a litle to reioyce. This Lord turning himselfe to his people willed them to consider my courtesie, and that he being of his owne accord come vnto me with a strange people, they might see how good a man I was, and with how great loue I had entertained him, and that therefore they should take me for their Lord, and that all of them should become my seruants, and doe whatsoeuer I would command them. There I caused him to sit downe, and to eat certaine conserues of sugar which I had brought with mee, and willed the interpreter to thanke him in my name for the fauour which he had done me in vouchsafing to come to see mee, recommending vnto him the worshipping of the crosse, and all such other things as I had recommended to the rest of the Indians; namely that they should liue in peace, and should leaue off warres, and should continue alwayes good friendes together: he answered, that of long time they had continued in warres with their neighbours, but that from thence forward he would command his people that they should giue food to all strangers that passed through his kingdome, and that they should doe them no kinde of wrong, and that if any nation should come to inuade him, he said he would tell them howe I had commanded that they should liue in peace, and if they refused the same, he would defend himselfe, and promised me, that he would neuer goe to seeke warre, if others came not to invade him. Then I gaue him certaine trifles, as well of the seedes which I brought, as of the hens of Castile, wherewith he was not a litle pleased. And at my departure I caryed certaine of his people with me, to make friendship betweene them and those other people which dwelt aboue the Riuer; and here the interpreter came vnto me, to craue leaue to returne home; and I gaue him certaine gifts wherewith he departed greatly satisfied.

Coama.

The next day I came to Coama, and many of them knew me not, seeing me clad in other aparrel, but the old man which was there as soone as he knew me leapt into the water, saying vnto me, Sir, lo here is the man which you left with me, which came forth very ioyfull & pleasant declaring vnto me the great courtesies which that people had shewed him, saying that they had strouen together who should haue him to his house, and that it was incredible to thinke what care they had at the rising of the Sunne to hold vp their hands and kneele before the Crosse. I gaue them of my seedes, and thanked them hartily for the good entertainement which they had shewed my man, and they besought me that I would leaue him with them, which I granted them vntill my return, and he stayed among them very willingly. Thus I went forward vp the Riuer, taking that olde man in my companie, which told mee, that two Indians came from Cumana to enquire for the Christians, & that he had answered them that he knew none such, but that he knew one which was the sonne of the Sunne, and that they had perswaded him to ioyne with them to kill mee and my companions. I wished him to lend me two Indians, and I would send word by them, that I would come vnto them, and was desirous of their friendship, but if that they on the contrary would haue warre, I would make such a warre with them, that should displease them. And so I passed through all that people, and some came and asked me, why I had not giuen them Crosses as well as the rest, and so I gaue them some.

Cumana.

Treason of the sauages.

Chap. 9.

They goe on land, and see the people worship the Crosse which they had giuen them. The Captaine causeth an Indian to make a draught of the countrey: hee sendeth a Crosse to the Lord of Cumana, and going down the Riuer with the streame, he arriueth at his ships. Of the error of the Pilots of Cortez as touching the situation of this Coast.

THe next day I went on land to see certaine cottages, and I found many women and children holding vp their hands and kneeling before a Crosse which I had giuen them. When I came thither I did the like my self; and conferring with the old man, he began to informe me of as many people and Prouinces as he knew. And when euening was come I called the old man to come and lodge with mee in my boate; hee answered that hee would not goe with mee because I would wearie him with asking him questions of so many matters: I told him that I would request him nothing else but that he would set me downe in a charte as much as he knew concerning that Riuer, and what maner of people those were which dwelt vpon the banckes thereof on both sides: which he did willingly. And then he requested me that I would describe my countrey vnto him, as he had done his vnto me. And for to content him, I caused a draught of certaine things to be made for him. The next day I entred betweene certaine very high mountaines, through which this Riuer passeth with a streight chanel, and the boats went vp against the streame very hardly for want of men to draw the same. Here certaine Indians came and told me, that in the same place, there were certaine people of Cumana, and among the rest an enchanter, who enquired which way we would passe; & they telling him that we meant to passe by the Riuer, he set certaine canes on both sides thereof, through which wee passed, without receiuing any kinde of domage which they intended against vs.

An Inchanter.

Thus going forward I came vnto the house of the olde man which was in my company, and here I caused a very high Crosse to be set vp, whereupon I engraued certaine letters to signifie that I was come thither: and this I did, that if by chance any of the people of the generall Vazquez de Coronado should come thither, they might haue knowledge of my being there. At length seeing I could not attaine to the knowledge of that which I sought for, I determined to returne backe vnto my ships. And being ready to depart there arriued two Indians, which by meanes of the interpreters of the old man, told me that they were sent to me, and that they were of Cumana, and that their Lord could not come himselfe, because he was farre from that place, but desired me to signifie vnto him what my pleasure was. I told them, that I wished that he would alwayes imbrace peace, and that I was comming to see that countrey, but being inforced to returne backe downe the Riuer I could not now doe it, but that hereafter I would returne, and that in the meane season they should giue that Crosse vnto their Lorde, which they promised me to do, and they went directly to cary him that Crosse with certaine feathers which were on the same. Of these I sought to vnderstand what people dwelt vpward vpon the bankes of the Riuer, which gaue me knowledge of many people, and told me that the Riuer went farre more vp into the land then I had yet seene, but that they knew not the head thereof, because it was very far into the countrey, and that many other Riuers fell into the same.

This Riuer ran much farther vp then he had trauelled.

Hauing learned thus much the next day morning I returned downe the Riuer, and the day following I came where I had left my Spaniard, with whom I spake, and told him that all things had gone well with me, and that at this time and the former I had gone aboue 30 leagues into the countrey. The Indians of that place inquired of me what the cause was of my departure, and whē I would returne; to whom I answered, that I would returne shortly. Thus sayling downe the streame, a woman leapt into the water crying vnto vs to stay for her, and shee came into our boate, and crept vnder a bench, from whence we could not make her to come out: I vnderstood that shee did this, because her husband had taken vnto him another wife, by whom hee had children, saying that she ment not to dwell any longer with him, seeing he had taken another wife. Thus shee and another Indian came with me of their owne accord, and so I came into my ships, and making them ready we proceeded home on our voyage, coasting and oftentimes going on land, and entering a great way into the countrey, to see if I could learne any newes of Captaine Francis Vasquez and his companie; of whom I could haue no other knowledge, but such as I learned in the aforesaide Riuer. I bring with me many actes of taking possession of all that Coast. And by the situation of the Riuer, and the height which I tooke, I finde that that which the Masters and Pilots of the Marquesse tooke is false, & that they were deceiued by 2 degrees, and I haue sayled beyond them aboue 4 degrees. I sayled vp the Riuer 85 leagues, where I saw and learned all the particulars before mentioned, and many other things; whereof when it shall please God to giue mee leaue to kisse your Lordships hands, I will deliuer you the full and perfect relation. I thinke my selfe to haue had very good fortune, in that I found Don Luis de Castilia, and Augustine Ghenero in the port of Colima: for the Galiot of the Adelantado came vpon mee, which was there with the rest of his fleet, and commanded me to strike sayle, which seeming a strange thing vnto me, and not vnderstanding in what state things were in Nueua Espanna, I went about to defend my selfe, and not to doe it. In the meane while came Don Luis de Castilia in a boate and conferred with mee, and I lay at anchor on the other side of the hauen where the saide fleete road, and I gaue vnto him this relation (and to auoyd striffe I determined to sayle away by night) which relation I caryed about me briefly written; for I alwayes had a purpose to send the same, as soone as I should touch vpon Nueua Espanna, to aduertize your Lordship of my proceedings.

He sayled 85 leagues vp the Riuer.

The port of Colima.

An extract of a Spanish letter written from Pueblo de los Angeles in Nueua Espanna in October 1597, touching the discouerie of the rich Isles of California, being distant eight dayes sayling from the maine.

WE haue seene a letter written the eight of October 1597, out of a towne called Pueblo de los Angeles situate eighteene leagues frō Mexico, making mention of the Ilands of California situate two or three hundreth leagues frō the maine land of Nueua Espanna, in Mar del Sur: as that thither haue bene sent before that time some people to conquer them: which with losse of some twentie men were forced backe. After that they had wel visited and found those Islands or countreys to be very rich of gold and siluer mynes, and of very fayre Orientall pearles, which were caught in good quantitie vpon one fathome and an halfe passing in beautie the pearles of the Island Margarita: the report thereof caused the Vice-roy of Mexico to send a citizen of Mexico with two hundreth men to conquer the same. Therein also was affirmed that within eight dayes they could sayle thither from the mayne.

The course which Sir Francis Drake held from the hauen of Guatulco in the South sea on the backe side of Nueua Espanna, to the North-west of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly hauen, he landed, and staying there many weekes, and discouering many excellent things in the countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, hee tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Maiestie, and named it Noua Albion.

WEe kept our course from the Isle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the Coast of Nueua Espanna, vntill we came to the Hauen and Towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but seuenteene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Assoone as we were entred this Hauen we landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, where we found a Iudge sitting in iudgement, he being associate with three other officers, vpon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and searching him he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other iewels, which we tooke and so let him goe.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilote, which he tooke at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and hauing set them ashoore, we departed thence.

The Portugal Pilote set on land.

Our General at this place and time thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish coastes, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights of the South side, with continuall stormes raining and blustring, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands vpon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolued therefore to auoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Vpon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for the Malucos, and finding himselfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee sawe that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16 of Aprill after our olde stile till the third of Iune.

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backe side of America, to 43 degrees of Northerly latitude.

38 degrees.

The fift day of Iune being in fortie three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased vpon vs, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, & we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towardes the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this Bay wee ankered the seuententh of Iune, and the people of the Countery, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things which we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presentes which they sent vnto our Generall were feathers, and cals of net worke.

A description of the people and Countrey of Noua Albion.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house, they haue the fire in the middest. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes and kembe them after the maner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the toppe of the hil (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents) they stayed themselues, where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiue and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs they restored againe vnto vs those things which before we had bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the king himself, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadours to our Generall, to signifie that their king was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to vs with a princely Maiestie, the people crying continually after their maner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelinesse.

These are like chaines of Esurnoy in Canada and Hochelaga.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a marueilous length: the crownes were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bony substance and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelue, &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the king himselfe, with his Guarde about his person, clad with Conie skinnes, and other skinnes: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and hauing in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. When he that bare the scepter before the king, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the king with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the king with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and dance, sauing onely the women which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king, and diuers others made seueral orations, or rather supplication, that he would take their prouince and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which to perswade vs the better, the king and the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne and dignitie of the said Countrey in his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The king resignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

Great riches in Noua Albion.

The common sort of the people leauing the king and his Guarde with our Generall, scattered themselues together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person; and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee vsed signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwardes to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their deseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grieuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that being absent wee would remember them, and by stelth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie traueiled vp into the Countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of Deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large and fat of body.

Great heards of Deere.

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Conies, their bodyes in bignes as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either side a

Abundance of strange conies.

bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Noua Albion.

Our Generall called this countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towardes the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

Golde and siluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth here to bee taken vp, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or siluer.

At our departure hence our Generall set vp a monument of our being there; as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the Prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a piece of sixe pence of current English money vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the countrey, neither did euer discouer the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

The true and perfect description of a voyage performed and done by Francisco de Gualle a Spanish Captaine and Pilot, for the Vice-roy of New Spaine, from the Hauen of Acapulco in New Spaine, to the Islands of the Luçones or Philippinas, vnto the Hauen of Manilla, & from thence to the Hauen of Macao in China, and from Macao backe againe to Acapulco, accomplished in the yeere of our Lord, 1584.

Chap. 1.

THe tenth of March in the yeere of our Lorde 1582 wee set sayle out of the Hauen of Acapulco, lying in the countrey of New Spaine, directing our course towards the Islands of the Luçones, or Philippinas West Southwest, running in that maner for the space of twentie fiue leagues, till wee came vnder sixteene degrees, that so wee might shunne the calmes by sayling close by the shoare. From thence forward we held our course West for the space of 30 leagues, & being there, we ran West, and West & by South, for the space of 1800 leagues, to the Iland called Isla del Enganno, which is the furthest Iland lying in the South parts of ẏ Ilands called De los Ladrones, that is, The Ilands of rouers, or Islas de las Velas, vnder 13. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. in latitude Septentrionall, and 164. degrees in longitude Orientall, vpon the fixed Meridionall line, which lyeth right with the Iland of Terçera. From thence we helde our course Westward for the space of 280. leagues, till we came to the point called El capo de Espirito Santo, that is, The point of the holy Ghost, lying in the Iland Tandaya, the first Iland of those that are called Philippinas, Luçones, or Manillas, which is a countrey with fewe hilles, with some mines of brimstone in the middle thereof. From the point aforesayde, wee sailed West for the space of eighteene leagues to the point or entrie of the chanell, which runneth in betweene that Iland and the Iland of Luçon. This point or entrie lieth scarce vnder 12. degrees. All the coast that stretcheth from the entrie of the chanel to the point of El capo del Spirito santo, is not very faire.

Eight leagues from the sayde point lyeth a hauen of indifferent greatnesse, called Baya de Lobos, that is, The Bay of Woolues, hauing a small Iland in the mouth thereof: and within the chanell about halfe a league from the ende of the sayd Iland lyeth an Iland or cliffe, & when you passe by the point in the middle of the chanell, then you haue fiue and twentie fathom deepe, with browne sand: there we found so great a streame running Westward, that it made the water to cast a skum as if it had beene a sande, whereby it put vs in feare, but casting out our lead, wee found fiue and twentie fathom deepe.

From the aforesayd entrie of the chanell North, and North and by East about tenne leagues, lyeth the Island of Catanduanes, about a league distant from the lande of Luçon, on the furthest point Eastward, and from the same entrie of the chanell towards the West and Southwest, lyeth the Iland Capuli about sixe leagues from thence, stretching Westsouthwest, and Eastnortheast, being fiue leagues long, and foure leagues broad: and as wee past by it, it lay Northward from vs vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. and somewhat high lande. Foure leagues from the aforesayd Iland of Capuli Northwestward lie the three Ilands of the hauen of Bollon in the Iland of Luçones, stretching North and South about foure leagues, distant from the firme lande halfe a league, whereof the furthest Southward lieth vnder thirteene degrees: In this chanell it is twentie fathom deepe, with white sand, and a great streame, running Southeast: we passed through the middle of the chanell. From this chanell wee helde our course Southwest, and Southwest and by West, for the space of twentie leagues, vntill wee came to the West ende of the Iland of Tycao, which reacheth East and West thirteene leagues. This point or hooke lyeth vnder 12. degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. In the middle betweene this Iland and the Iland Capuli there lie three Ilands called the Faranias, and we ranne in the same course on the Northside of all the Ilands, at the depth of 22. fathom with white sand.

From the aforesayd West point of the Iland Tycao to the point of Buryas it is East and West to sayle about the length of a league or a league and an halfe: we put into that chanell, holding our course South, and South and by West about three leagues, vntill we were out of the chanell at sixteene fathom deepe, with halfe white and reddish sande in the chanell, and at the mouth thereof, whereof the middle lyeth vnder 12. degrees and ^{2}. and there the streames runne Northward.

The Iland of Buryas stretcheth Northwest and Southeast, and is lowe lande, whereof the Northwest point is about three leagues from the coast of Luçon, but you cannot passe betweene them with any shippe, but with small foistes and barkes of the countrey. This shallowe channell lieth vnder twelue degrees: and running thorow the aforesaid chanell betweene the Ilands Tycao and Buryas, as I sayd before, we sayled Southward about two leagues from the Iland of Masbate, which stretcheth East and West 8. leagues long, being in bredth 4. leagues, and lyeth vnder 12. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. in the middle thereof, and is somewhat high land.

The Isle of Masbate.

From the sayd chanell betweene Tycao and Buryas, wee helde our course Westnorthwest for thirteene leagues, leauing the Iland Masbate on the Southside, and the Iland Buryas on the North side: at the ende of thirteene leagues wee came by an Iland called Banton, which is in forme like a hat, vnder twelue degrees and ^{2}. when we had sayled the aforesayd thirteene leagues and eight leagues more, on the South side wee left the Iland called Rebuiam, which stretcheth Northwest, and Northwest and by North, and Southeast, and Southeast and by South, for the space of eight leagues, being high and crooked lande, whereof the North point lyeth vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. and there you finde 35 fathom deepe, with white sand.

From the aforesaid Iland of Banton Southward nine leagues, there beginne and followe three Ilandes, one of them being called Bantonsilla, which is a small Iland in forme of a sugar loafe: the second Crymara, being somewhat great in length, reaching East and West about two leagues: the third Itaa, or the Ile of Goates, hauing certaine houels. By all these Ilands aforesayd you may passe with all sortes of shippes, whereof the foremost lyeth Southward vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. From the Iland of Bantonsilla, or small Banton, wee helde our course Northwest for the space of foure leagues, to the chanell betweene the Ilands called de Vereies, and the Iland Marinduque, the Vereies lying on the South side vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. (which are two small Ilands like two Frigats) and the Iland Marinduque on the North side vnder twelue degrees, and ^{4}. which is a great Iland, stretching Westnorthwest, and Eastsoutheast, hauing in length 12. & in bredth 7. leagues. On the North side with the Iland Luçon it maketh a long and small chanell, running somewhat crooked, which is altogether full of shallowes and sandes, whereby no shippes can passe through it. The furthest point Westward of the same Iland lyeth vnder thirteene degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. It is high lande, on the East side hauing the forme of a mine of brimstone or fierie hill, and on the West side the land runneth downewarde at the point thereof being round like a loafe of bread: in the chanell betweene it and the Vereies, there are 18. fathom deepe with small blacke sand.

From the aforesaid chanell of Vereies and Marinduque, wee helde our course Westnorthwest twelue leagues to the lande of Mindora, to the point or hooke called Dumaryn, lying full vnder thirteene degrees: Fiue leagues forward from the sayde chanell on the South side wee left an Iland called Isla del maestro del Campo, that is, The Iland of the Colonell, lying vnder twelue degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. which is a small and flat Iland: In this course we had 45 fathom deep, with white sand.

By this point or end of the Iland Marinduque beginneth the Iland of Myndoro, which hath in length East and West fiue and twentie leagues, and in bredth twelue leagues, whereof the furthest point Southward lyeth vnder thirteene degrees, and the furthest point Northward vnder thirteene degrees and §. and the furthest point Westward vnder thirteene degrees. This Iland with the Iland of Luçon maketh a chanell of fiue leagues broad, and ten or twelue fathom deepe with muddie ground of diuers colours, with white sande. Fiue leagues forward from Marinduque lyeth the riuer of the towne of Anagacu, which is so shallowe, that no shippes may enter into it. From thence two leagues further lie the Ilands called Bacco, which are three Ilands lying in a triangle, two of them being distant from the land about three hundred cubits, and between them and the land you may passe with small shippes: And from the lande to the other Iland, are about two hundred cubites, where it is altogether shallowes and sandes, so that where the shippes may passe outward about 150. cubites from the lande, you leaue both the Ilands on the South side, running betweene the third Iland and the riuer called Rio del Bacco, somewhat more from the middle of the chanell towardes the Iland, which is about a league distant from the other: the chanell is tenne fathom deepe, with mud and shelles vpon the ground: the riuer of Bacco is so shallowe, that no ships may enter into it. From this Iland with the same course two leagues forward, you passe by the point called El Capo de Rescaseo, where we cast out our lead, and found that a man may passe close by the lande, and there you shall finde great strong streames: and halfe a league forward with the same course, lyeth the towne of Mindoro, which hath a good hauen for shippes of three hundred tunnes. Three leagues Northward from the same hauen lyeth the Iland called Cafua, stretching from East and West, being hilly ground.

From the sayde towne of Myndora, wee helde our course Westnorthwest eight leagues, till wee came to the poynt or hooke of the sandes called Tulen, lying vpon the Iland of Luçon, which sande or banke reacheth into the Sea halfe a league from the coast: you must keepe about an hundred cubites from it, where you finde eight fathom water, muddie and shellie ground: you runne along by those sandes North, and North and by West for the space of two leagues, till you come to the riuer called Rio de Anasebo: all the rest of the coast called De los Limbones to the mouth or entrie of the Bay called Manilla, (which are foure leagues) is sayled with the same course. The Limbones (which are Ilands so called) are high in forme like a paire of Organs, with good hauens for small shippes, running along by the Limbones: and two leagues beyond them on the South side, wee leaue the Ilands of Fortan, and foure Ilands more, but the three Ilands of Lubao, which are very low, lie vnder 13. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. and the Limbones lie in the mouth or entrie of the Bay of Manilla vnder 14. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Bay of Manilla in 14 degrees and one quarter.

From thence we ranne Northwest for the space of sixe leagues to the hauen of Cabite, keeping along by the land lying on the West side, where it is shallowe, and is called Los Baixos del Rio de Cannas, The shallowes of the riuer of Reedes: all along this Bay in the same course, there is from ten to foure fathom deepe.

Being by the point or hooke of Cabite, then wee kept but an hundred paces from it, running Southwest, southsouthwest, and South, vntill we discouered the whole mouth or entrie of the Bay, where we might anker at foure fathom about two hundred cubites from the lande, and then the towne of Manilla was two leagues Northward from vs.

Chap. 2.

The course and voyage of the aforesayd Francisco Gualle out of the hauen or roade of Manilla, to the hauen of Macao in China, with all the courses and situations of the places.

SAyling out of the hauen of Cabite, lying in the Bay of Manilla, wee helde our course Westwarde for the space of eighteene leagues, to the point called El Cabo de Samballes: and when wee were eight leagues in our way, wee left the two Ilands Maribillas on the South side, and sailed about a league from them: the point of Samballes aforesayde lyeth vnder foureteene degrees, and $\frac{2}{3}$. being low land, at the end of the same coast of Luçon, on the West side.

From the hooke or point aforesayde, wee ranne North, and North and by West, for the space of fiue and twentie leagues (about a league from the coast of Luçon) to the point called Cabo de Bullinao: all this coast and Cape is high and hilly ground, which Cape lyeth vnder sixteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. From this Cape de Bullinao we helde our course North, and North and by East, for 45. leagues to the point called El Cabo de Bojador, which is the furthest lande Northwarde from the Iland Luçon lying vnder 19. degrees.

The Cape de Bullinao being past the lande maketh a great creeke or bough, and from this creeke the coast runneth North to the point of Bojador, being a land full of cliffes and rockes that reach into the Sea, and the land of the hooke or point is high and hilly ground.

From the point of Bojador, wee helde our course Westnorthwest an hundred and twentie leagues, vntill we came to the Iland called A Ilha Branca, or the white Iland, lying in the beginning of the coast and Bay of the riuer Canton vnder two and twentie degrees, hauing foure and twentie fathom browne muddie ground. Canton 22. degrees.

From the Iland Ilha Branca, wee helde the aforesayde course of Westnorthwest, for the space of sixteene leagues, to the Iland of Macao lying in the mouth of the riuer of Canton, and it maketh the riuer to haue two mouthes or entries, and it is a small Iland about three leagues great. The Iland of Macao.

Chap. 3.

The Nauigation or course of the aforesayd Francisco Gualle out of the hauen of Macao to Newe Spaine, with the situation and stretchings of the same, with other notable and memorable things concerning the same voyage.

WHen we had prepared our selues, and had taken our leaues of our friends in Macao, we set saile vpon the foure and twentieth of Iuly, holding our course Southeast, & Southeast and by East, being in the wane of the Moone: for when the Moone increaseth, it is hard holding the course betweene the Ilands, because as then the water and streames run very strong to the Northwest; wee trauailed through many narrowe chanels by night, hauing the depth of eight or ten fathom, with soft muddie ground, vntill wee were about the Iland Ilha Branca, yet we saw it not, but by the height we knew that we were past it. Ilha Branca.

Being beyond it, we ranne Eastsoutheast an hundred and fiftie leagues, to get aboue the sands called Os Baixos dos Pescadores, and the beginning of the Ilands Lequeos on the East side, which Ilands are called As Ilhas fermosas, that is to say, The faire Ilands. This I vnderstoode by a Chinar called Santy of Chinchon, and hee sayde that they lie vnder one and twentie degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. there it is thirtie fathom deepe: and although wee sawe them not, notwithstanding by the height and depth of the water we knew we were past them. As Ilhas fermosas.

Being past As Ilhas fermosas, or the faire Ilands, wee helde our course East, and East and by North, for two hundred and sixtie leagues, vntill we were past the length of the Ilands Lequeos, sayling about fiftie leagues from them: the said Chinar tolde me, that those Ilands called Lequeos are very many, and that they haue many and very good hauens, and that the people and inhabitants thereof haue their faces and bodies painted like the Bysayas of the Ilands of Luçon or Philippinas and are apparelled like the Bysayas, and that there also are Lequeos.

Mines of gold.

mines of gold: Hee sayd likewise that they did often come with small shippes and barkes laden with Bucks and Harts-hides, and with golde in graines or very small pieces, to traffique with them of the coast of China, which hee assured mee to bee most true, saying that hee had bene nine times in the small Ilands, bringing of the same wares with him to China: which I beleeued to bee true, for that afterwarde I enquired thereof in Macao, and vpon the coast of China, and found that hee sayde true. The furthest or vttermost of these Ilands stretching Northwarde and Eastwarde, lie vnder nine and twentie degrees.

Firando.

Being past these Ilands, then you come to the Ilands of Iapon, whereof the first lying West and South, is the Iland of Firando, where the Portugals vse to traffique: they are in length altogether an hundred and thirtie leagues, and the furthest Eastward lieth vnder two and thirtie degrees: we ranne still East, and East and by North, vntill we were past the sayd hundred and thirtie leagues.

Other Ilands Eastward of Iapon.

All this information I had of the aforesayd Chinar, as also that there I should see some mines of brimstone or fierie hilles, being seuentie leagues beyond them, and thirtie leagues further I should finde foure Ilands lying together, which I likewise found, as hee had tolde mee: And that being in Iapon, he sayd hee had there seene certaine men of a very small stature, with great rolles of linnen cloth about their heads, that brought golde in small pieces, and some white Cangas of cotton, (which are pieces of cotton-linnen so called by the Chinars) as also salte-fish like the Spanish Atun, or Tunney, which hee sayde came out of other Ilandes Eastward from Iapon: and by the tokens and markes which hee shewed mee, I gessed whereabout those Ilands should bee, and found them not farre from whence he sayd they lay. Hee sayd likewise that all the Ilands of Iapon haue good hauens and chanels, being a Countrey full of Rice, Corne, Fish, and flesh, and that they are an indifferent and reasonable people to traffique with, and that there they haue much siluer.

Iapon 900. leagues distant from the coast of America in 37 degrees and an halfe.

Running thus East, and East and by North about three hundred leagues from Iapon, wee found a very hollowe water, with the streame running out of the North and Northwest, with a full and very broad Sea, without any hinderance or trouble in the way that wee past: and what winde soeuer blewe, the Sea continued all in one sort, with the same hollow water and streame, vntill wee had passed seuen hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coast and land of newe Spaine wee beganne to lose the sayd hollow Sea and streame: whereby I most assuredly thinke and beleeue, that there you shall finde a channell or straight passage, betweene the firme lande of newe Spaine, and the Countreys of Asia and Tartaria. Likewise all this way from the aforesayde seuen hundred leagues, we found a great number of Whale-fishes and other fishes called by the Spaniards Atuns or Tunnies, whereof many are found on the coast of Gibraltar in Spaine, as also Albacoras and Bonitos, which are all fishes, which commonly keepe in chanels, straights, and running waters, there to disperse their seede when they breede: which maketh mee more assuredly beleeue, that thereabouts is a chanell or straight to passe through.

Seuen and thirty deg. and an halfe. Read Francis Vlloa chap. 16.

Being by the same course vpon the coast of newe Spaine, vnder seuen and thirtie degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. wee passed by a very high and faire lande with many trees, wholly without snowe, and foure leagues from the lande, you finde thereabouts many drifts of rootes, leaues of trees, reeds, and other leaues like figge leaues, the like whereof wee found in great abundance in the countrey of Iapon, which they eate: and some of those that wee found, I caused to bee sodden with flesh, and being sodden, they eate like Coleworts: there likewise wee found great store of Seales: whereby it is to bee presumed and certainely to bee beleeued, that there are many riuers, bayes, and hauens along by those coastes to the hauen of Acapulco.

Cabo de San Lucas in 22. deg.

From thence wee ranne Southeast, Southeast and by South, and Southeast and by East, as wee found the winde, to the point called El Cabo de Sant Lucas, which is the beginning of the lande of California, on the Northwest side, lying vnder two and twentie degrees, being fiue hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendoçino.

Hauens lately found out.

In this way of the aforesayde fiue hundred leagues along by the coast, are many Ilands: and although they bee but small, yet without doubt there are in them some good hauens, as also in the firme land, where you haue these hauens following, now lately found out, as that of the Ile of Sant Augustine, lying vnder thirtie degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$. and the Iland called Isla de Cedros, scarce vnder eight & twenty deg. and $\frac{1}{4}$. and the Iland lying beneath Saint Martyn, vnder three and twentie degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. All this coast and countrey, as I thinke, is inhabited, and sheweth to be a very good countrey: for there by night wee sawe fire, and by day smoke, which is a most sure token that they are inhabited.

From the poynt or hooke of Saint Lucas, to the Southeast side of California, wee helde our course Eastsoutheast, for the space of 80. leagues, to the point called El cabo de las corrientes, that is, the Cape of the streames lying vnder 19. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$. And running this course, Northward about a league from vs wee sawe three Ilands called Las tres Marias, (that is to say, The three Maries) running the same course. About foure leagues from the other Ilands, there are other Ilands, reaching about two or three leagues: All this way from the mouth or gulfe of California aforesayd, for the space of the sayd fourescore leagues, there are great streames that run Westward.

From the point or Cape de las Corrientes, wee ranne Southeast, and sometimes Southeast and by East, for the space of an hundred and thirtie leagues to the hauen of Acapulco. In this way of an hundred and thirtie leagues, being twentie leagues on the way, we had the hauen of Natiuidad, that is, of the birth of the Virgin Mary: and other eight leagues further, the hauen of Saint Iago, or Saint Iames: and sixe leagues further, the sea Strand called La Playa de Colima, that is, the Strand of Colima. All this coast from California to the hauen of Acapulco is inhabited by people that haue peace and traffique with the Spaniards, and are of condition and qualities like the people of the other places of new Spaine. Acapulco.

The conclusion of the Author of this last voyage.

ALl this description and nauigation haue I my selfe seene, prooued, and well noted in my voyage made & ended in the yeere of our Lord 1584. from great China out of the hauen and riuer of Canton, as I will more at large set it downe vnto your honour, with the longitudes and latitudes thereof, as God shall permit mee time and leysure, whom I beseech to send you long and happie dayes.

And the same was truely translated out of Spanish into lowe Dutch verbatim out of the Originall copie, (which was sent vnto the Viceroy of the Portugall Indies) by Iohn Huyghen Van Linschoten.

DIVERS VOYAGES

MADE BY ENGLISHMEN TO THE FAMOUS CITIE OF MEXICO, AND TO ALL OR MOST PART OF THE OTHER PRINCIPALL PROUINCES, CITIES, TOWNES AND PLACES THROUGHOUT THE GREAT AND LARGE KINGDOM OF NEW SPAINE, EUEN AS FARRE AS NICARAGUA AND PANAMA, & THENCE TO PERU: TOGETHER WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE SPANIARDS FORME OF GOUERNMENT THERE: AND SUNDRY PLEASANT RELATIONS OF THE MANERS AND CUSTOMES OF THE NATURAL INHABITANTS, AND OF THE MANIFOLD RICH COMMODITIES & STRANGE RARITIES FOUND IN THOSE PARTES OF THE CONTINENT: & OTHER MATTERS MOST WORTHY THE OBSERUATION.

The voyage of Robert Tomson Marchant, into Noua Hispania in the yeere 1555. with diuers obseruations concerning the state of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himselfe.

RObert Tomson borne in the towne of Andouer in Hampshire began his trauaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing out of the citie of Bristoll in a good ship called The barke yong, in companie of other Marchants of the sayde citie, within 8. dayes after arriued at Lisbone in Portugall, where the sayd Robert Tomson remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he shipped himselfe for Spaine in the sayd shippe, and within 4. dayes arriued in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, which is vnder the kingdom of Spaine, & from thence went vp to the citie of Siuil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there hee repaired to one Iohn Fields house an English Marchant, who had dwelt in the said city of Siuil 18. or 20. yeres maried with wife and children: In whose house the said Tomson remained by the space of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two causes: The one to learne the Castillian tongue, the other to see the orders of the countrey, and the customes of the people. At the end of which time hauing seene the fleetes of shippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with such great quantitie of gold & siluer, pearles, precious stones, suger, hides, ginger, and diuers other rich commodities, he did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe ouer to see that rich countrey from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within short time after, the sayd Iohn Field (where the sayd Tomson was lodged) did determine to passe ouer into the West Indies, himselfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the request of the sayde Tomson, he purchased a licence of the King to passe into the Indies, for himselfe, his wife and children, and among them also for the sayde Tomson to passe with them: so that presently they made preparation of victuall and other necessarie prouision for the voyage. But the shippes which were prepared to perfourme the voyage being all ready to depart, vpon certaine considerations by the kings commandement were stayed and arrested till further should bee knowen of the Kings pleasure. Whereupon the said Iohn Field, with Robert Tomson departed out of Siuil and came down to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and seeing the stay made vpon the ships of the said fleet, & being not assured when they would depart, determined to ship themselues for the Iles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to stay till the said fleet should come thither: for that is continually their port to make stay at 6. or 8. daies, to take in fresh water, bread, flesh, & other necessaries.

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555. the sayde Robert Tomson with the said Iohn Field and his companie, shipped themselues out of the towne of S. Lucar in a caruel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arriued at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure with loud voyces, in so much that the castle which stood fast by began to shoot at vs, and shot 6. or 7. shot at vs, and strooke downe our maine maste, before we could hoise out our boat to goe on land, to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and were comming into his countrey. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done vnto vs; they answered, that they had thought we had bene French rouers, that had come into the said port to do some harme to the ships that were there. For that 8. dayes past there went out of the said port a caruell much like vnto ours, laden wit sugers and other marchandise for Spaine and on the other side of the point of the sayd Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said caruell, & vnladed out of her into the said French ship both men & goods. And being demanded of the said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, they answered that there remained diuers other ships, & one laden with sugers (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine: vpon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship well appointed into the said caruel which they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the euening came into the port, not shewing past 3. or 4. men, and so came to an anker hard by the other ships that were in the said port, and being seene by the castle and by the said ships, they made no reconing of her, because they knew her, & thinking that she had found contrary windes at the sea, or had forgot something behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, and so made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said caruel with the Frenchmen in her went aboord the other ship that lay hard by laden with sugers, and droue the Spaniards that were in her vnder hatches, & presently let slip her cables and ankers, and set saile & carried her cleane away, and after this sort deceiued them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did shoote at vs as they did. This being past, the next day after our arriuall in the sayd port, wee did vnbarke our selues and went on lande vp to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants seruants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee receiued great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had seene the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went vp to the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the ende came, and there hauing taken that which they had neede of, wee shipped our selues in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the saide fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman maried in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whose name was Iohn Sweeting, and there came in the sayd ship for captain also an Englishman maried in Cadiz, and sonne in law to the sayde Iohn Sweeting, whose name was Leonard Chilton: there came also in the said ship another Englishman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. yeeres or thereabout, whose name was Ralph Sarre. So that wee departed from the sayd Ilands in the moneth of October the foresayd yeere, 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towardes the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Iles of Canaries wee arriued with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, and went in ouer the barre where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before the towne, where wee went on land, & refreshed our selues 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biscuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeelde no kinde of bread to make graine withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Cassaui, which is something substantiall, but it hath but an vnsauorie taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beefe and mutton they haue great store: for there are men that haue 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hides; for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundreth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete and sauorie, and so holsome, that they giue it to sick folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons, although they haue good store of poultrie of that sort, as also of Guinycocks & Guinyhens. At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of aboue 500. housholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The coũtry is most part of the yere very hot, & very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke & molest the people very much in the night when they are asleepe, in pricking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie vncouered, & make them to swel wonderfully. Also there is another kind of small worme which creepeth into the soles of mens feet & especially of the black Moores and children which vse to go barefoot, & maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, & doth so ake that it would make one run mad. They haue no remedy for the same, but to open the flesh sometimes 3. or 4. inches & so dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great store of suger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fistula & Salsa perillia: mines of siluer & gold there are none, but in some riuers there is found some smal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper & brasse: and this they say they do vse not for that they lacke money of gold and siluer to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but because if they should haue good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold and siluer, and let the countrey commodities lie still. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, & there staying vntil the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of Ianuary we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico & new Spaine, toward which we set our course, and so sailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of

English factors in the Grand Canaria.

Iohn Sweeting Englishman married in Cadiz, sendeth a ship of his owne into the West Indies vnder the conduct of his sonne in lawe Leonard Chilton. Ralph Sarre.

Many of our men died of these wormes at the taking of Puertorico.

S. Iohn de Vllua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge: And being so neere our said port, there rose a storme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused vs to cast about into the sea againe, for feare least that night we should be cast vpon the shoare before day did breake, and so put our selues in danger of casting away: the winde and sea grew so foule and strong, that within two houres after the storme began, eight ships that were together were so dispersed, that we could not see one another. One of the ships of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, but missing the port went with the shoare and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship 75. persons, men, women and children, and 64. were saued that could swim, and had meanes to saue themselues: among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had bene present the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the rest of his seruants & houshold. We with the other 7. ships cast about into the sea, the storme during 10. dayes with great might, boisterous winds, fogs & raine: our ship being old and weake was so tossed, that she opened at the sterne a fadome vnder water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers, and for feare of sinking we threw and lightned into the sea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not serue. Then we cut our maine mast and threw all our Ordinance into the sea sauing one piece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee should haue sunke, we shot off, and as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company neere vnto vs, which we saw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the sound of the piece, & vnderstanding some of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards vs, and when they came within hearing of vs, we desired them for the loue of God to helpe to saue vs, for that we were all like to perish. They willed vs to hoise our foresaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would do their best to saue vs, and so we did: And we had no sooner hoised our foresaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of a sea, strooke in the foresaile, and caried saile & maste all ouerboord, so that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to imbrace one another, euery man his friend, euery wife her husband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our soules to Almighty God, thinking neuer to escape aliue: yet it pleased God in the time of most need when all hope was past, to aide vs with his helping hand, and caused the winde a little to cease, so that within two houres after, the other ship was able to come aboord vs, & tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hose or shoe vpon many of our feete. I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a yong sucking child in her armes, lept too short and fell into the sea, and was a good while vnder the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreading of her clothes rose aboue water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boate hauing still her child vnder her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall loue towards her child would not let her let the childe goe. And when she came aboord the boate she helde her childe so fast vnder her arme still, that two men were scant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ship & left it in the sea: it was worth foure hundreth thousand ducats, ship & goods when we left it. And within three dayes after we arriued at our port of S. Iohn de Vllua in New Spaine. I do remember that in the great and boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came vpon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste, a certaine little light, much like vnto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the aduocate of Sailers. At the which sight the Spaniards fell downe vpon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to cease the torment, and saue them from the perill that they were in, with promising him that at their comming on land, they would repaire vnto his Chappell, and there cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies vpon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to

Cuerpo Santo.

weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceiue it, nor gaue no credite to it, till it pleased God to send vs the remedie & deliuered vs from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therefore. This light continued aboord our ship about three houres, flying from maste to maste, & from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and shrowds of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I haue seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are giuen to beleeue and worship such vaine things and toyes, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and necessities do let to call vpon the liuing God, who is the giuer of all good things.

The 16. of April in Anno 1556. we arriued at the port of S. Iohn de Vllua in new Spaine, very naked and distressed of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the losse of our foresaid ship and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, fiue leagues from the said port of S. Iohn de Vllua, marching still by the sea side, where wee found lying vpon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes and all, some of them of foure, fiue, and sixe cart load by our estimation, which, as the people tolde vs, were in the great stormy weather, which we indured at sea, rooted out of the ground in Terra Florida, which is three hundreth leagues ouer by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the saide Towne of Vera cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the said Iohn Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordoua, a very rich man of the saide Towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his misfortune by Sea, came vnto him and receiued him and all his houshold into his house, and kept vs there a whole moneth, making vs very good cheere, and giuing vs good intertainement, and also gaue vs that were in all eight persons of the said Iohn Fields house, double apparell new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shooes, and al other necessary apparel, and for our way vp to the Citie of Mexico, horses, moiles and men, and money in our purses for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount vnto the summe of 400. Crownes. And after wee were entred two dayes iourney into the Countrey, I the saide Robert Tomson fell so sicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried vpon Indians backes, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes iourney of the Citie of Mexico, the saide Iohn Field also fell sicke, and within three dayes after we arriued at the said Citie, hee died: And presently sickened one of his children, and two more of his houshold people, and within eight dayes died. So that within tenne dayes after we arriued at the Citie of Mexico, of eight persons that were of vs of the saide company, there remained but foure aliue, and I the said Tomson was at the point of death of the sicknes that I got vpon the way, which continued with mee the space of sixe moneths. At the ende of which time it pleased Almightie God to restore me my health againe, although weake and greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to liue, and to seeke a way how to profite my selfe in the Countrey, seeing it had pleased God to sende vs thither in safetie. Then by friendship of one Thomas Blake a Scottishman borne, who had dwelt and had bene married in the said Citie aboue twentie yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the seruice of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerours of the said Citie, whose name was Gonçalo Cerezo, with whom I dwelt twelue moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciously accused by the Holy house for matters of Religion, and so apprehended and caried to prison, where I lay close prisoner seuen moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to the Iailer that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the saide prison one Augustin Boacio an Italian of Genoua also for matters of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the Northwest of the Citie of Mexico: At

His arriuall at Vera Cruz.

Florida 300. leagues from San Iuan de Vllua.

Mexico.

At the ende of the said seuen moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance vpon an high scaffold, made before the high Altar, vpon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great number of people, who were at the least fiue or sixe thousand. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to see the saide Auto (as they call it) for that there were neuer none before, that had done the like in the said Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant: for they neuer heard of any such thing before. We were brought into the Church, euery one with a S. Benito vpon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the middest, and cast ouer a mans head: both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the middest of euery flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on vpon the same, and that is called S. Benito. The common people before they sawe the penitents come into the Church, were giuen to vnderstand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did despise God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like deuils then men, and thought wee had had the fauour of some monsters, or heathen people. And when they saw vs come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made such a noise, that it was strange to see and heare, saying, that they neuer sawe goodlier men in all their liues, and that it was not possible that there could be in vs so much euill as was reported of vs, and that we were more like Angels among men, then such persons of such euill Religion as by the Priestes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that wee should bee so vsed for so small an offence. So that being brought into the saide high Church, and set vpon the scaffold which was made before the high Altar, in the presence of all the people, vntill high Masse was done, and the sermon made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put vs in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion vpon vs, for that wee were heretiques, & people that were seduced of the deuill, & had forsaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with diuers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Masse and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, euery man what he had said and done, and presently was the sentence pronounced against vs. That was, that the said Augustine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall prison, where hee should fulfill the same, and all his goods confiscated and lost. And I the saide Tomson to weare the S. Benito for three yeeres, and then to be set at libertie. And for the accomplishing of this sentence or condemnation, we must be presently sent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. Iohn de Vllua, and there to be shipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with strait commandement, that vpon paine of 1000. duckets, the Masters euery one should looke straitly vnto vs, and carry vs to Spaine, and deliuer vs vnto the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Siuill, that they should put vs in the places, where we should fulfill our penances that the Archbishop of Mexico had enioyned vnto vs, by his sentence there giuen. For performance of the which, we were sent downe from Mexico, to the Sea side, which was 65. leagues, with fetters vpon our feete, and there deliuered to the Masters of the ships, to be caried for Spaine, as before is said. And it was so, that the Italian, fearing that if he had presented himselfe in Spaine before the Inquisitors, that they would haue burned him, to preuent that danger, when wee were comming homeward, and were arriued at the yland of Terçera, one of the ysles of the Açores, the first night that we came into the said port to an ancker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, & swam naked a shoare, and so presently got him to the further side of the yland, where hee found a little Caruel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbone, and passed into France, and so into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept still aboord the ship, and came into Spaine, and was deliuered to the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Siuill, where they kept me in close prison, till I had fulfilled the three yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at libertie: and being in the Citie of Siuil a casher of one Hugh Typton, an English marchant of great doing, by the space of one yeere, it fortuned that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called Iohn de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indies, and had got great summes of golde and siluer, and with one onely daughter shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gaue all that hee had vnto his onely daughter, whose name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arriued at the Citie of Siuil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and siluer, besides iewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be prouided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine vnto by my owne labour.

After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were set vp in the high Church of the said Citie, with our names written in the same, according to their vse and custome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of vs, as long as the Romish Church doth raigne in that country. The same haue bene seene since by one Iohn Chilton, and diuers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long since, by Sir Iohn Hawkins. And because it shalbe knowen wherefore it was that I was so punished by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in briefe words declare the same.

It is so, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had ouerthrowen all their Churches and houses of Religion, and that all the images of the Saints of heauen that were in them were throwen downe, broken, and burned, and in some places high wayes stoned with them, and whether the English nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made answere, that it was so, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of friers and monks that were in England, and the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and vsed there no more: for that (as they say) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse cōmandement of Almighty God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen image, &c. and that for that cause they thought it not lawfull that they should stand in the Church, which is the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these words, who was my master Gonsalo Cereso, answered and said, if it were against the commandement of God, to haue images in the Churches, that then he had spent a great deale of money in vaine, for that two yeres past he had made in the monastery of Santo Domingo, in the said citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure siluer & golde, with pearles and precious stones, which cost him 7000. and odde pesos, and euery peso is 4. s. 8. d. of our money: which indeed was true, for that I haue seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was another gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause more then any other that was there, saide, that they knew well ynough that they were made but of stockes and stones, and that to them was no worship giuen, but that there was a certaine veneration due vnto them after they were set vp in the Church, and that they were set there to a good intent: the one, for that they were books for the simple people, to make them vnderstand the glory of the saints that were in heauen, & a shape of them to put vs in remembrance to cal vpon them, to be our intercessors vnto God for vs, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that vsing deuotion to saints in heauen, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subiect hath offended his king vpon the earth in any kind of respect, is it for the party to go boldly to the king in person, & to demand pardon for his offences? No, saith he, the presumptiō were too great, & possibly he might be repulsed, and haue a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seek some priuate man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquainted with his matter, & let him be a mediator to his Maiesty for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, and obteine the thing which he doeth demand: euen so saith he, it is with God and his saints in heauen: for we are wretched sinners, and not worthy to appeare nor present our selues before the Maiesty of God, to demand of him the thing that we haue need of:

therefore thou hast need to be deuout, and haue deuotion to the mother of God, and the saints of heauen, to be intercessors to God for thee, and so mayest thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou dost demand. To this I answered, & said, sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessary they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speak of, if he be so merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his subiects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or palace, & say vnto him, come hither, I know that thou hast offended many lawes, if thou doest know thereof, and doest repent thee of the same, with ful intent to offend no more, I wil forgiue thy trespasse, and remember it no more: said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man need to go seeke friendship at any of the kings priuat seruants hands, but go to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgiue thee, then thou art to demand forgiuenes at his hands? Euen so is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out vnto vs throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, and by his owne mouth, saying, Come vnto me al ye that labour and are ouer laden, and I wil refresh you: besides 1000. other offers and proffers which hee doth make vnto vs in his holy Scriptures. What then haue we need of the saints helpe that are in heauen, whereas the Lord himself doth so freely offer himselfe vnto vs? At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonied, and said, that by that reason, I would giue to vnderstand, that the inuocation of Saints was to be disanulled, and by the Lawes of God not commanded. I answered, that they were not my words, but the words of God himselfe: looke into the Scriptures your selfe, and you shall so finde it. The talke was perceiued to be preiudiciall to the Romish doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained vnthought vpon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal that was in the company, who said, Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Prouisor, and said, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Englishman, who had said, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any inuocation of Saints, vpon whose denomination I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and none other thing, and thereupon was vsed, as before is written.

Sant Iuan de Vllua.

Now to speake somewhat of the description of the countrey, you shall vnderstand, that the port of S. Iohn de Vllua is a very little Island low by the water side, the broadest or longest part thereof not aboue a bow shoote ouer, and standeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one house, and a little Chappel to say masse in, in all the Island: the side to the land wards is made by mans handes, with free-stone and grauel, and is 4. fadome deepe downe right, wherefore the great ships that come in there do ride so neere the shoare of the Iland, that you may come and goe aland vpon their beake noses. They vse to put great chaines of yron in at their halsers, and an ancker to the landward, and all little ynough to more well their shippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come off the coast of Florida, that sometimes haue caried ships, & houses, and all away to the shoare. The king was wont to haue 20. great mightie Negroes, who did serue for nothing else, but onely to repaire the said Island, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The Countrey all thereabout is very plaine ground, & a mile from the sea side a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the same, so that when the mariners of the ships are disposed, they go vp into the wildernes, and do kil of the same, and bring them aboord to eate, for their recreation.

The way and distance from San Iuan de Vllua to Vera Cruz, is fiue leagues.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almost by the Sea side, till you come within one league of the place, and then you turne vp towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle riuer hard by the said townes side, which sometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not past 300. housholds, and serued but for the folke of the ships, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliuer it to their owners, as also the owners and their factors to receiue their of the Masters of the ships. This towne standeth also in a very plaine on the one side, and is enuironed with much sande blowen from the sea side with the tempest of weather, many times comming vpon that coast. This towne also is subiect to great sicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners & officers of the ships did die with those diseases, there accustomed, & especially those that were not vsed to the countrey, nor knew the danger therof, but would commonly go in the Sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruit of the countrey with much disorder, and especially gaue themselues to womens company at their first comming: whereupon they were cast into a burning ague, of the which few escaped.

Venta de Rinconado.

Pueblo de los Angeles.

Halfe a dayes iourney from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of fiue or sixe houses, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinacle made of lime and stone, fast by a riuer side, where the Indians were wont to doe their sacrifices vnto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and also subiect to sicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes iourney that you do begin to enter into the high land, you shall find as faire, good, and sweet countrey, as any in the world, and the farther you go, the goodlier and sweeter the countrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be some 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. housholds, or thereabout, standing in a goodly soile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you shall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fieldes of medow grounds, Riuers of fresh waters, forrests, and great woods, very pleasant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20. leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not aboue 1500. housholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the suburbs of the said city, dwelt aboue 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65. leagues from the North sea, and 75. leagues from the South sea, so that it standeth in the midst of the maine land, betwixt the one sea and the other. It is situated in the middest of a lake of standing water, and enuironed round about with the same, sauing in many places, going out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the said lake or water. This lake and Citie is enuironed also with great mountaines round about, which are in compasse aboue thirtie leagues, and the saide Citie, and lake of standing water, doeth stand in a great plaine in the middest of it. This lake of standing water doeth proceed from the shedding of the raine, that falleth vpon the saide mountaines, and so gather themselues together in this place.

Mexico.

Don Luis de Velasco.

This is to be vnderstood of his second comming into Spaine.

All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth stand in a very plaine ground, and in the middest of the said Citie is a square place of a good bow shoote ouer from side to side: and in the middest of the said place is the high Church, very faire and well builded all through, at that time not halfe finished, and round about the said place, are many faire houses built: on the one side, are the houses where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the King of Spaine sendeth thither euery three yeeres. And in my time there was for viceroy a gentleman of Castil, called Don Luis de Velasco. And on the other side of the saide place, ouer against the same, is the Bishops house, very faire built, and many other houses of goodly building. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that first conquered the saide Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which hee made with great labour and trauaile of his person, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart vnto him. And when he came home, he could not bee suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good seruice.

The said Citie of Mexico hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streets of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that euery man may put into his house as much as he will, without the cost of any thing, but of the letting in. Also there is a great caue or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, euen vnto the high place, where come euery morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all maner of prouision for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailes, Guiny-cockes, and such like, all are very good cheape: To say, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a slaue can carry away from the Butchers, for fiue Tomynes, that is, fiue Royals of plate, which is iust two shillings and sixe pence, and a fat sheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, peares, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reasonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there alwayes very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popiniayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will reioyce to heare it. In the fields are such odoriferous smels of flowers and hearbs, that it giueth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are diuers townes of Indians, some of 4000. or 6000. housholds, which doe stand in such a goodly soyle, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were dwelling and aliue in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the first conquest with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered.

Mexico conquered Anno 1519. and 1520.

About Mexico there are diuers Mines of siluer, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues, both to the Northwestward of Mexico, where is great store of gold and siluer. Also there is a place called the Misteca, fiftie leagues to the Northwest, which doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and Cochinilla. Wine and oyle there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we haue none such, as Plantanos, Guyaues, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wildernes great store of blacke cheries, and other wholsome fruites. The Cochinilla is not a worme, or a flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that groweth vpon certaine bushes in the wilde field, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Also the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the saide Indico is made. Balme, Salsa perilla, Cana fistula, suger, oxe hides, and many other good and seruiceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there solde and distributed to many nations.

Cochinilla is not a worme nor a flie, but a berry.

Indico.

ROBERT TOMSON.

A voyage made by M. Roger Bodenham to S. Iohn de Vllua in the bay of Mexico, in the yeere 1564.

I Roger Bodenham hauing a long time liued in the city of Siuil in Spaine, being there married, and by occasion thereof vsing trade and traffique to the parts of Barbary, grew at length to great losse and hinderance by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez: whereupon being returned into Spaine, I began to call my wits about mee, and to consider with my selfe by what meanes I might recouer and renew my state; and in conclusion, by the ayde of my friends, I procured a ship called The Barke Fox, perteining to London, of the burden of eight or nine score tunnes; and with the same I made a voyage to the West India, hauing obteined good fauour with the Spanish merchants, by reason of my long abode, and marriage in the countrey. My voyage was in the company of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes for Noua Hispania: who being himselfe appointed Generall for Terra Firma and Peru, made his sonne Generall for New Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himselfe was the principall man and directer in both fleets. We all departed from Cadiz together the last day of May in the yere 1564: and I with my ship being vnder the conduct of the sonne of

A new trade begun in the city of Fes by Roger Bodenham.

of Don Pedro aforesayd, arriued with him in Noua Hispania, where immediatly I tooke order for the discharge of my merchandise at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwise called Villa Rica, to be transported thence to the city of Mexico, which is sixty and odde leagues distant from the sayd port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angeles, and another called Tlaxcalan. The city of Mexico hath three great causeyes to bring men to it, compassed with a lake, so that it needeth no walles, being so defended by the water. It is a city plentifull of all necessary things, hauing many faire houses, churches, and monasteries. I hauing continued in the countrey the space of nine moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spanish fleet, and deliuered the merchandise and siluer which I had in the ship into the Contractation house, and there receiued my fraight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000 ducats and more. I obserued many things in the time of my abode in Noua Hispania, aswell touching the commodities of the countrey as the maners of the people both Spanyards and Indians: but because the Spanish histories are full of those obseruations, I omit them, and referre the readers to the same: onely this I say, that the commodity of Cochinilla groweth in greatest abundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angeles, and is not there woorth aboue forty pence the pound. The place where Cochinilla groweth, and the price thereof.

A notable discourse of M. Iohn Chilton, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of New Spaine, and other prouinces in the West Indies, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his trauels, continued in those parts, the space of seuenteene or eighteene yeeres.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1561, in the moneth of Iuly, I Iohn Chilton went out of this city of London into Spaine, where I remained for the space of seuen yeres, & from thence I sailed into Noua Hispania, and so trauelled there, and by the South sea, vnto Peru, the space of seuenteene or eighteene yeeres: and after that time expired, I returned into Spaine, and so in the yere 1586 in the moneth of Iuly, I arriued at the foresayd city of London: where perusing the notes which I had taken in the time of my trauell in those yeeres, I haue set downe as followeth.

In the yeere 1568, in the moneth of March, being desirous to see the world, I embarked 1568. my selfe in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluzia, in a shippe bound for the Isles of the Canaries, Cadiz. where she tooke in her lading, & set forth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of Iune, the same yere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Isle of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Noua Hispania, and came into the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, which is a San Iuan de Vllua. litle Island standing in the sea, about two miles from the land, where the king mainteineth about 50 souldiers, and captaines, that keepe the forts, and about 150 negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carying of stones for building, & other vses, and to helpe to make fast the ships that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at ech ende of a wall, that standeth likewise in the sayde Island, where the shippes vse to ride, made fast to the sayd wall with their cables, so neere, that a man may leape ashore. From this port I iourneyed by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, standing by a riuers side, where Vera Cruz. all the factours of the Spanish merchants dwell, which receiue the goods of such ships as come thither, and also lade the same with such treasure and merchandize as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about foure hundred, who onely remaine there during the time that the Spanish fleet dischargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the end of August to the beginning of April following. And then for the vnwholesomnesse of the place they depart thence sixteene leagues further vp within the countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthfull soile. There is neuer any woman deliuered of childe in this port Xalapa sixteene leagues. of Vera Cruz: for so soone as they perceiue themselues conceiued with child, they get them into the countrey, to auoid the perill of the infected aire, although they vse euery morning to driue thorow the towne aboue two thousand head of cattell, to take away the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa seuen leagues I came to another place, named Perota, Perota seuen leagues. wherein are certaine houses builded of straw, called by the name of ventas, the inhabitants whereof

Fuentes de Ozumba nine leagues. Pueblo de los Angeles eight leagues.

Tlaxcalla foure leagues northward from los Angeles.

Vulcan is a hill that continually burneth with fire.

Cochinilla.

Pueblo de los Angeles 20 leagues from Mexico.

whereof are Spaniards, who accustome to harbour such trauellers as are occasioned to iourney that way vp into the land. It standeth in a great wood of Pine and Cedar trees, the soile being very colde, by reason of store of snow which lieth on the mountaines there all the yere long. There are in that place an infinite number of deere, of bignesse like vnto great mules, hauing also hornes of great length. From Perota nine leagues, I came to the Fuentes of Ozumba, which fuentes are springs of water issuing out of certeine rocks into the midst of the high wayes, where likewise are certaine ranges, and houses, for the vses before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place I came to the city of the Angels, so called by that name of the Spanyards, which inhabit there to the number of a thousand, besides a great number of Indians. This city standeth in very plaine fields, hauing neere adioyning to it many sumptuous cities, as namely the city of Tlaxcalla, a city of two hundred thousand Indians, tributaries to the king, although he exacteth no other tribute of them then a handfull of wheat a piece, which amounteth to thirteene thousand hanneges yeerely, as hath appeared by the kings books of account. And the reason why he contenteth himselfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, because they were the occasion that he tooke the city of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the same time when the Spanyards came into the countrey. The gouernour of this city is a Spanyard, called among them The Alcalde mayór, who administreth chiefest causes of iustice both vnto the Christians and Indians, referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkennesse and such like, to the iudgement and discretion of such of the Indians as are chosen euery yeere to rule amongst them, called by the name of Alcaldes. These Indians from foureteene yeeres olde vpwards, pay vnto the king for their yerely tribute one ounce of siluer, and an hannege of maiz, which is valued among them commonly at twelue reals of plate. The widowes among them pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this city, and of the rest, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantles of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, painted thorowout with works of diuers and fine colours. It is distant from the city of the Angels foure leagues to the Northward, & foureteene from Mexico. There is another city a league from it, called Chetula, consisting of more then sixty thousand Indians, tributaries, and there dwell not aboue twelue Spanyards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Acassingo, of aboue fifty thousand Indians, and about eight or twelue Spanyards, which standeth at the foot of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the East side. There are besides these, three other great cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous city, Waxazingo, and Tichamachalcho: all these in times past belonged to the kingdome of Tlaxcalla: and from these cities they bring most of their Cochinilla into Spaine. The distance from the city of the Angels, to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. This city of Mexico is the city of greatest fame in all the Indies, hauing goodly and costly houses in it, builded all of lime and stone, and seuen streets in length, and seuen in breadth, with riuers running thorow euery second street, by which they bring their prouision in canoas. It is situated at the foot of certaine hilles, which conteine in compasse by estimation aboue twenty leagues, compassing the sayd city on the one side, and a lake which is foureteene leagues about on the other side. Vpon which lake there are built many notable and sumptuous cities, as the city of Tescuco, where the Spanyards built sixe frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where also Fernando Cortes made his abode fiue or six moneths in curing of the sicknesse of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwell in this city about sixty thousand Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this city the sayd Fernando built the finest church that euer was built in the Indies, the name whereof is S. Peters.

His voyage from Mexico to Nueua Biscaia.

New Biscay.

The Siluer mines of Tamascaltepec.

After I had continued two yeeres in this city, being desirous to see further the countreys, I imployed that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the prouinces of California, in the which was discouered a certeine countrey, by a Biscaine, whose name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his countrey, New Biscay, where I solde my merchandise for exchange of siluer, for there were there certaine rich mines discouered by the aforesayd Biskaine. Going from Mexico I directed my voyage somewhat toward the Southwest, to certaine mines, called Tamascaltepec, and so trauelled forward the space of twenty dayes thorow desert places vnhabited, *till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which* ioyneth to the prouince of New Biscay. *In all these places the Indians for the most part go* naked, and are wilde people. Their common armour is bowes and arrowes: *they vse to eate vp such Christians as they come by. From hence departing, I came to another prouince* named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Nauidad, *which is 120 leagues from Mexico, in which port arriue alwayes in the moneth of April, all the ships that come out of the South* sea from China, and the Philippinas, *and there they lay their merchandise ashore. The most part whereof is mantles made of Cotton wooll, Waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of* earth, and much golde.

The valley of S. Bartholomew.

The hauen where yͤ ships of China & the Philippinas arriue.

The next Summer following, being in the yeere 1570 (which was the first yeere that the Popes Buls were brought into the Indies) I vndertooke another voyage towards the prouince of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whither I caried diuers merchandize of Spaine, all by land on mules backs. The way thitherward from Mexico is to the city of the Angels, and from thence to another city of Christians 80 leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50 Spanyards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this prouince pay their tribute in mantles of Cotton wooll, and Cochinilla, whereof there groweth abundance thorowout this countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South sea, called Aguatulco, in the which there dwell not aboue three or foure Spanyards, with certaine Negroes, which the king mainteineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arriued in the yeere 1579, in the moneth of April, where I lost with his being there aboue a thousand duckets, which he tooke away with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Francisco Gomes Rangifa, factour there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the South sea: for from this Port they vse to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, and to the kingdome of Honduras. From Guaxaca I came to a towne named Nixapa, which standeth vpon certaine very high hilles in the prouince of Sapotecas, wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spanyards, by the King of Spaines commandement, to keepe that country in peace: for the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpose hee bestoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that prouince. From hence I went to a city called Tecoantepec, which is the farthest towne to the Eastward in all Noua Hispania, which some time did belong to the Marques de Valle, and because it is a very fit port, standing in the South sea, the king of Spaine, vpon a rebellion made by the sayd Marques against him, tooke it from him, and doth now possesse it as his owne. Heere in the yeere 1572 I saw a piece of ordinance of brasse, called a Demy culuerin, which came out of a ship called the Iesus of Lubec, which captaine Hawkins left in S. Iohn de Vllua, being in fight with the Spanyards in the yeere 1568; which piece they afterwards caried 100 leagues by land ouer mighty mountaines to the sayd city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leauing Tecoantepec, I went still along by the South sea about 150 leagues in the desolate prouince of Soconusco, in which prouince there groweth cacao, which the Christians cary from thence into Noua Hispania, for that it will not grow in any colde countrey. The Indians of this countrey pay the king their tribute in cacao, giuing him four hundred cargas, and euery carga is 24000 almonds, which carga is worth in Mexico thirty pieces of reals of plate. They are men of great riches, and withall very proud: and in all this prouince thorowout, there dwell not twenty Christians. I trauelled thorow another prouince called Suchetepec; and thence to the prouince of Guasacapan: in both which prouinces are very few people, the biggest towne therein hauing not aboue two hundred Indians. The chiefest merchandise there, is cacao. Hence I went to the city of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdome: in this city doe inhabit about 80 Spanyards: and here the king hath his gouernours, & councell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for iustice. This city standeth from the coast of the South sea 14 leagues within the land, and is very rich, by reason of the golde that they fetch out of the coast of Veragua. From this city to the Eastward 60 leagues lieth the prouince Sonsonate, where I solde the merchandize I caried out of Noua Hispania. The chiefest city of this prouince is called S. Saluador, which lieth 7 leagues from the coast of the South sea, and hath a port lying by the sea coast,

Guaxaca.

Aguatulco.

Nixapa.

Sapotecas.

Tecoantepec.

Soconusco.

Suchetepec.

Guasacapan.

Guatimala.

Sonsonate.

San Saluador.

Acaxutla.

Nicoia a port where ye ships which goe to the Philippinas are builded.

Puerto de Cauallos a rich place.

The description of Hauana at large.

The [illegible] force of Hauana.

The commodities of Cuba.

coast, called Acaxutla, where the ships arriue with the merchandize they bring from Noua Hispania; and from thence lade backe againe the cacao: there dwell heere to the number of threescore Spanyards. From Sonsonate I trauelled to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, in which port the king buildeth all the shipping that trauell out of the Indies to the Malucos. I went forward from thence to Costa rica, where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth betweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there liue as warriers, I durst not passe by land, so that here in a towne called S. Saluador I bestowed that which I caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall) which I caried with me to the port of Cauallos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at the comming in on the one side of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance or any other strength, hauing in it houses of straw: at which towne the Spanyards vse yeerely in the moneth of August to vnlade foure ships which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandize, and receiue in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandise called Annile and Cochinilla (although it be not of such value as that of Noua Hispania) and siluer of the mines of Tomaangua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salsa perilla, the best in all the Indies: all which merchandize they returne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following, taking their course by the Island of Iamaica, in which Island there dwell on the West side of it certeine Spanyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the vttermost part of the Westward of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Hauana lying hard by, which is the chiefest port that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of greatest importance: for all the ships, both from Peru, Hunduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Iamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arriue there in their returne to Spaine, for that in this port they take in victuals and water, and the most part of their lading: here they meet from all the foresayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this port it is so narrow, that there can scarse come in two ships together, although it be aboue sixe fadome deepe in the narrowest place of it. In the North side of the comming in there standeth a tower, in which there watcheth euery day a man to descrie the sailes of ships which hee can see on the sea; and as many as he discouereth, so many banners he setteth vpon the tower, that the people of the towne (which standeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may vnderstand thereof. Vnder this tower there lieth a sandy shore, where men may easily go aland; and by the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters side, which easily with small store of ordinance subdueth the towne and port. The port within is so large that there may easily ride a thousand saile of ships without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the towne of Hauana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threescore souldiers, which the king mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine castle which hee hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelue pieces of small ordinance, and is compassed round with a small ditch, wherethorow at their pleasure they may let in the sea. About two leagues from Hauana there lieth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, situate on the North side of the Island. The chiefest city of this Island of Cuba (which is aboue 200 leagues in length) is also called Sant Iago de Cuba, where dwelleth a bishop & about two hundred Spanyards; which towne standeth on the South side of the Island about 100 leagues from Hauana. All the trade of this Island is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards mainteine there many negroes to kil their cattell, and foster a great number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into smal pieces, they dry in the Sun, and so make it prouision for the ships which come for Spaine.

Nombre de Dios.

Panama.

Hauing remained in this Island two moneths, I tooke shipping in a frigat, and went ouer to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which standeth vpon the South sea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues distance: from which towne there runneth a riuer which is called the riuer of Chagre, which runneth within 5 leagues of Panama,

nama, to a place called Cruzes, thorow which riuer they cary their goods, and disimbarke them at the sayd Cruzes, and from thence they are conueyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe imbarke them in certeine small shippes in the South sea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these ships I went to Potossi, and from thence by land to Cusco, and from thence to Paita.

Potossi.
Cusco.
Paita.

Here I remained the space of seuen moneths, and then returned into the kingdome of Guatimala, and arriued in the prouince of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I trauelled by land to a prouince called Nicamula (which lieth toward the North sea in certaine high mountaines) for that I could not passe thorow the kingdome of Guatimala at that time for waters, wherewith all the Low countreys of the prouince of Soconusco, lying by the South sea, are drowned with the raine that falleth aboue in the mountaines, enduring alwayes from April to September: which season for that cause they call their Winter. From this prouince I came into another called De Vera Paz, in which the chiefest city is also called after that name, where there dwelleth a bishop and about forty Spanyards. Among the mountaines of this countrey toward the North sea, there is a prouince called La Cādona, where are Indian men of war which the king can not subdue, for that they haue townes and forts in a great lake of water aboue in the sayd mountaines: the most part of them goe naked, and some weare mantles of cotton wooll. Distant from this about 80 leagues, I came into another prouince called the prouince of Chiapa, wherein the chiefest city is called Sacatlan, where there dwelleth a bishop and about an hundred Spanyards. In this countrey there is great store of Cotten wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Christians buy and cary into Noua Hispania. The people of this prouince pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Feathers. Foureteene leagues from this city there is another called Chiapa, where are the finest gennets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300 leagues from it. From this city I trauelled still thorow hilles and mountaines, till I came to the end of this prouince, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth The hill of winde: for that they say, it is the highest hill that euer was discouered: for from the top of it may be discouered both the North and the South seas; and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues. They which trauell ouer it, lie alwayes at the foot of it ouer night, and begin their iourney about midnight, to trauell to the top of it before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to goe vp: from the foot of this hill to Tecoantepec, the first towne of Noua Hispania, are about fifteene leagues. And so from hence I iourneyed to Mexico.

Vera Paz.

Chiapa 300 leagues from Mexico.

Ecatepec an hill nine leagues high.

Tecoantepec.

By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yere 1572) in the company of another Spanyard, which was my companion in this iourney, we went together toward the prouince of Panuco, which lieth vpon the coast of the North sea, and within three dayes iourney we entred a city called Mestitlan, where there dwelt twelue Spanyards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thousand. This city standeth vpon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holesome and fruitfull, hauing plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of these hilles are all set with fruits, and trees of diuers kindes, and most pleasant. In euery towne as we passed thorow, the Indians presented vs with victuals. Within twenty leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thousand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the order of Saint Augustine, who haue there a Monastery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, where there is another Monastery of friers of the same Order: there dwell in this towne about twelue Spanyards. From this place forwards beginneth a prouince called Guastecan, which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The first towne we came vnto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, hauing all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women vse to doe with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor siluer for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which

His iourney to Panuco.

Mestitlan.

Clanchinoltepec.

Guaxutla.

Guastecan.

Tancuylabo.

Salt a principall merchandise.

which they greatly esteeme, and vse it for a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes trauell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne vpon the sea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Christians, of which number whilest wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they haue in this place: it standeth vpon the entrie of the riuer of Panuco, which is a mighty great riuer; and were it not for a sand that lieth at the mouth of it, ships of fiue hundred tunne might goe vp into it aboue three score leagues. From hence we went to Panuco, foureteene leagues from Tampice, *which in times past had bene a goodly city,* where the king of Spaine had his gouernour: *but by reason that the Indians there destroyed the* Christians, it lieth in a maner waste, *conteining in it not aboue tenne* Christians with a priest. In this towne I fell sicke, where I *lay one and forty dayes, hauing no other* sustenance then fruit and water, which water I sent *for aboue sixe leagues off within the* countrey. Here I remained till my companion came to *me, which had departed from me another way,* reteining in my company onely a slaue, *which I brought with me from Mexico.* And the last day in Easter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake state, by reason of the vnholesomenesse of the place. Notwithstanding my weakenesse. I being set on an horse, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, wee went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we passed ouer the riuer in a canoa; and being on the other side, I went my selfe before alone: and by reason there met many wayes traled by the wilde beasts, I lost my way, and so trauelled thorow a great wood about two leagues: and at length fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of straw; who seeing me, came out to the number of twenty of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and spake vnto mee in their language, which I vnderstood not: and so I made signes vnto them to helpe mee from my horse; which they did by commandement of their lord, which was there with them; and lighted downe. They caried me vnder one of their cottages, and layed me vpon a mat on the ground: and perceiuing that I could not vnderstand them, they brought vnto mee a little Indian wench of Mexico, of fifteene or sixteene yeeres of age, whom they commanded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I was come among them: for (sayth she) doest thou not know Christian, how that these people will kill and eat thee? To whom I answered, let them doe with me what they will; heere now I am. Shee replied, saying, thou mayest thanke God thou art leane; for they feare thou hast the pocks: otherwise they would eate thee. So I presented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottle; which he esteemed aboue any treasure: for for wine they will sell their wiues and children. Afterwards the wench asked me what I would haue, and whether I would eat any thing. I answered that I desired a little water to drinke, for that the countrey is very hote: and shee brought me a great Venice glasse, gilded, full of water. And maruelling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it. She tolde me that the Casique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne distant 30 leagues from this place on the hilles, whereas dwelt certeine Christians, and certeine friers of the Order of S. Augustine, which this Casique with his people on a night slew; and burning the friers monasterie, among other things reserued this glasse: and from thence also brought me. Hauing now bene conuersant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aske me if I would goe my way. I answered her, that I desired nothing els. So the Casique caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way; going before me with their bowes and arrowes, naked, the space of three leagues, till they brought me into an high way: and then making a signe vnto me, they signified that in short time I should come to a towne where Christians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de los valles, standing in plaine fields, walled about with a mud wall: the number of the Christians that dwelt therein, were not aboue foure or fiue and twenty, vnto which the king of Spaine giueth Indians and townes, to keepe the countreys subiect vnto him. Heere the Christians haue their mighty mules, which they cary for all the parts of the Indies, and into Peru, for that all their merchandize are caried by this meanes by land. In this towne aforesayd, I found my company which I had lost before, who made no other account of

Tampice a port towne.

Panuco.

Shallapa.

Sant Iago de los valles.

Mighty mules.

of me but that I had beene slaine: and the Christians there likewise maruelled to heare that I came from those kinde of Indians aliue, which was a thing neuer seene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Christian, and to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained eighteene dayes, till I recouered my health, and in the meane space there came one Don Francisco de Pago, whom the viceroy Don Henrico Manriques had sent for captaine generall, to open and discouer a certeine way from the sea side to the mines of Sacatecas, which were from this place 160 leagues, for to transport their merchandize by that way, leauing the way by Mexico, which is seuen or eight weeks trauell. So this captaine tooke me and my company, with the rest of his souldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and fiue hundred Indians, which we tooke out of two towns in this prouince called Tanchipa, and Tamaclipa, all good archers, and naked men, and went thence to the riuer de las Palmas, which is of great bignesse, parting the kingdome of Noua Hispania and Florida: and going still along by this riuer the space of three dayes, seeking passage to passe ouer; and finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a balsa or raft, which when we had made, we sate on it, the Indians swimming in the water, and thrusting it before them to the other side. Within thirty dayes after, trauelling thorow woods, hilles, and mountaines, we came to the mines of Sacatecas, which are the richest mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most siluer: at which mines there dwelt aboue three hundred Christians: and there our Captaine gaue vs leaue to depart. So we came to the valley of S. Michael toward Mexico; and from thence to Pueblo nouo; and from that place to the prouince of Mechuacan, after which name the chiefest city of that place is called; where there dwelles a bishop, and aboue an hundred Spanyards in it: it aboundeth with all kind of Spanish fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees, and wild vines. Heere are many mines of copper, and great store of cattell. It lieth 60 leagues from Mexico, whither we came within foure dayes after. The Indians of this countrey are very mighty and big men.

Don Henrico Manriques viceroy of Mexico.

Rio de las Palmas.

The mines of Sacatecas.

The valley of S. Michael.
Pueblo nouo.
Mechuacan.

Copper mines.

Afterwards I returned another way to the prouince of Sonsonate by Vera Cruz, and so to Rio Aluarado, and from thence to the prouince of Campeche, which lieth on the South side of the bay of Mexico: the chiefe towne of this prouince is called Merida, in which is a bishop and almost 100 Spanyards. The Indians of this prouince pay all their tribute in mantles of cotton wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this prouince for a ship of 100 tun to ride in, but onely in the riuer of Tabasco, by which riuer this city of Merida standeth. The chiefest merchandize which they lade there in small frigats, is a certeine wood called campeche, (wherewith they vse to die) as also hides and annile. By this there lieth the prouince of Iucatan, nere the Honduras by the North sea coast, where there is also another bishop, and a towne likewise named Iucatan, where there dwell a few Spanyards. They haue no force at all in all this coast to defend themselues withall, saue only that the land is low, and there is no port to receiue any shipping, vnlesse they be frigats, which cary from thence to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, waxe, cacao, hony, and also mantles of cotton wool, whereof they make there great store, and of which kind of merchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the same also they pay their tribute to the king.

Campeche.

Merida.

Rio de Tabasco.

Iucatan.

The king hath tribute brought him yerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and siluer: for he receiueth of euery Indian which is subiect vnto him (excepting those which do belong to the Incommenderos, which are the children of those Spanyards, who first conquered the land, to whom the king gaue and granted the gouernment of the cities and townes subdued for three liues) twelue reals of plate, and a hannege of maiz, which is a wheat of the countrey, (fiue of them making a quarter of English measure) and of euery widow woman he hath sixe reals, & halfe a hannege of maiz. And so if any Indian haue twenty children in his house, he payeth for euery one of them, being aboue fifteene yeres old, after that rate. This Wheat being duely brought to the gouernour of euery prouince and city, is sold in Mexico by the kings gouernours there euery

The greatnesse of the king of Spaines tribute out of the West Indies.

The quinto.

The marke of siluer is 64 reals of plate.

yeere; so that the money receiued for it, is put into the kings Treasurie there, and so is yeerely caried from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and siluer, he receiueth the fift part of it, which he calleth his quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes set on it; for otherwise it may not be brought out of the land into Spaine, vnder paine of death. The marke of siluer, which is eight ounces, when it commeth out of the mines, not hauing the kings seale vpon it, is woorth three and forty reals of plate, and so it is current: and when they will bring it for Spaine, they cary it to the kings Treasure house, where his seale is set vpon it; and so it is raised in value thereby to threescore and foure reals of plate: and so the king hath for his custome of euery marke of plate one and twentie reals.

The reuenue of the kings buls and pardons came yerely to three millions.

Rebellions in Noua Hispania by too great exactions.

From the yere of 1570, which was the yeere that the Popes buls came into the Indies, as is afore mentioned, he hath receiued both of the Indians which are tributaries vnto him, and also of all others belonging to the Incommenderos, of euery one being aboue twelue yeeres of age, foure reals of euery bull. Also they cary other pardons with them into the Indies, for such as be dead, although an hundred yeres before the Spanyards came into the countrey: which pardons the friers in their preachings perswaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giuing foure reals of plate for a Masse, they would deliuer their soules out of purgatory. Of the Christians likewise dwelling there he hath foureteene reals for euery bull: and there be certeine buls brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serue for pardoning all such faults wherein they haue trespassed either against the king, by keeping backe his customes, or one against another by any other iniury; for euery hundred crownes whereof a mans conscience doth accuse him that he hath deceiued the king or any other, he must giue ten for a bull, and so after that rate for euery hundred which he hath any way stollen, and so is pardoned the fault. The reuenue of his buls after this maner yeeldeth vnto his treasury yeerely aboue three millions of gold, as I haue bene credibly informed, although of late both the Spanyards and Indians do refuse to take the buls; for that they perceiue he doth make a yeerely custome of it: onely ech Indian taketh one pardon for all his householde, (whereas in former time euery Indian vsed to take one for euery person in his house) and teareth the same into small pieces, and giueth to euery one of his householde a little piece, saying thus, they need now no more, seeing in that which they bought the yeere before they had aboue ten thousand yeres pardon. These pieces they sticke vp in the wall of the houses where they lie. Both the Christians & Indians are weary with these infinite taxes and customes, which of late he hath imposed vpon them, more then in the yeeres before: so as the people of both sorts did rebell twise in the time that I was among them, and would haue set vp another king of themselues: for which cause the king hath commanded vpon paine of death, that they should not plant either wine or oile there, but should alwayes stand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more grow there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twenty, it is so fertile a countrey.

The reasons which moue the kings of Spaine to forbid forren traffike in the West Indies.

And the king to keepe the countrey alwayes in subiection, and to his owne vse, hath streightly prouided by lawe, vpon paine of death, and losse of goods, that none of these countreys should traffique with any other nation, although the people themselues doe much now desire to trade with any other then with them, and would vndoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill ensuing thereupon.

Magueis.

About Mexico, and other places in Noua Hispania, there groweth a certeine plant called magueis, which yeeldeth wine, vineger, hony, and blacke sugar, and of the leaues of it dried they make hempe, ropes, shooes which they vse, and tiles for their houses: and at the ende of euery leafe there groweth a sharpe point like an awle, wherewith they vse to bore or pearce thorow any thing.

Thus to make an end, I haue heere set downe the summe of all the chiefest things that I haue obserued and noted in my seuenteene yeres trauell in those parts

A rela-

A relation of the commodities of Noua Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawks merchant, which liued fiue yeeres in the sayd countrey, and drew the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572.

SAint Iohn de Vllua is an Island not high aboue the water, where as now the Spanyards vpon M. Iohn Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the ships that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts, do vnlade: for they haue none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanels, and the best of all is the Northermost, which goeth by the maine land: and on euery side of the chanels there are many small rocks as big as a small barrell: they wil make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island there by, called The Island of sacrifices, whereas the Spanyards did in times past vnlade their goods: and for that, they say, there are vpon it spirits or deuils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North wind hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many ships and barks. This place is giuen to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plenty of fish.

S. Iohn de Vllua.

Spirits.

Fiue leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua is a faire riuer; it lieth Northwest from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spanyards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barks, which they call frigats, they cary all their merchandize which commeth out of Spaine, to the said towne: and in like maner bring all the gold, siluer, cochinilla, hides, and all other things that the shippes cary into Spaine vnto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they cary them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and diuers other places so farre within the countrey, that some of them are 700 miles off, and some more, and some lesse, all vpon horses, mules, and in waines drawen with oxen, and in carres drawen with mules.

Vera Cruz.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within these twenty yeres, when women were brought to bed, the children new borne incontinently died; which is not so now in these dayes, God be thanked.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a musquito, which biteth both men and women in their sleepe; and assoone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venimous worme. And this musquito or gnat doth most follow such as are newly come into the countrey. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

Musquitos.

This towne is situated vpon the riuer aforesayd, and compassed with woods of diuers maners and sorts, and many fruits, as orenges and limons, guiaues, and diuers others, and birds in them, popiniayes both small and great, and some of them as big as a rauen, and their tailes as long as the taile of a fezant. There are also many other kinde of birds of purple colour, and small munkeys, maruellous proper.

Popiniayes.

Monkeys.

This hote or sicke countrey continueth fiue and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the fiue and forty miles being passed, then there is a temperate countrey, and full of tillage: but they water all their corne with riuers which they turne in vpon it. And they gather their Wheat twise a yere. And if they should not water the ground where as their corne is sowen, the country is so hote it would burne all.

Wheat twise in a yeere.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it aboue 10000 households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was woonne in so short time, and with so little losse of men. Wherefore they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the cochinilla growing.

Tlaxcalla a free city.

Mexico is a great city; it hath more then fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past fiue or sixe thousand houses of Spanyards: all the other are the people of the countrey, which liue vnder the Spanyards lawes. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friers and nunnes, which the Spanyards haue made. And the building of

Mexico.

the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windowes, which is not so comly as the building of the Spanyards. This city standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth thorow all or the most part of the streets, and there come small boats, which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to build, and corne.

This city is subiect to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kil people. This city is very well prouided of water to drinke, and with all maner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guiny cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this city euery weeke three Faires or Markets, which are frequented with many people, aswell Spanyards as the people of the countrey. There are in these Faires or Markets all maner of things that may be inuented, to sell, and in especiall, things of the countrey. The one of these Faires is vpon the Munday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. Iames his faire is vpon the Thursday, and vpon Saturday is S. Iohns faire. In this city is alwayes the kings gouernour or viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there be other places of iustice, yet this is aboue all: so that all men may appeale vnto this place, and may not appeale from this city, but onely into Spaine before the king: and it must be for a certeine summe: and if it be vnder that summe, then there is no appellation from them. Many riuers fall into this lake which the city standeth in: but there was neuer any place found whither it goeth out.

A way to drowne Mexico.

The Indians know a way to drowne the city, and within these three yeeres they would haue practised the same: but they which should haue bene the doers of it were hanged: and euer since the city hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare least at some time they might be deceiued: for the Indians loue not the Spanyards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the countrey, maruellous faire, where the people haue great recreation. The men of this city are maruellous vicious; and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodies, more then they are in other cities or townes in this countrey.

Crocodiles.

There are neere about this city of Mexico many riuers and standing waters, which haue in them a monstrous kinde of fish, which is maruellous rauening, and a great deuourer of men and cattell. He is woont to sleepe vpon the drie land many times, and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. He is like vnto a serpent, sauing that he doth not flie, neither hath he wings.

Nauigation to China from Puerto de Acapulco.

There is West out of Mexico a port towne which is on the South sea, called Puerto de Acapulco, where as there are shippes which they haue ordinarily for the nauigation of China, which they haue newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico.

The Northwest-streight.

There is another port towne which is called Culiacan, on the South sea, which lieth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 200 leagues from the same: and there the Spanyards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which, as they say, is betweene the Newfoundland and Groenland; and they call it the Englishmens streight: which as yet was neuer fully found. They say, that streight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spanyards account to be maruellous rich.

The more Northward, the richer siluer mines.

Toward the North from Mexico there are great store of siluer mines. There is greater quantitie of siluer found in these mines toward the North, then there is any other parts: and as the most men of experience sayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly vpon great hilles and stony ground, maruellous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Painting earth.

Out of some of the mines the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of diuers colours, wherewith they paint themselues in times of their dances, and other pastimes which they vse.

Golde mines.

In this countrey of Noua Hispania there are also mines of golde, although the golde be commonly found in riuers, or very neere vnto riuers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great riuers, and great store of fish in them, not like vnto our kindes of fish. And there are maruellous great woods, and as faire trees as may be seene, of diuers sorts, and especially firre trees, that may mast any shippe that goeth vpon the sea, okes and pineapples, and another tree which they call Mesquiquez: it beareth a fruit like vnto a peascod, maruellous sweet, which the wilde people gather, and keepe it all the yere, and eat it in stead of bread.

Mesquiquez.

The Spanyards haue notice of seuen cities which old men of the Indians shew them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They haue vsed and vse dayly much diligence in seeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a mist vpon them, so that they cannot see them.

Seuen cities by witchcraft not found of the seekers.

They haue vnderstanding of another city which they call Copalla: and in like maner, at my beeing in the countrey, they haue vsed much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they haue found the lake on which it should stand, and a canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and could not finde nor see any man nor the towne, which to their vnderstanding should stand on the same water, or very neere the same.

Pedro Morales & Nicolas Burgignon write the like of Copalla.

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were neuer brought thither by the Spanyards, but breed naturally in the countrey. They are like vnto our oxen, sauing that they haue long haire like a lion, and short hornes, and they haue vpon their shoulders a bunch like a camell, which is higher then the rest of their body. They are maruellous wild and swift in running. They call them the beasts or kine of Cibola.

The strange oxen of Cibola.

This Cibola is a city which the Spanyards found now of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneys, windowes made of stone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to draw their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones vpon the graues. And the captaine would not suffer his souldiers to breake vp any part of these graues, saying, he would come another time to do it.

Cibola abandoned.

They asked certeine people which they met, whither the people of this city were gone: and they made answere, they were gone downe a riuer, which was there by, very great, and there had builded a city which was more for their commodity.

A great riuer neere Cibola.

This captaine lacking things necessary for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treasure according to his expectation: neither found they but fewe people, although they found beaten wayes, which had beene much haunted and frequented. The captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great checke of the gouernour, because he had not gone forwards, and seene the end of that riuer.

They haue in the countrey, farre from the sea side, standing waters, which are salt: and in the moneths of April and May the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings vse and profit.

Water congealed to salt.

Their dogs are all crooked backt, as many as are of the countrey breed, and cannot run fast: their faces are like the face of a pig or an hog, with sharpe noses.

Dogs of India described.

In certeine prouinces which are called Guatimala, & Soconusco, there is growing great store of cacao, which is a berry like vnto an almond: it is the best merchandize that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meat to eat. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese, or other things.

Cacao a fruit currant as money.

There are many kinde of fruits of the countrey, which are very good, as plantans, sapotes, guiaues, pinas, aluacatas, tunas, mamios, limons, orenges, walnuts very small and hard, with little meat in them, grapes which the Spanyards brought into the countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the countrey, and are very small, quinses,

Fruits.

peaches, figs, and but few apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and calabaças or gourds.

There is much hony, both of bees and also of a kind of tree which they call magueiz. This hony of magueiz is not so sweet as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is; and the tree serueth for many things, as the leaues make threed to sowe any kinde of bags, and are good to couer and thatch houses, and for diuers other things.

Hot springs.

They haue in diuers places of the countrey many hote springs of water: as aboue all other, I haue seene one in the prouince of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, & it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe be cast into it, within on halfe houre it will be as well sodden as it will be ouer a fire in halfe a day. I haue seene halfe a sheepe cast in it, and immediatly it hath bene sodden, and I haue eaten part of it.

Hares and conies.

There are many hares, and some conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of qualles.

Sea fish.

They haue great store of fish in the South sea, and many oisters, and very great. The people do open the oisters, and take out the meat of them, and dry it as they do any other kinde of fish, and keepe them all the yeere: and when the times serue, they send them abroad into the countrey to sell, as all other fish. They haue no salmon, nor trowt, nor pele, nor carpe, tench, nor pike in all the countrey.

Burning mountaines.

There are in the countrey mighty high mountaines, and hilles, and snow vpon them: they commonly burne; and twise euery day they cast out much smoke and ashes at certeine open places, which are in the tops of them.

Manna.

There is among the wilde people much manna. I haue gathered of the same, and haue eaten it, and it is good: for the Apothecaries send their seruants at certeine times, to gather of the same for purgations, and other vses.

Wilde hogs, lions, and tigres.

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and lions and tygres; which tygres do much harme to men that trauell in the wildernesse.

Mines discouered, not found againe.

In this countrey, not long since, there were two poore men that found a maruellous rich mine; and when these men went to make a register of the same (according to the law and custome) before the kings officers, they thought this mine not meet for such men as they were; and violently tooke the sayd mine for the king; and gaue no part thereof vnto the two poore men. And within certaine dayes the kings officers resorted thither to labor in the mine, & they found two great mighty hilles were come together; so they found no place to worke in. And in the time while I was among them, which was fiue yerees, there was a poore shepheard, who keeping his sheepe, happened to finde a well of quicke-siluer; and he went in like maner to manifest the same, as the custome and maner is; the kings officers dealt in like order as they did with the two poore men that found the rich mine, taking it quite from the shepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke-siluer, or part thereof, they could neuer finde it againe. So these things haue bene declared vnto the king, who hath giuen commandement, that nothing being found in the fields, as mines, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things haue bene done in this countrey, which men might count for great maruels.

The authour fiue yeeres in Nueua Espanna.

Sugar & conserues.

There is great abundance of sugar here, & they make diuers conserues, & very good, and send them into Peru, where as they sell them maruellous well, because they make none in those parts.

Description of the Indians person and maners.

The people of the countrey are of a good stature, tawny coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and giuen much to drinke both wine of Spaine and also a certeine kind of wine which they make with hony of Magueiz, and roots, and other things which they vse to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and giuen to much beastlinesse, and void of all goodnesse. In their drunkennesse they vse and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they haue their pleasures and pastimes. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, vpon paines of money, aswell he that selleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not sufficient for the West Indies onely.

They are of much simplicity, and great cowards, voide of all valour, and are great witches. They vse diuers times to talke with the diuell, to whom they do certeine sacrifices and oblations: many times they haue bene taken with the same, and I haue seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people of Nueua Espanna great cowards.

The people are giuen to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the comming of the Spanyards: I say all maner of arts. They are very artificiall in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of maner as he is. The finenesse and excellency of this is woonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should giue themselues to so fine an arte as this is. They are goldsmiths, blackesmiths, and coppersmiths, carpenters, masons, shoomakers, tailors, sadlers, imbroderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will do worke so good cheape, that poore yoong men that goe out of Spaine to get their liuing, are not set on worke: which is the occasion there are many idle people in the countrey. For the Indian will liue all the weeke with lesse then one groat; which the Spanyard cannot do, nor any man els.

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood or after, neither can they giue any reason of the flood, nor frō whence they came. And when the Spanyards came first among them, they did certeine sacrifice to an image made in stone, of their owne inuention. The stone was set vpon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their Cowa. And certeine dayes in the yere they did sacrifice, certeine olde men, and yoong children: and onely beleeued in the Sunne and the Moone, saying, that from them they had all things that were needful for them. They haue in these parts great store of cotton wool, with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it serueth for shirts & smocks, and all other kind of garments, which they weare vpon their bodies: and the Spanyards vse it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say linnen cloth, would be solde out of all measure.

The Indians ignorant fro whence they came.

The Sun and Moone honoured.

Store of cotton.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing vpon them. The women weare the skinne of a deere before their priuities, and nothing els vpon all their bodies. They haue no care for any thing, but onely from day to day for that which they haue need to eat. They are big men, and likewise the women. They shoot in bowes which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrowes are of cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same; they will pierce any coat of maile: and they kill deere, and cranes, and wilde geese, ducks and other fowle, and wormes, and snakes, and diuers other vermin, which they eat. They liue very long: for I haue seene men that haue beene an hundred yeres of age. They haue but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

The wilde Indians.

The Indians haue the friers in great reuerence: the occasion is, that by them and by their meanes they are free and out of bondage; which was so ordeined by Charles the emperour: which is the occasion that now there is not so much gold and siluer comming into Europe as there was while the Indians were slaues. For when they were in bondage they could not chuse but doe their taske euery day, and bring their masters so much metall out of their mines: but now they must be well payed, and much intreated to haue them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines, and to the kings quinto or custome.

Friers in reuerence.

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof they spend in the countrey as much as serueth their turnes. There is some golde in it, but not so much as will pay the costs of the fining. The quantity of it is such, and the mines are so farre from the sea, that it will not be worth the fraight to cary it into Spaine. On the other side, the kings officers

Copper mines.

will giue no licence to make ordinance thereof; whereupon the mines lie vnlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the countrey; so that with it they couer churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shall not need any of our lead, as they haue had need thereof in times past.

The pompe of owners of mines.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the mines is maruellous to beholde: the apparell both of them and of their wiues is more to be compared to the apparell of noble persons then otherwise. If their wiues goe out of their houses, as vnto the church, or any other place, they goe out with great maiesty, and with as many men and maids as though she were the wife of some noble man. I will assure you, I haue seene a miners wife goe to the church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keepe open house: who will, may come to eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all maner of things.

Things necessary to mines of siluer and golde.

A good owner of mines must haue at the least an hundred slaues to cary and to stampe his metals; he must haue many mules, and men to keepe the mines; he must haue milles to stampe his metals; he must haue many waines and oxen to bring home wood to fine the oare; he must haue much quicke-siluer, and a maruellous quantity of salt-brine for the metals; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicke-siluer, it is a new inuention, which they finde more profitable then to fine their oare with lead. Howbeit the same is very costly: for there is neuer a hundred of quick-siluer but costeth at the least threescore pounds sterling. And the mines fall dayly in decay, and of lesse value: and the occasion is, the few Indians that men haue to labour their mines.

The plenty of cattell.

There is in New Spaine a maruellous increase of cattel, which dayly do increase, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may haue a great steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his belly for sixteene shillings; and some one man hath 20000 head of cattel of his owne. They sell the hides vnto the merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be well spared. They spend many in the countrey in shooes and boots, and in the mines: and as the countrey is great, so is the increase of the cattell woonderfull. In the Island of Santo Domingo they commonly kill the beasts for their hides and tallow; and the fowles eat the carkeises: and so they do in Cuba and Porto Rico, whereas there is much sugar, and cana fistula, which dayly they send into Spaine. They haue great increase of sheepe in like maner, and dayly do intend to increase them. They haue much wooll, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as serueth the countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I haue seene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene solde for tenne pezos a vare, which is almost foure pounds English, and the vare is lesse then our yard. They haue woad growing in the countrey, and allum, and brasill, and diuers other things to die withall, so that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth: but heereafter our cloth will be little set by in these parts, vnlesse it be some fine cloth. The wools are commonly foure shillings euery roue, which is fiue & twenty pounds: and in some places of the countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is woorth nothing, and doth serue but onely to make beds for men to lie on.

Sheepe.

Wooll.

Cloth.

Woad.

Alum.
Brasill.

They make hats, as many as doe serue the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

Hogs grease in stead of oile.

Many people are set on worke both in the one and in the other: they spin their wooll as we doe, and in steed of oyle, they haue hogs grease: they twist not their threed so much as wee doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kersies, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

Silks of sundry sorts.

They haue much silke, and make all maner of sorts thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Veluets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, sauing that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

They haue many horses, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They haue as good Iennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

Horses. Mules. Iennets.

These is raine vsually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, euery day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for the waters which fall in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroyed. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and also all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horses and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Miners should bee without it, they coulde not labour their mines: for all their seruants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maize, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England.

Maiz graine for man and beast, eaten in cakes.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more vnto the king euery yeere. This is payd in all Noua Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, sauing the citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so little a time. And although at the first they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to vsurpe vpon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes euery yeere for the King, which is as beneficial vnto him, and as great cost vnto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

An Hanega is a bushel and an halfe.

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de Dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be caried ouer the necke of a land, vnto a port towne in the South sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de Dios. And there they doe ship their goods againe, and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They haue seldome foule weather, and fewe ships are lost in the South sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit 1568. there was a ship made out of Peru, to seeke Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the South of the Equinoctial, & found an Island with many blacke people, in such number that the Spaniards durst not go on land among them. And because they had bene long vpon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so went not on land, to know what commoditie was vpon it. And for want of victuals, they arriued in Noua Hispania, in a port called Puerto de Nauidad, and thence returned backe againe vnto Peru, whereas they were euil entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Island.

Salomons Ilands sought, and found in the South Sea 1568.

They haue in this port of Nauidad ordinarily their ships, which goe to the Islands of China, which are certaine Islands which they haue found within these 7. yeres. They haue brought from thence gold, and much Cinamom, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that euery man that may haue a piece of them, will giue the weight of siluer for it. There was a Mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doues egge from thence, & a stone, for which the Viceroy would haue giuen 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these ylands, and the Spaniards haue not many of them as yet:* for the Portugals disturbe them much, and combate with them euery day, saying, it is part of their conquest, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great Mariners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and siluer, and silke of all sorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine land haue certaine traffique with some of these ylanders, and come thither in a kind of ships, which they haue with one saile, and bring of such marchandize as they haue need of. And of these things there haue bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and siluer, and diuers maners of silks, and works of gold and siluer, marueilous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the ylands 190. leagues: and the ylands are not farre from the Malucos Northwards. And the people of those ylands, which the Spaniards haue, say, that if they would bring their wiues and children, that then they should haue among them what they would haue. So there goe women dayly, and the king payeth

China found by the West.

* This is to be vnderstood of the time when this discourse was written, Anno 1572.

China ships with one sailes

Chamoice.

Spanish leather.

India Rauens not killed, to deuoure carrion.

all the charges of the maried men and their wiues, that go to those ylands. And there is no doubt but the trade will be marueilous rich in time to come. It was my fortune to be in company with one Diego Gutieres, who was the first Pilot that euer went to that countrey of the Phillippinas. Hee maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, as well riches as other, and saith, if there bee any Paradise vpon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting vnder a tree, you shall haue such sweet smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor haue any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smels wil be so sweete. This man hath good liuings in Noua Hispania, notwithstanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this countrey of Noua Hispania there are many buckes and does, but they haue not so long hornes as they haue here in England. The Spaniards kill them with hand-guns, and with greyhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, & likewise they make marueilous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird which is like vnto a Rauen, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such abundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead flesh which is in the countrey. Otherwise the abundance of carren is so much, that it would make a marueilous corrupt aire in all the countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could adide it. Therefore it is commanded there shall none of them be killed. These birds are alwayes about cities, and townes, where there is much flesh killed.

Wrongs done to the Indians punished.

Iustice yͤ cause of ciuilitie.

The Indians are much fauoured by the Iustices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas iustice is, they are as well punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of iustice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, vntill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Iustice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and ciuil, as they are: and if they should not haue this fauour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may call them dogs, and vse other euil words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needes put it vp, and goe his way.

The poore Indians wil go euery day two or three leagues to a faire or market with a childe vpon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or some kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or cadis of all colours, as shall be not past worth a pennie: and they wil mainteine themselues vpon the same. For they liue with a marueilous small matter.

They are in such pouertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall haue an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed vpon his backe, for one royall of plate: and this you shall haue from one towne to another. Here you are to vnderstand, that all men that trauell by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeues, and wil steale all that they may, and you shall haue no recompence at their hands.

The apparel of the Indians.

The garments of the women, are in this maner. The vppermost part is made almost like to a womans smocke, sauing that it is as broad aboue as beneath, and hath no sleeues, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red cadis and blew, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they haue another cloth made after the same maner, and that goeth rounde about their waste, and reacheth to their shooes, and ouer this a white fine sheet vpon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made vp round with an haire lace about their head. And the men haue a small paire of breeches of the same cotton wooll, and their shirts which hang ouer their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a sheete with flowers vpon their backes, and with a knot vpon one shoulder, & an hat vpon their heads, and a paire of shooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Casique, which they vse in all the Countrey.

The houses of the Indians.

The wals of the houses of the Indians, are but plaine, but the stones are layd so close, that you shall not well perceiue the ioynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done, and finely ioyned together, there is some beautie in their wals. They are marueilous small and light, as Pumic stones. They make their doores very little, so that there can go in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses are small, and one roome they haue reserued for their friends, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marueilous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eate their meate vpon the ground, and sleepe on the ground vpon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

Fire rubbed out of two stickes.

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another, aswell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a stone.

Diuers speeches.

In Noua Hispania, euery 10. or 12. leagues they haue a contrary speach, sauing onely about Mexico: so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey.

Mutezuma, and his riches.

Mutezuma which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest princes which haue bene seene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beasts which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fishes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe vpon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all fashioned in siluer and gold, which was the greatest part of al his treasure, and in these things had he great ioy, as the old Indians report. And vnto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards haue it not. This King would giue none of his people freedome, nor forgiue any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were neuer so poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the custome, then he would haue him bound to bring at such times as tributes should be payd, a quill full of Lice, saying, hee would haue none free, but himselfe. He had as many wiues or concubines, as hee would haue, and such as liked him. Alwayes whensoeuer he went out of his Court to passe the time, he was borne vpon 4. of his noble mens shoulders set vpon a table, some say, of golde, and very richly dressed with feathers of diuers and many colours and flowers. He washed all his body euery day, were it neuer so cold. And vnto this day so do all the Indians, and especially the women.

The Indians wash themselues euery day.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subiectiõ. They may haue in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare vpon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride vpon any horse nor mules, in any sadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They haue attempted diuers times to make insurrections, but they haue bene ouerthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardlinesse.

Canybals.

There remaine some among the wild people, that vnto this day eate one another. I haue seene the bones of a Spaniard that haue bene as cleane burnished, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are caried away by them, but they neuer come againe, whether they be men or women.

Ilands of salt.

Alume.

Cania fistula. Salsa Perilla.

They haue in the Sea ylands of red salt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place about the Sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides, and fish: and in their mines they occupie great quantitie. The haue much Alume, and as good as any that is in all the Leuant, so that they neede none of that commoditie. They haue also of their owne growing, much Cana fistula, & much Salsa Perilla, which is marueilous good for many kind of diseases.

Florida.

There are in Florida many Iarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the gen-

tlemen

demen of Noua Hispania send for euery yere. The Spaniards haue two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies by M. Iohn Hawkins 1568. conteining many special things of that countrey and of the Spanish gouernment, but specially of their cruelties vsed to our Englishmen, and amongst the rest to himselfe for the space of 15. or 16. yeres together, vntil by good and happy meanes he was deliuered frõ their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. 1.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of our trafique and dealing vpon the coast of Africa.

This Fleete consisted of 6 ships.

1. The Iesus.

2. The Mynion.

3. The William and Iohn.

4. The Iudith.

5. The Angel.

6. The Swallow.

VPon Munday the second of October 1567. the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. Iohn Hawkins, hauing commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the Iesus, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plimmouth vpon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with fiue other saile of ships, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine M. Iohn Hampton, and Iohn Garret Master. The William and Iohn, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and Iames Raunce Master. The Iudith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the Angel, whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the Swallow I now remember not. And so sayling in company together vpon our voyage vntill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke vs neere vnto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the Iesus to bee but in ill case, was in minde to giue ouer the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleuenth of the same moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire, hee altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: And so comming to the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, wee then tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of Nouember, and holding on our course, vpon the eightenth day of the same moneth wee came to an ancker vpon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelue fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going vp into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their inuenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recouered but a fewe Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their enuenomed arrowes, there died to the number of seuen or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and so afterward passing the time vpon the coast of Guinea, vntill the twelfth of Ianuary, wee obteined by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall granted vnto, and went himselfe in person a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did ioyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fire vpon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiuing that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to saue themselues, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth, which our Generall ought to haue had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conueyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to haue nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the William and Iohn, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

The William and Iohn separated and neuer after met with the fleete.

Chap. 2.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arriuall in the West Indies, also of our trade, and trafique there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards vsed towards vs, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise giuen, and seeking to haue intrapped vs.

All things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, vpon the thirde day of Februarie 1568. wee departed from the coast of Africa, hauing the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard; and sayling so for the space of 52. dayes, vpon the 27. of March 1568. we came in sight of an yland called Dominica, vpon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude: from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, euer making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had straightly charged all his gouernours in those parts not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of April and May, our Generall had reasonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainement in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coraçao, and else where, til we came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the gouernour there would not by any meanes permit vs to haue any trade or trafique, nor yet suffer vs to take in fresh water: by meanes whereof our Generall for the auoyding of famine and thirst about the beginning of Iune, was enforced to land two hundreth of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And so recouering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200. and vpwards, and of our other marchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Gouernour was so straight, that wee could not obteine any trafique there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the auoyding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to begin there about that time of the yere, & so the 24. of Iuly 1568. we departed frō thence directing our course North: and leauing the yland of Cuba vpon our right hand, to the Eastward of vs, and so sayling toward Florida, vpon the 12. of August an extreeme tempest arose, which dured for the space of 8 dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither, & thither, so that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reason of the shallownes of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279. degrees of longitude, which is the port that serueth for the Citie of Mexico: in our seeking to recouer this port our Generall met by the way three small ships that caried passengers, which hee tooke with him, and so the sixteenth of September 1568. wee entered the saide port of S. Iohn de Vllua. The Spaniards there supposing vs to haue bene the King of Spaines Fleete, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came presently aboord our Generall, where perceiuing themselues to haue made an vnwise aduenture, they were in great feare to haue bene taken and stayed: howbeit our Generall did vse them all very courteously. In the said port there were twelue ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundreth thousand pound, all which being in our Generall his power and at his deuotion, he did freely set at libertie, as also the passengers which he had before stayed, nor taking from any of them all the value of one groat: onely hee stayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alua, and the other Don Pedro de Riuera, and presently our Generall sent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threescore leagues off, certifying him of our arriuall there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queene his Soueraigne, was the king of Spaine his louing sister and friend, that therefore hee would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish vs with victuals for our Nauie, and quietly suffer vs to repaire and amend our ships. And furthermore that at the arriual of the Spanish Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarell arise betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requested of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe some special order be taken. This message was sent away the 16. of September 1568. it being the very day of our arriuall there.

Mexico 60. leagues from S. Iuan de Vllua.

The next morning being the seuententh of the same moneth, wee descried 13. saile of great shippes: and after that our Generall vnderstood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleete then looked for, he presently sent to aduertise the Generall hereof, of our being in the said port, and giuing him further to vnderstand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should passe betweene the two Generals some orders and conditions to bee obserued on either part, for the better contriuing of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals request made vnto the Viceroy. And at this instant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, considering with himselfe that if hee should keepe out that Fleete from entring into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then should that Fleete be in danger of present shipwracke and losse of all their substance, which amounted vnto the value of one million and eight hundreth thousand pounds. Againe he saw that if he suffered them to enter, hee was assured that they would practise by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other side the hauen was so little, that the other Fleete entring, the shippes were to ride one hard aboord of another. Also hee saw that if their Fleete should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessitie they must if he should haue done so, then stood hee in great feare of the Queene our Soueraignes displeasure in so waightie a cause: therefore did he choose the least euill, which was to suffer them to enter vnder assurance, and so to stand vpon his guard, and to defend himselfe and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise, and so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the newe Viceroy, who came in the same Fleete, and had sufficient authoritie to command in all cases both by Sea and by lande in this prouince of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soueraigne, all our requests should bee both fauourably granted, and faithfully performed: signifying further that he heard and vnderstood of the honest and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the king of Spaines subiects in all places where he had bene, as also in the said port: so that to bee briefe our requests were articled, and set downe in writing. Viz.

It is put downe 6. millions in Sir Iohn Hawkins his relation.

4. Articles concluded vpon, betwixt the English & the Spaniards: although the trecherous Spaniards kept none of them.

1 The first was that wee might haue victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares, as might suffice to furnish our wants.

2 The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repaire our ships.

3 The thirde that the yland might bee in our possession during the time of our abode there, In which yland our Generall for the better safetie of him and his had alreadie planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleuen pieces of brasse, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no Spaniard should come to lande in the saide yland, hauing or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelue gentlemen of credite bee deliuered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed vpon in writing by the Viceroy and signed with his hand, and sealed with his seale, and 10. hostages vpon either part were receiued. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meet, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses. Al which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, & commandement was giuen that none of either part should violate or breake the peace vpon paine of death: thus at the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ships saluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being Friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselues, & the Spanish ships by themselues, the Captaines and inferiour persons of either part, offering, and shewing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amitie vpon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing lesse vpon their parts. For the Viceroy and gouernour thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000. chosen men, and wel appointed, meaning the next Thursday being the 24. of September at dinner time to assault vs, and set vpon vs on all sides. But before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse briefly to discribe the maner of the yland as it then was, and the force and strength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, haue vpon the same yland built a faire Castle, and bulwarke very well fortified: this port was then at our being there, a little yland of stones, not past three foote aboue water in the highest place, and not past a bow-shotte ouer any way at the most, and it standeth from the maine land, two bowshootes or more: and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arriue at: also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and vnlesse the shippes bee safely mored in, with their anckers fastened in this yland, there is no remedie, but present destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing, did prouide that he would haue the said yland in his custody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleasure, haue but cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blewe we had had our passport, for our ships had gone a shoore. But to returne to the matter.

A faire castle and bulwarke builded vpon the yland of Sen Iuan de Vllua.

The time approching that their treason must be put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shewe it selfe, as shifting of weapons from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their Ordinance against our men that warded vpon the lande, with great repaire of people: which apparant shewes of breach of the Viceroyes faith caused our Generall to sende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gaue order, that the Ordinance aforesayde, and other things of suspicion should bee remooued, returning answere to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our defence and safetie from all villanous treacherie: this was vpon Thursday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conueyed a great number of men aboord a great hulke or ship of theirs of sixe hundreth tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the Iesus, a man that could speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee vnshipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiuing that their treason was throughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gaue order that his people should vpon all sides charge vpon our men, which warded on shoore, and else where, which strooke such a mase, and sudden feare among vs, that many gaue place, and sought to recouer our shippes for the safetie of themselues. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quickly conueyed ouer to the yland in their long boates, and so comming to the yland, they slewe all our men that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to auoyd the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they sought to fall aboord the Iesus, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slaine: but yet our men defended themselues, and kept them out: so the Iesus also got loose, and ioyning with the Minion, the fight waxed hote vpon all sides: but they hauing woon and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy vs. In this fight there were two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with

The value of a Spanish viceroy his faith.

The villanous treacherie of the Spaniards and their crueltie.

with their shippes they were not able to harme vs, but from the shore they beat vs cruelly with our owne ordinance, in such sort that the Iesus was very sore spoyled: and suddenly the Spaniards hauing fired two great ships of their owne, they came directly against vs, which bred among our men a marueilous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without consent of the Generall, Captaine or Master, so that very hardly our Generall could be receiued into the Minion: the most of our men that were in the Iesus shifted for themselues, and followed the Minion in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receiue, were most cruelly slaine by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped sauing the Minion and the Iudith: and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they tooke and hung them vp by the armes vpon high postes vntill the blood burst out of their fingers ends: of which men so vsed, there is one Copstow, and certaine others yet aliue, who by the mercifull prouidence of the almighty, were long since arriued here at home in England, carying still about with them (and shal to their graues) the marks and tokens of those their inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

Copstowe one of M. Hawkins men returned from Nueua Espanna.

Chap. 3.

Wherein is shewed, how that after we were escaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to perish with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the auoiding thereof was constrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miseries wee after that sustained amongst the Sauage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

AFter that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promise most cruelly dealt with our Generall master Hawkins, at S. Iohn de Vllua, where most of his men were by the Spaniards slaine and drowned, and all his ships sunke and burned, sauing the Minion, and the Iudith, which was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine master Francis Drake aforesayd: the same night the said barke lost vs, we being in great necessitie, and inforced to remooue with the Minion two bow-shoote from the Spanish fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recouered an island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storme tooke vs with a North winde, in which we were greatly distressed, hauing but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the storme being ceased and the weather faire, we weied, and set sayle, being many men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice vs for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in despaire and feare that we should perish through famine, so that some were in minde to yeelde themselues to the mercy of the Spaniards, other some to the Sauages or Infidels, and wandring thus certaine daies in these vnknowen seas, hunger constrained vs to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it sauorie and sweete whatsoeuer wee could get to eate.

And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to haue found some inhabitants, that wee might haue had some reliefe of victuals, and a place where to repaire our ship, which was so greatly bruised, that we were scarse able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull despaire, and we were of many mindes, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on land, making their choise rather to submit themselues to the mercie of the Sauages or Infidels, then longer to hazard themselues at sea, where they very well sawe, that if they should remaine together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which request our Generall did very willingly agree, considering with himselfe that it was necessary for him to lessen his number, both for the safetie of himselfe

& the rest: and thereupon being resolued to set halfe his people ashore that he had then left aliue, it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered: for they which a little before desired to be set on land, were now of another minde, and requested rather to stay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced for the more contentation of all mens minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order: First he made choice of such persons of seruice and account, as were needefull to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to goe he appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boate they should bee set on shore, our Generall promising vs that the next yeere he would either come himselfe, or else send to fetch vs home. Here againe it would haue caused any stony heart to haue relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attaine to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruell dealing of Iohn Hamptone captaine of the Minion, and Iohn Sanders boatswaine of the Iesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, hauing more then a mile to shore, and so to shift for ourselues, and either to sinke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

They were pu on land 25 leagues northward of Panu the 8 of October 1568.

In the euening of the same day, it being Munday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shore, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunke so much, that they had almost cast themselues away, for wee could scarse get life of them for the space of two or three houres after: other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, hauing a stone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a maner all of vs both feeble, faint and weake.

Capule a kind of stone fruit.

The next morning being Tewsday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to trauell along by the sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation: (whether they were Christians or Sauages, we were indifferent, so that we might haue wherewithall to sustaine our hungry bodies) and so departing from an hill where we had rested all night, not hauing any drie threed about vs, (for those that were not wet being not throwen into the sea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly:) As we went from the hil, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the sea, and vpon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needs passe on our way Westward, through those marshes; and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede vpon mans flesh as Canibals doe.

These people are called Chichimici, and they vse to weare their haire long, euen down to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to seeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spaniards, of whom they haue bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiuing vs at our first comming on land, supposed vs to haue bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and hauing by their forerunners descried what number we were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sorte, raised a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely vpon vs, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, vnto whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not hauing amongst vs any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, sauing one caliuer, and two old rustie swords, whereby to make any resistance, or to saue ourselues: which when the perceiued, that wee sought not any other then fauour and mercie at their

Chichimici a warlike and cruell people.

Our men assailed by the Chichimici.

Eight of our men slaine.

Anthony Godard.

Dauid Ingram.

handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compassion on vs, and came and caused vs all to sit down: and when they had a while surueyed, and taken a perfect view of vs, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst vs, and those they did strip starke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but those that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went their wayes, and left vs without doing vs any further hurt, onely in the first brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiuing in what weake case we were, pointed vs with their hands which way we should go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceiued, was not past ten leagues from thence, vsing these words: Tampice, Tampice Christiano, Tampice Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, at Tampice you shall find the Christians. The weapons that they vse are no other but bowes and arrowes, and their arme is so good, that they very seldome misse to hit any thing that they shoote at. Shortly after they had left vs stript (as aforesayd) we thought it best to deuide our selues into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of vs went vnder the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man aliue, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine ouer vs all, and those which went vnder his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, trauailed Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed vs to go. The other halfe went vnder the leading of one Iohn Hooper, whom they did choose for their captain, & with the company that went with him, Dauid Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and trauelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the sauage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine: then againe they diuided themselues, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with vs againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with vs in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selues, how many wee were that were set on shore, and we found the number to be an hundred and foureteene, whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so that there remained an hundred and foure, of which 25 went Westward with vs, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were but sixe and twenty of them that came againe to vs, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainely heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet aliue, and married in the said countrey, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and causes that make mee so to thinke of them that were lacking, which were Dauid Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we trauelled on still Westward, sometime thorow such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other sometimes we should trauell thorow the plaines, in such high grasse that wee could scarse see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should haue of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being strooken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for wee went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieue our selues. We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies bee: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarse so big as a gnat: they will sucke ones blood maruellously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venimous that the place will swell extremely, euen as one that is stoong with a Waspe or Bee: but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselues, then they doe you no other hurt, but leaue behinde them a red spot somewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the first wee were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance wee could make none against them, being naked: as for cold wee feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes so warme. And as we trauelled thus for the space of tenne or twelue dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe vp into the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceiue any, and vsing often the same order to climbe vp into high trees, at the length they descried a great riuer that fell from the Northwest into the maine sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebuze shot off, which did greatly incourage vs, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we trauelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small ioy vnto vs, and so we came to the North side of the riuer of Panuco, where the Spaniards haue certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebuze was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bow-shot vpon our left hand: of this riuer wee dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in sixe dayes before, and as we were here by the riuer side resting our selues, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuze was shot off, we perceiued many Spaniards vpon the other side of the riuer, riding vp and downe on horsebacke, and they perceiuing vs, did suppose that we had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the riuer was not past halfe a bowe shoot ouer: and presently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and so came ouer, being rowed by two Indians, and hauing taken the view of vs, did presently rowe ouer backe againe to the Spaniards, who without any delay made out about the number of twenty horsemen, and imbarking themselues in the Canoas, they led their horses by the reines swimming ouer after them, and being come ouer to that side of the riuer where we were, they sadled their horses, and being mounted vpon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at vs. Our captaine Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did perswade vs to submit and yeelde our selues vnto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any resistance, whose bidding we obeied, and vpon the yeelding of our selues, they perceiued vs to be Christians, and did call for more Canoas, and caried vs ouer by foure and foure in a boat, and being come on the other side, they vnderstanding by our captaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted betweene two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bignesse of our halfepenie loaues, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweete and pleasant vnto vs, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to haue a sauory and a delicate taste? And hauing thus parted the bread amongst vs, those which were men they sent afore to the towne, hauing also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were yong, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke vp vpon their horses, behind them, and so caried vs to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came ouer.

The riuer of Panuco.

This towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruits, as Orenges, Limons, Pomegranates, Apricoks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, besides Negros. Of their Salines, which lie vpon the West side of the riuer, more then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and cary it vp into the countrey, and there sell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. Iohn de Vllua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred hauens West and by South aboue threescore leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua. When we were all come to the towne, the Gouernour there shewed himselfe very seuere vnto vs, and threatned to hang vs all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from vs, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought

The Salines of Panuco.

vs ouer, tooke away a good part also: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Gouernour here had a chaine of gold, which was giuen vnto him at Carthagena, by the Gouernour there, and from others he had some small store of money: so that wee accounted that amongst vs all he had the number of fiue hundred Pezos, besides the chaine of gold.

And hauing thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused vs to be put into a little house much like a hogstie, where we were almost smoothered: and before we were thus shut vp into that little coat, they gaue vs some of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, sodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grieuous, desired to haue the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The gouernour, and most of them all answered, that wee should haue none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale vs of all our griefes: and thus reuiling vs, and calling vs English dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the space of three dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of vs, waiting euery houre to be bereaued of our liues.

Chap. 4.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to Mexico to the Viceroy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties wee receiued during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation giuen to serue as slaues to sundry gentlemen Spaniards.

VPon the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking euery houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch vs out of the house, and amongst them wee espied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently haue suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercie and forgiuenesse of our sinnes, we prepared our selues, making vs ready to die: yet in the end, as the sequel shewed, their meaning was not so: for when wee were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behind vs, and so coupling vs two and two together, they commanded vs to march on through the towne, and so along the countrey from place to place toward the citie of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of ninetie leagues, hauing onely but two Spaniards to conduct vs, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bowes and arrowes, lest we should escape from them. And trauelling in this order, vpon the second day at night we came vnto a towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria: in which towne there is a house of white friers, which did very courteously vse vs, and gaue vs hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments also to couer our selues withal, made of white bayes: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nochole, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused vs to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had bene before shot with an arrow into the throat at the first incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and so trauailed on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mestitlan, where is a house of blacke friers: and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The friers sent vs meat from the house ready dressed, and the friers, and the men and women vsed vs very courteously, and gaue vs some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiaccos, which fruit did binde vs so sore, that for the space of tenne or twelue dayes we could not ease our selues. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforesayd. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously intreate vs, and would carefully go before to prouide for vs both meat and things necessary to the vttermost of his power: the other was a yong man who all the way trauelled with vs, and neuer departed from vs, who was a very cruell caitiue, and he caried a iaueline in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblenesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his iauelin in both his handes, and strike them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them downe; then would he cry, and say, Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios: which is as much to say in English, as March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of siluer, and are about sixe leagues distant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northwest.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Gouernour suffered vs to stay two dayes and two nights, hauing compassion of our sicke and weake men, full sore against the minde of the yoong man his companion. From thence we tooke our iourney, and trauelled foure or fiue dayes by little villages, and Stantias, which are farmes or dairie houses of the Spaniards, and euer as wee had neede, the good olde man would still prouide vs sufficient of meates, fruites, and water to sustaine vs. At the end of which fiue dayes wee came to a towne within fiue leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where wee also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire house of gray friers, howbeit wee saw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not past fifteene English miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very ioyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieued, and set free out of bonds, or els bee quickly dispatched out of our liues: for seeing our selues thus caried bound from place to place, although some vsed vs courteously, yet could wee neuer ioy, nor be merrie till wee might perceiue our selues set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our iourney towards Mexico, and so trauelled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church, called our Ladyes church, in which there is an image of our Lady of siluer & gilt, being as high, & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of siluer as there be dayes in the yeere, which vpon high dayes are all lighted. Whensoeuer any Spaniards passe by this church, although they be on horse backe, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneele before this image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all euil; so that whether he be horseman or footman he will not passe by, but first goe into the Church, and pray as aforesayd, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleeue that they shall neuer prosper: which image they call in the Spanish tongue, Nuestra sennora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing vp as though the water did seeth: the water whereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that haue any sore or wound, to wash themselues therewith, for as they say, it healeth many: and euery yeere once vpon our Lady day the people vse to repaire thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their own countrey building.

Nuestra Sennora.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horsebacke, which came from Mexico to see vs, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder: we were still called vpon to march on; and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calle Santa Catherina: and we stayed not in any place till we came to the house or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the middest of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaça del Marquese. We had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought vs by the Spaniards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to haue satisfied fiue times so many as we were: some also gaue vs hats, & some gaue vs money: in which place we stayed for the space of two houres, & from thence we were conueyed by water in two large Canoas to an hospital where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. Iohn de Vllua: wee should haue gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for vs. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the space of fourteene dayes: soone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hospitall, in which place we were courteously vsed, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought vs diuers things to comfort vs withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other things, and would also many times giue vs many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remained for the space of sixe moneths, vntill we were all whole and sound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried vnto the town of Tescuco, which is from Mexico Southwest distant eight leagues: in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: into which place diuers Indians are sold for slaues, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelue. It was no small griefe vnto vs when we vnderstood that we should be caried thither, and to bee vsed as slaues, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, & almost famished, yet by the good prouidence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an Englishman borne of a Spanish woman: this man could speake very good English, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, & bread. And if we had not bene so relieued, we had surely perished: and yet all the prouision that wee had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selues to breake forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death then longer to liue in that miserable state. And so hauing escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selues, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not hauing any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceiued our selues to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 English miles frõ Tescuco. The day being come we were espied by the Spaniards, & pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head iustices, who threatned to hang vs for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent vs into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, & comming thither, we found there our English gentlemen which were deliuered as hostages when as our General was betrayed at S. Iohn de Vllua, as is aforesaid, and with them wee also found Robert Barret, the Master of the Iesus, in which place we remained labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of 4 moneths, hauing but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice vs all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had euery man two loaues a day, of the quantity of one halfepeny loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they hauing remooued our gentlemen hostages, and the Master of the Iesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his owne house, did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard soeuer was willing, or would haue any English man to serue him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Iustices within one moneth after notice giuen, that they should repaire to the said garden, and there take their choice: which proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, so that happie was he that could soonest get one of vs.

Certaine Englishmen taken prisoners at the fight at Sant Iuan de Vllua.

Robert Sweeting an Englishman.

English gẽtlemen hostages.

Almost an hũdred Englishmen prisoners in Mexico.

Chap. 5.

Wherein is shewed in what good sort, and how wealthily we liued with our masters vntill the comming of the Inquisition, when as againe our sorowes began a fresh:

Of

Of our imprisonment in the holy house, and of the seuere iudgement and sentences giuen against vs, and with what rigour and crueltie the same were executed.

THe gentlemen that thus tooke vs for their seruants or slaues, did new apparel vs through out, with whom we abode, doing such seruice as they appointed vs vnto, which was for the most part to attend vpon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, & to waite vpon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of; for in that countrey no Spaniard will serue one another, but they are all of them attended and serued by Indians weekely, and by Negroes which be their slaues during their life. In this sort we remained and serued in the said citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the space of a yeere and somewhat longer. Afterwards many of vs were by our masters appointed to go to sundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as ouerseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of vs did profite & gaine greatly: for first we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threescore pound sterling, and besides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought vnder our charge, vpon our well vsing & intreating of them, would at times as vpon Saturdayes when they had left worke, labour for vs, and blow as much siluer as should be worth vnto vs 3 markes or there abouts, euery marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 19 Pezos and a halfe, is worth 4li. 10s. of our money. Sundry weekes we did gaine so much by this meanes besides our wages, that many of vs became very rich, and were worth three thousand or foure thousand Pezos, for we liued and gained thus in those Mines some three or foure yeeres. As concerning those Gentlemen which were deliuered as hostages, and that were kept in prison, in the Viceroy his house, after that we were gone from out the garden to serue sundry gentlemen as aforesaid, they remained prisoners in the said house for the space of 4 moneths after their comming thither, at the end whereof the fleete being readie to depart from S. Iohn de Vllua, to goe for Spaine, the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I haue heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which haue bene deliuered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the Iesus, was sent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition, and at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whose name was Iohn Gilbert.

Now after that sixe yeeres were fully expired since our first coming into the Indies, in which time we had bene imprisoned and serued in the said countreys as is before truely declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuenty foure, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the mindes of many of the Spaniards themselues: for neuer vntil this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subiect to that bloodie and cruell Inquisition. The chiefe Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and Iohn de Bouilla his companion, and Iohn Sanches the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios the Secretary: they being come and setled, and placed in a very faire house neere vnto the white Friers, considering with themselues that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it best to call vs that were Englishmen first in question, and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of vs were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that now againe began our sorrowes a fresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made vpon paine of loosing of goods and excommunication that no man should hide or keepe secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all soone apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors vse, and so from all parts of the countrey we were conueied and sent as prisoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, & were neuer past two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of vs tell what was become of another. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe, and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison euer as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonmēt, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there seuerely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Aue Maria, & the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of vs could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And hauing the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco alwayes present with thē for an interpreter, he made report for vs, ẏ in our own countrey speech we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of vs vpon our othes what wee did beleeue of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeue that the host of bread which the priest did hold vp ouer his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & blood of our Sauiour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of vs what we did remember of our selues, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safety of our liues were constrained to say, that we neuer did beleeue, nor had bene taught otherwise then has before we had sayd. Then would they charge vs that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therefore we should cal our selues to remembrance, & make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be rackt, and made to confesse the trueth whether we would or no. And so comming againe before them the next time, we were still demanded of our beliefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bin taught, & also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name vnto vs, so that we could neuer be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise vs, that if we would tell them trueth, then should we haue fauour & be set at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire speeches were but means to intrap vs, to the hazard and losse of our liues: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for vs by a secret meanes that we had, that we kept vs still to our first answer, & would stil say that we had told the trueth vnto them, and knew no more by our selues nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Lady, or any of his blessed Saints, we were heartily sory for the same, and did cry God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for Gods sake, considering that we came into those countreys by force of weather, & against our wils, and that neuer in all our liues we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, that therefore they would haue mercy vpō vs. Yet all this would not serue; for stil from time to time we were called vpon to confesse, and about the space of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their seuere iudgement, we were al rackt, and some enforced to vtter that against themselues, which afterwards cost them their liues. And thus hauing gotten frō our owne mouthes matter sufficient for them to proceed in iudgement against vs, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the middest of the market place in Mexico right ouer against the head church, & 14 or 15 daies before the day of their iudgement with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all parts of the citie: before whom it was then solemnely proclaimed, that whosoeuer would vpon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the English heretikes, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell iudgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with the certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for vs, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yellow cotten & red crosses vpon them, both before & behind: they were so busied in putting on their coats about vs, and bringing vs out into a large yard, and placing and pointing vs in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of iudgement vpon the morrow, that they did not once suffer vs to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was giuen to euery one of vs

Our men are cruelly rackt.

vs for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, we set foorth of the prison, euery man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand vnlighted, hauing a Spaniard appointed to goe vpon either side of euery one of vs: and so marching in this order and maner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow shoot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certain of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so comming to the scaffold, we went vp by a paire of stayres, and found seates readie made and prepared for vs to sit downe on, euery man in order as he should be called to receiue his iudgement. We being thus set downe as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came vp another paire of staires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Iustices with them. When they were set downe and placed vnder the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came vp also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300 persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there a solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently beganne their seuere and cruell iudgement.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Iesus, and hee had iudgement to haue three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slaue for 10 yeeres.

The cruell iudgements of the Spanish Inquisitors vpō our poore countrey-men.

After him were called Iohn Gray, Iohn Brown, Iohn Rider, Iohn Moone, Iames Collier, and one Thomas Browne: these were adiudged to haue 200 stripes on horsebacke, and after to be committed to the gallies for the space of 8 yeeres.

Then was called Iohn Keyes, and was adiudged to have 100 stripes on horsebacke, and condemned to serue in the gallies for the space of 6 yeeres.

Then were seuerally called the number of 53 one after an other, and euery man had his seueral iudgement, some to haue 200 stripes on horsebacke, and some 100, and condemned for slaues to the gallies, some for 6 yeeres, some for 8 and some for 10.

And then was I, Miles Philips, called, and was adiudged to serue in a monasterie for 5 yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coat, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called Iohn Storie, Richard Williams, Dauid Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull: these sixe were condemned to serue in monasteries without stripes, some for three yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Riuely, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their iudgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for vs that had receiued our iudgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readinesse for euery one of our men which were condemned to haue stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60 and so they being inforced to mount vp on horsebacke naked from the middle vpward, were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the citie, and had the number of stripes to euery one of them appointed, most cruelly laid vpon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors themselues, and of the familiars of that rakehel order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English hereticks, Lutherans, Gods enemies: and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquisitors house with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, & carried againe to prison, where they remained vntill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receiue the rest of their martirdome: and I and the 6 other with me which had iudgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serue an apprentiship in the monastery, were taken presently and sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

Chap. 6.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that we were adiudged to serue in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken, and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.

I Miles Philips and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an ouerseer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and louing kind of people, ingenious, and of great vnderstanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniardes with all their hearts, they haue vsed such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subiection and seruitude, that they and the Negros also doe daily lie in waite to practise their deliuerance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniardes doe keepe them in. William Lowe he was appointed to serue the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and Dauid Alexander were appointed to the Grey Friers, Iohn Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paul Horsewel the Secretary tooke to be his seruant: Thomas Hull was sent to a Monastery of priests, where afterward he died. Thus we serued out the yeeres that we were condemned for, with the vse of our fooles coates, and we must needs confesse that the Friers did vse vs very courteously: for euery one of vs had his chamber with bedding & diet, and all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themselues do vtterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort vs the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that diuelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hande know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serue in those religious houses, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged vp in the head church, called Ecclesia Maior, and euery mans name and iudgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coates hanged vp, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and iudgements, and vnderneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffered to goe vp and downe the countrey, and to place our selues as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espiall alwayes attending vs and all our actions, so that we durst not once speake or looke awry. Dauid Alexander & Robert Cooke returned to serue the Inquisitor, who shortly after maried them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams maried a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos: Paul Horsewell is married to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horsewell hath maried, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in marriage foure thousand Pezos, and a faire house: Iohn Storie is maried to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leaue and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now married: for mine owne part I could neuer throughly settle my selfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made vnto me of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could haue no liking to liue in that place, where I must euery where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my natiue countrey: and, to returne and serue againe in the Mines where I might haue gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that diuelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choice rather to learne to weaue Grogranes and Taffaties, and so compounding with a Silke-weauer, I bound my selfe for three yeeres to serue him, and gaue him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the science, otherwise he would not haue taught mee vnder seuen yeeres prentiship, and by this meanes I liued the more quiet, and free from suspition. Howbeit I should many times be charged by familiars of that diuelish house, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to be an heretike Lutheran againe: To whom I would answere that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knewe all very well that it was impossible for me to escape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I answered, that I had bound my selfe at an occupation. Well said the Inquisitor, I knowe thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here vpon paine of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, nor to any other port: To the which I answered, that I would willingly obey. Yea said he, see thou doe so, and thy fellowes also, they shall haue the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Art, at the end wherof there came newes to Mexico that they were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, vpon the South sea, and that they were comming to Mexico to take the spoyle thereof, which wrought a marueilous great feare amongst them, & many of those that were rich began to shift for themselues, their wiues & children: vpon which hurlie burlie the Viceroy caused a generall muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde householders of Spaniards in the citie and suburbs, and of single men vnmaried, the number of 3000 and of Mestizoes, which are counted to be the sonnes of Spaniards, borne of Indian women, twenty thousand persons, and then was Paul Horsewel & I Miles Philips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of threescore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now gouernour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demanded of vs if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came newes that all the Englishmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out vnder the leading of seueral Captains, wherof two hundred were sent to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, vpon the North Sea vnder the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were sent to Guatimala in the South sea, who had for their captaine Iohn Cortes, two hundred more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South sea, ouer whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, hauing licence giuen by the Inquisitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of threescore tunne or thereabout, hauing also in companie with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might easily haue taken vs all: We being imbarked kept our course and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and leauing the land vpon our left hand, and hauing coasted thus for the space of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was cleane gone off the coast more then a moneth before: and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore sea-sicke: All the while that I was at Sea with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should haue beene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I liued, and should returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But

Tuatepec, Washaca, Tepiaca, Pueblo de los Angeles, Stapelapa.

The Spanish Viceroy prophecied, but falsly.

Vera Cruz distant 5 leagues from S. Iuan de Vllua.

missing thereof, when I sawe there was no remedie but that we must needes come on lande againe, little doeth any man know the sorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I wasconstrained to make faire weather of it. And so being landed, yͤ next morow after, we began our iourney towardes Mexico, and past these townes of name in our way, as first the towne of Tuatepec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Washaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and most of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, hauing bene forth about the space of seuen weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had trauelled, and that for certaine he was informed that Captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall haue him shortly come into our hands driuen a land through necessitie in some one place or other, for he being now in these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger wil force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my masters house in a readinesse at an houres warning, when soeuer I should be called: for that notwithstanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Stantias or dairie houses, and my master hauing leaue of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my iourney with them being very well horsed and appointed, and comming thither and passing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleete was readie to depart, I not being past 3 daies iourney from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the bolder, presuming vpon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my selfe, that when I came to S. Iohn de Vllua, I would get to be entertained as a souldiour, and so go home into Spaine in the same Fleete, and therefore secretly one euening late, the moone shining faire, I conueyed my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, vpon the second day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where the ships rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Iustices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Iustices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, euery man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleeue me, but vrged stil vpon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conueied away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my griefe, it chanced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the presse that was come to towne to sell hennes, who told the Iustices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatned him that he said so, for that he was my companion, and sought to conuey me away from my father, so that he also was threatned to be laid in prison with me: he for the discharge of himselfe stood stifly in it, that I was an Englishman, & one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together: which when they heard, they forsooke him, and began to examine me a new, whether that speech of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceiued that I could not denie, and perceiuing that I was run from Mexico, & came thither of purpose to conuey my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorrowfull heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off: howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed estate, thinking by his speech, and knowing of me, to haue set me free from that present danger which he sawe me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weekes, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes & condemned to the gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amongst those my prison-fellowes some that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truely they had compassion of me, & would spare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good: amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he vnderstood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I should be shortly sent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. Iohn de Vllua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison fellow of himselfe, & without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often vnto him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 kniues which had files in their backes, which files were so wel made that they would serue & suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, & of those kniues or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me haue it at that very price it cost him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8. s. of our money: which knife when I had it, I was a ioyfull man, and conueied the same into the foote of my boot, vpon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus receiued my knife, I was suddenly called for, & brought before the head Iustice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60. towardes Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandise which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the companie, and as we trauelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were somewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and euer as we went, when the wagon made most noyse, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, & trauelling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring vp of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went afore, and the wagon-man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an hostrie that a Negro-woman keepes: and at this place, for that the going vp of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better, they doe alwaies accustome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them altogether for the drawing vp of one wagon, and so to come downe againe, and fetch vp others in that order. All which came very well to passe: for as it drew towards night when most of the Wagoners were gone to draw vp their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my boltes, and so espying my time in the darke of the euening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conueyed my selfe into the woods there adioyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, & a few biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke bush, and then couered them with mosse and other things, and then shifted for my selfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good prouidence of Almightie God, I was freed from mine yrons all sauing the collar that was about my necke, and so got my libertie the second time.

Miles Philips his last wonderfull escape.

Chap. 7.

Wherein is shewed how I escaped to Guatimala, vpon the South sea, and from thence to the port of Cauallos, where I got passage to goe into Spaine, and of our arriuall at Hauana, and our comming to Spaine, where I was againe like to haue bene committed prisoner, and how through the great mercy of God I escaped, and came home in safetie into England in February 1582.

THe next morning (day light being come) I perceiued by the Sunne rising what way to take to escape their hands, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods vpon the left hand: and hauing left that way that went to Mexico vpon my right hand, I thought to keepe my course as the woods and mountaines lay, still direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was sure to conuey my selfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the North not past a league from the mountaine where I was, and trauailing thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoone I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in prison by the cruel Spanyards, and did desire them to helpe me to file off mine yron coller, which they willingly did: reioycing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I desired that I might haue one of them to guide mee out of those desert mountaines towardes the South, which they also most willingly did: and so they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues distant from thence, named Shalapa, where I stayed three dayes, for that I was somewhat sickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilted in my dublet) I bought me an horse of one of the Indians, which cost mee 6. pezos, and so trauailing South, within the space of 2. leagues I happened to ouertake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie vsed against vs by the Inquisitors, and truely hee vsed me very courteously: and I hauing confidence in him did indeede tel him, that I was minded to aduenture to see if I could get out of the sayd countrey if I could finde shipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and aduise herein, which he faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my safest way to trauaile, but he also of himselfe kept me company for the space of three dayes, and euer as we came to the Indians houses (who vsed and intertained vs well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gaue vnto mee. So came I to the citie of Guatimala vpon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I stayed 6. dayes, for that my horse was weake. And from thence I trauailed still South and by East seuen dayes iourney, passing by certaine Indian townes, vntill I came to an Indian towne distant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de Cauallos in the Northeast sea, it was answered that in trauailing thither I should not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes iourney: so heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to serue vs so long time, and tooke with vs things to kindle fire euery night, because of wilde beastes, and to dresse our meate: and euery night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our selues, and my horse. And in the night time we should heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Ounces, and other beastes, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire. And trauailing thus for the space of twelue dayes, wee came at last to the port of Cauallos vpon the East sea, distant from Guatimala South and by East, two hundred leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for shippes, and is without either castle or bulwarke. I hauing dispatched away my guides, went downe to the Hauen, where I saw certaine ships loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he said, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship, paying for my passage: and he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger; for said he, it may be that you haue killed some man, or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I answered, that there was not any such cause. Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for

Guatimala on the South sea.

Puerto de Cauallos.

60.

60. pezos he would cary me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly solde my horse, and made my prouision of hennes and bread to serue me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and neuer stayed vntill we came to Hauana, which is distant from puerto de Cauallos by sea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a souldier to serue in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himself went. There landed while I was here 4. ships out of Spaine, being all full of souldiers and ordinance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, & 4. great brasse pieces of ordinance, although the castle were before sufficiently prouided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance: and 100. lastly to S. Iohn de Vllua. As for ordinançe there they haue sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Iesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The sending of those souldiers to euery of those Ports, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the general of his fleete, giuing him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his course more to the Northward, aduertising him withal, what number and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, & the yles aforesaid: which the general of the fleete wel considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very duetifully obserue and obey: for in trueth he had in his said fleete 37. saile of ships, and in euery of them there was as good as 30. pipes of siluer one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochinilla, sugars, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other Apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did prouidently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be, to the vttermost of his power, and commanded vpon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboord without his sword and harquebush, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them: and euer as the weather was faire, the said general would himself go aboord from one ship to another, to see that euery man had his ful prouision according to the commandement giuen. Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would haue made a foule spoile amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, sauing only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral: And againe ouer and besides the weakenesse and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to haue held out any long fight. Wel, thus we set saile, & had a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner Northeast, and brought our selues to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were vpon our voyage from the 4. of Iune, vntill the 10. of September, and neuer saw land till we fell with the Arenas Gosdas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none should goe on shoare vntill he had licence: as for me, I was knowen by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishmã, which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be mery & pleasant, that we were all come so wel in safety. Presently after, licence came that we should go on shoare, and I pressed to be gone with the first: howbeit, the Master came vnto me, & said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Siuil by water: I knew his meaning well inough, & that he meant there to offer me vp as a sacrifice to the Holy house. For the ignorant zeale of a number of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke that they haue done God good seruice, when they haue brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for so do they account of vs. Wel, I perceiuing all this, tooke vpon me not to suspect any thing, but was still iocund & mery: howbeit, I knew it stood me vpon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was

Don Pedro de Guzman.

in his cabbin asleepe, I conueyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moared, and so by the cable haled on shore, where I leapt on land, & let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, & then neuer stayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Siuil: so that the next morning I came to Siuil, and sought me out a workemaster, that I might fall to my science, which was weauing of taffataes; and being intertained I set my selfe close to my worke, and durst not for my life once to stirre abroad for feare of being knowen: and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, surely I would present him to the Holy house. And thus I kept still within doores at my worke, and fained my selfe not well at ease, & that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the space of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at sea, and yet durst not be ouerbold to walke abroad: and after vnderstanding that there were certaine English ships at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboord one of them, and desired the Master that I might haue passage with him to goe into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captaine Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies: he very courteously prayed me to haue him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, & prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceiued, with a sorowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leaue of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my selfe to be a souldier to goe in the king of Spaines Gallies, which were He commeth home in an English ship from Maiorca. bound for Maiorca, and comming thither in the end of the Christmas holidayes, I found there two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West countrey, which were ready fraighted and stayed but for a faire wind. To the Master of the one, which was of the West countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now desirous to goe home and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and so hauing agreed with him for my passage, I tooke shipping. And thus through the prouidence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres absence, hauing sustained many and sundry great troubles and miseries, as by this discourse appeareth, I came home to this my natiue countrey of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ship called the Landret, and arriued at Poole.

The trauailes of Iob Hortop, which Sir Iohn Hawkins set on land within the Bay of Mexico, after his departure from the Hauen of S. Iohn de Vllua in Nueua Espanna, the 8. of October 1568.

NOt vntruely nor without cause said Iob the faithfull seruant of God (whom the sacred Scriptures tell vs, to haue dwelt in the land of Hus) that man being borne of a woman, liuing a short time, is replenished with many miseries: which some know by reading of histories, many by the view of others calamities, and I by experience in my selfe, as this present Treatise insuing shall shew.

It is not vnknowen vnto many, that I Iob Hortop pouder-maker was borne at Bourne, a towne in Lincolnshire, from my age of twelue yeeres brought vp in Redriffe neere London, with M. Francis Lee, who was the Queenes Maiesties powder-maker, whom I serued, vntil I was prest to go on the 3. voyage to the West Indies, with the right worshipful Sir Iohn Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Maiesties ship called the Iesus of Lubeck, who set saile from Plimmouth in the moneth of October 1567. hauing with him another ship of her Maiesties, called the Minion, and foure ships of his owne, namely the Angel, the Swallow, the Iudith, and the William and Iohn. He directed his Vice-admiral, that if foule weather did separate them, to meete at the Iland of Tenerif. After which by the space of seuen dayes and seuen nights, we had such stormes at sea, that we lost our long boats and a pinnesse, with some men: comming to the Isle of Tenerif, there our Generall

nerall heard that his Vice-admirall with the Swallow, and the William and Iohn were at the Iland called Gomera, where finding his Vice-admirall, he anchored, tooke in fresh water, and set saile for Cape Blank, where in the way wee tooke a Portugal carauel, laden with fish called Mullets: from thence we sailed to cape Verde. In our course thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called captaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal carauel, whom our vice admiral chased and tooke. Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made master & captaine of the Carauel, and so we kept our way till we came to Cape Verde, and there we anchored, tooke our boates, & set souldiers on shore. Our Generall was the first that leapt on land, & with him Captaine Dudley: there we tooke certaine Negroes, but not without damage to our selues. For our Generall, Captaine Dudley, & 8. other of our company were hurt with poysoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyson out of his wound with a cloue of garlike, whereby he was cured. From thence wee went to Sierra leona, where be monstrous fishes called Sharkes, which will deuoure men. I amongst others was sent in the Angell with two Pinnesses into the riuer called Calousa, to seeke two Carauels that were there trading with the Negros: wee tooke one of them with the Negros, and brought them away.

A remedie against poysoned arrowes.

The riuer of Calousa.

In this riuer in yͤ night time we had one of our pinnesses bulged by a sea-horse, so that our men swimming about the riuer, were all taken into the other pinnesses, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were caried away by the sea-horse. This monster hath the iust proportion of a horse, sauing that his legs be short, his teeth very great, and a span in length: hee vseth in the night to goe on land into the woods, seeking at vnawares to deuoure the Negroes in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie preuent, and kill him in this maner. The Negroes keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree ouerthwart the way, so that at their returne, for that their legs be so short, they cannot goe ouer it. then the Negroes set vpon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and so destroy them.

From thence we entred the riuer called the Casserroes, where there were other Carauels trading with the Negroes, and them we tooke. In this Iland betwixt the riuer and the maine, trees grow with Oisters vpon them. There grow Palmito trees, which bee as high as a ships maine mast, and on their tops grow nuts, wine and oyle, which they call Palmito wine and Palmito oyle. The Plantan tree also groweth in that countrey; the tree is as bigge as a mans thigh, and as high as a firre pole, the leaues thereof be long and broad, and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantanos: they are crooked, and a cubite long, and as bigge as a mans wrist, they growe on clusters: when they be ripe, they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not more delicate in taste then they be.

From thence with the Angel, the Iudith, and the two pinnesses, we sailed to Sierra leona, where our Generall at that time was, who with the captaines and souldiers went vp into the riuer called Taggarin, to take a towne of the Negroes, where he found three kings of that countrey with fiftie thousand Negroes besieging the same towne, which they could not take in many yeeres before, when they had warred with it. Our General made a breach, entred, & valiantly tooke the towne, wherein were found fiue Portugals which yeelded themselues to his mercy, and hee saued their liues: we tooke & caried thence for traffique to the West Indies 500. Negroes. The three kings droue 7000. Negroes into yͤ sea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Oze, for that they could not take their canoas to saue themselues. Wee returned backe againe in our pinnesses to the ships, and there tooke in fresh water, and made ready sayle towards Rio grande. At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Iudith, and the 2. pinnesses, and found there seuen Portugal Caruels, which made great fight with vs. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victory, and droue them to the shore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the caruels from the shore into the riuer. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his caruel, the Swallow, and the William and Iohn came into the riuer, with captaine Dud-

The riuer of Taggarin.

500. Negroes taken.

Rio grande.

ley and his souldiers, who landed being but a hundred souldiers, and fought with seuen thousand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the losse of one man.

In that place there be many muske-cats, which breed in hollow trees: the Negroes take thē in a net, & put them in a cage, & nourish them very daintily, & take the muske from them with a spoone.

Now we directed our course from Guinea towards the West Indies.

And by the way died Captaine Dudley.

Dominica. In sayling towards the Indies, the first land that we escryed, was the Iland called Dominica, where at our comming we ancored, & tooke in fresh water and wood for our prouision: Margarita. which done, we sayled towards the Iland called Margarita, where our Generall in despite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, & tooke in fresh victuals. A mile off the Iland there is a rocke in the sea, wherein doe breede many fowles like vnto Barnacles: in the night we went out in our boates, and with cudgels we killed many of them, and brought them with many of their egs aboord with vs: their egges be as bigge as Turkies egges, and speckled like them. We did eate them, and found them very good meate.

Burboroata From thence wee sayled to Burboroata, which is in the maine land of the West Indies: there we came in, mored our ships, and taried two moneths trimming and dressing our ships, and in the meane time traded with certaine Spanyards of that countrey. There our Generall sent vs vnto a towne called Placencia, (which stood on a high hil) to haue intreated a Bishop that dwelt there for his fauour & friendship in their lawes, who hearing of our comming, for feare forsooke ẏ town.

Placencia in the maine. In our way vp the hil to Placencia, wee found a monstrous venemous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our master Robert Barret did cut him in sunder with his sword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke.

Heere be many Tygers, monstrous and furious beasts, which by subtiltie deuoure and destroy many men: they vse the traded wayes, & wil shew themselues twise or thrise to the trauellers, and so depart secretly, lurking till they be past, then suddenly & at vnawares they leape vpon them and deuoure them: they had so vsed two of our company, had not one of them looked behind. Our Generall sent three ships vnto the Iland called Coraçao, to make prouision for the rest, where they remayned vntill his comming. Hee sent from thence the Angel and the Iudith to Rio de Hacha, where we anchored before the town. The Spaniards shot three pieces at vs from the shore, whom we requited with two of ours, and shotte through the Gouernours house: we wayed anchor, & anchored againe without shot of the towne, where wee rid fiue dayes in despite of the Spanyards, and their shot. In the meane space there came a Caruel of aduise from S. Domingo, whom with the Angel, and the Iudith wee chased and droue to the shore: we fetcht him from thence in spite of 200. Spaniards hargubush shot, and anchored againe before the towne, and rid there with Rio de la Hacha taken. them, till our Generals comming, who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the losse of one man, whose name was Thomas Surgeon: wee landed and planted on the shore for our safeties, our field ordinance: we droue the Spaniards vp into the country aboue two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negros.

In this riuer we killed a monstrous Lagarto or Crocodile in this port at sunne set: seuen of vs went in the pinnesse vp into the Riuer, carying with vs a dogge, vnto whom with rope-yarne we bound a great hooke of steele, with a chaine that had a swiuel, which we put vnder the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming ouer his back fast bound, as aforesaid: we put him ouer boord, and vered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boate: the Lagarto came & presently swallowed vp the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderful stirre in the water: we leapt on shore, and haled him on land: he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a sawcer: his taile long and full of knots as bigge as a fawcon shotte: he hath foure legs, his feete haue long nailes like vnto a dragon: we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his skinne, and stuffed it with straw, meaning to haue brought it home, had not the ship bin cast away. This monster will cary away and deuoure both man and horse.

Santa Martha.

From hence we shaped our course to Santa Martha, where we landed, traded, and sold certaine Negroes: there two of our company killed a monstrous adder, going towards his caue with a Conie in his mouth: his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and seuen foote long: vpon his tayle he had sixteene knottes, euery one as bigge as a great walnut, which they say, doe shew his age: his colour was greene and yellow: they opened him, and found two conies in his belly.

Cartagena.

Campeche.

From thence wee sayled to Cartagena, where we went in, mored our Shippes, and would haue traded with them, but they durst not for feare of the King: wee brought vp the Minion against the Castle, and shotte at the Castle and Towne: then we landed in an Iland, where were many gardens: there in a caue we found certaine Botijos of wine, which wee brought away with vs, in recompence whereof, our Generall commanded to be set on shore woollen and linnen cloth, to the value thereof. From hence by foule weather wee were forced to seeke the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua. In our way thwart of Campeche we met with a Spaniard, a small ship, who was bound for Santo Domingo: he had in him a Spaniard called Augustin de villa nueua, who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and caused them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with vs into the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua. Our Generall made great account of him, and vsed him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed vs. When wee had mored our ships, and landed, wee mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee discouered the Spanish fleete, whereof Luçon a Spanyard was Generall: with him came a Spanyard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine sent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. He sent a Pinnesse with a flagge of truce vnto our Generall, to knowe of what Countrey those Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port; who sayd, they were the Queene of Englands ships, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall giue me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side of the Port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spanyard returned for answere, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thousand men; & therefore he would come in. Our Generall sayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I represent my Queenes person, & I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he haue a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place. Then the Vice-roy after counsell among themselues, yeelded to our Generals demaund, swearing by his King and his Crowne, by his commission and authority that he had from his King, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were giuen on both parts. Our Generall bearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, iudged the Spanyards to haue done the like, deliuered to them sixe gentlemen, not doubting to haue receiued the like from them: but the faithlesse Spanyardes, in costly apparell gaue of the basest of their company, as afterwardes it was well knowen. These things finished, proclamation was made on both sides, that on payne of death no occasion should be giuen, whereby any quarel should grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entred the port, with great triumph on both sides.

Don Martin de Henriquez the treacherous Vice-roy.

The Spaniards presently brought a great Hulke, a ship of sixe hundred, and mored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towards vs, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboord, as the sequel did shew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanish tongue, he sent Robert Barret aboord the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a Cornet (for a watchword among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our Generall, whom Augustine de villa noua sitting at dinner with him, should

Augustine de villa noua a most thankelesse traytour.

should then presently haue killed with a poynado which hee had priuily in his sleeue, which was espyed and preuented by one Iohn Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynado out of his sleeue. Our General hastily rose vp, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the Stewards roome, & to be kept with two men. The faithlesse Spanyards, thinking all things to their desire had bene finished, suddenly sounded a Trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the Minion, whereat our General with a loude and fierce voyce called vnto vs, saying, God and Saint George, vpon those traiterous villaines, and rescue the Minion, I trust in God the day shalbe ours: and with that the Mariners & souldiers leapt out of the Iesus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spanyards, and with a shot out of her fiered the Spaniards Vice admirall, where the most part of 300. Spanyards were spoyled, and blowen ouer boord with powder. Their Admirall also was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came vpon vs on euery side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke vntil it was night: they killed all our men that were on shore in the Iland, sauing three, which by swimming got aboord the Iesus of Lubeck. They sunke the Generals ship called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow: the Spaniards Admirall had aboue threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: foure other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the shore to rescue them, fifteene hundred: we slew of them fiue hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the Iesus of Lubeck had fiue shotte through her mayne Mast: her fore-mast was strooke in sunder vnder the hounds with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte, therefore it was vnpossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to haue burnt the Iesus of Lubeck, which we preuented by cutting our cables in the halse, and winding off by our sternefast.

The Spanish vice-admirall fiered.

One of those three was Iob Hortop the reporter hereof. Foure Spanish ships sunke.

The Minion was forced to set saile and stand off from vs, and come to an anker without shot of the Island. Our Generall couragiously cheered vp his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a siluer cup, and hee drinking to all men willed the gunners to stand by their Ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culuerin shot stroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that stoode by the maine mast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship: which nothing dismaid our Generall, for he ceased not to incourage vs, saying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preserued me from this shot, will also deliuer vs from these traitours and villaines. Then Captaine Bland meaning to haue turned out of the port, had his maine mast stroke ouer boord with a chaine shot that came from the shore, wherefore he ankered, fired his ship, tooke his pinnesse with all his men, and came aboord the Iesus of Lubek to our Generall, who said vnto him, that he thought he would not haue runne away from him: he answered, that he was not minded to haue run away from him, but his intent was to haue turned vp, and to haue laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleete aboord, and fired his ship in hope therewith to haue set on fire the Spanish fleete, hee said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for safegard of her masts to be brought vnder the Iesus of Lubecks lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Iudith, and to lay the Minion aboord, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out, and so he did.

At night when the wind came off the shore, wee set sayle, and went out in despite of the Spanyards and their shot, where wee ankered, with two ankers vnder the Island, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared euery houre to be driuen with the lee shore. In the end when the wind came larger, we waied anker, and set saile, seeking the riuer of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little, and victuals were so scarce, that we were driuen to eate hides, cats, rats, parrats, munkies, and dogges: wherefore our Generall was forced to diuide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals: and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselues amongst the enemies, then to sterue on ship-boord. He asked them who would go on shore, and who would tarry on ship-boord, those that would goe on shore, he willed to goe on foremast, and those that would tarrie, on baft mast: fourescore and sixteene of vs were willing to depart. Our Generall gaue vnto euery one of vs sixe yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came vnto vs, where friendly imbracing euery one of vs, he was greatly grieued that he was forced to leaue vs behind him, he counselled vs to serue God, and to loue one another, and thus courteously he gaue vs a sorowful farewell, and promised if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could, that so many of vs as liued should by some means be brought into England, & so he did.

About an hundred Englishmen landed.

Since my returne into England I haue heard that many misliked that he left vs so behind him, and brought away Negroes: but the reason is this, for them he might haue had victuals, or any other thing needfull, if by foule weather hee had bene driuen vpon the Islands, which for gold nor siluer he could not haue had.

And thus our Generall departed to his ship, and we remained on land, where for our safeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about vs, we kept watch all night, and at Sunne rising wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke, vntill that we came into a fielde vnder a groue, where the Indians came vpon vs, asking vs what people we were, and how we came there. Two of our company, namely Anthony Goddard and Iohn Cornish, for that they could speake the Spanish tongue, went to them, and said wee were Englishmen, that neuer came in that countrey before, and that we had fought with the Spaniards, and for that we lacked victuals, our Generall set vs on shore: they asked vs whither we intended to goe, we said to Panuco. The Captaine of the Indians willed vs to giue vnto them some of our clothes & shirts, which we did: then he bad vs giue them all, but we would not so doe, whereupon Iohn Cornish was then slaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that stoode by the Captaine shot at him, wherefore hee stroke the boy on the necke with his bow, that he lay for dead, and willed vs to follow him, who brought vs into a great fielde, where we found fresh water: hee bad vs sit downe about the pond and drinke, and he with his company would goe in the meane space to kill fiue or sixe Deere, and bring them vs. We taryed there till three of the clocke, but they came not: there one of our company whose name was Iohn Cooke, with foure other departed from vs into a groue to seeke reliefe, where presently they were taken by the Indians, and stript as naked as euer they were borne, and so returned to vs.

Iohn Cornish slaine.

Then we diuided our selues into two parts, halfe to Anthony Goddard, and the rest to Iames Collier, and thus seuerally we sought for Panuco. Anthony Goddard with his company bid vs farewell, they passed a riuer, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes, and so passing on their way, came to a stony hill, where they stayed. Iames Collier with his company that day passed the same riuer, and were also robbed, and one of them slaine by chance: wee came that night vnto the hill, where Anthony Goddard and his company rested, there we remained til morning, and then we marched altogether from thence, entring betweene two groues, where the Indians robbed vs of all our clothes, and left vs naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of vs. Three dayes after we came to another riuer, there the Indians shewed vs the way to Panuco, and so left vs: we passed the riuer into the wildernes, where we made wreaths of greene grasse, which we wound about our bodies, to keepe vs from the Sunne, and gnats of that Countrey. We trauelled there seuen dayes, and seuen nights, before wee came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots, and Guiauos, a fruit like figs. At our comming to the riuer of Panuco two Spanish horsemen came ouer vnto vs in a Canowe: they asked vs how long we had bene in the wildernesse, and where our generall was, for they knewe vs to be of the company that had fought with their countrimen: we told them seuen dayes and seuen nights, and for lacke of victuals our Generall set vs on shore, & he was gone away with his ships. They returned to their Gouernour, who sent them with fiue Canowes to bring vs all ouer, which done, they set vs in aray, where a hundred horsemen with their lances, came forceably vpon vs, but did not hurt vs, they caried vs prisoners to Panuco, where we remained one night. In the riuer of Panuco there is a fish like a calfe, the Spanyards call it a Mallatin, hee hath a stone in his head, which the Indians vse for the disease of the Collicke, in the night he commeth on land and eateth grasse. I haue eaten

Anthony Goddard.

A riuer.

Iames Collier.

8. Englishmen slaine.

Another riuer.

Seuen dayes trauell to Panuco.

of it, and it eateth not much vnlike to bacon. From thence we were sent to Mexico, which is 90 leagues from Panuco. In our way thither, 20 leagues from the sea side, I did see white Crabs running vp & downe the sands, I haue eaten of them, and they be very good meat. There groweth a fruit which the Spanyards call Auocottes, it is proportioned like an egge, and as blacke as a cole, hauing a stone in it, and it is an excellent good fruit. There also groweth a strange tree which they call Magueis, it serueth them to many vses, below by the root they make a hole, whereat they do take out of it twise euery day a certaine kind of licour, which they seeth in a great kettle, till the third part be consumed, & that it waxe thick, it is as sweet as any hony, and they do eat it. Within 20. daies after that they haue taken al the licour from it, it withereth, & they cut it down, & vse it as we vse our hempe here in England, which done, they conuert it to many vses: of some part they make mantles, ropes, and threed: of the ends they make needles to sow their saddles, pannels, & other furniture for their horses: of the rest they make tyles to couer their houses, and they put it to many other purposes.

A manifold Magueis.

And thus we came to Mexico, which is seuen or eight miles about, seated in a great fen, inuironed with 4 hils, it hath but two wayes of entrance, and it is full of creeks, in the which in their Canowes they passe from place to place, & to the Islands there within. In the Indies ordinarily three times a yeere bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger: during the time of two yeeres that I was in Mexico, I saw them sixe times; when they come they throw downe trees, houses, and Churches. There is a citie 25. leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcalla, which is inhabited with a hundred thousand Indians, they goe in white shirts, linnen breeches, and long mantles, and the women weare about them a garment much like vnto a flannell petticote. The kings pallace was the first place wee were brought vnto in Mexico, where without we were willed to sit downe. Much people, men, women, and children came wondring about vs, many lamented our misery, & some of their clergy asked vs if we were Christians, we said, we praised God, we were as good Christians as they: they asked how they might know that, we said by our confessions. From thence we were caried in a Canow to a Tanners house, which standeth a little from the citie: the next morning two friers and two priests came thither to vs, and willed vs to blesse our selues, and say our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might vnderstand vs, many of our company did so, whereupon they returned to the viceroy, and told him that we were good Christians, and that they liked vs well, and then they brought vs much reliefe, with clothes, our sicke men were sent to their Hospitals, where many were cured, and many died. From the Tanners house we were led to a gentlemans place, where vpon paine of death we were charged to abide, and not to come into the citie, thither we had all things necessary brought vs: on Sundayes and holy dayes much people came, and brought vs great reliefe.

The viceroy practised to hang vs, and caused a paire of new gallowes to be set vp, to haue executed vs, whereunto the noblemen of that countrey would not consent, but prayed him to stay vntil the ship of aduise brought newes from the king of Spaine, what should be done with vs, for they said they could not find any thing by vs, whereby they might lawfully put vs to death.

The viceroy then commanded vs to be sent to an Island there by, and he sent for the Bishop of Mexico, who sent foure priests to the Island, to examine and confesse vs, who said, that the viceroy would burne vs, when wee were examined and confessed according to the lawes of the countrey. They returned to the Bishop, and told him that we were very good Christians. The Bishop certified the viceroy of our examinations and confessions, and said that wee were good Christians, therefore he would not meddle with vs. Then the viceroy sent for our master R. Barret, whom he kept prisoner in his pallace, vntill the fleete was departed for Spayne. The rest of vs he sent to a towne seuen leagues from Mexico called Tescuco, to card wooll among the Indian slaues, which drudgery we disdained, and concluded to beat our masters, and so wee did: wherefore they sent to the viceroy, desiring him for Gods sake and our Ladies, to send for vs, for they would not keepe vs any longer, they said that we were deuils and no men.

The viceroy sent for vs, and imprisoned vs in a house in Mexico, from thence he sent Anthony Goddard, & some other of our company with him into Spaine with Luçon, the Generall that tooke vs: the rest of vs staied in Mexico two yeres after, and then were sent prisoners into Spaine, with Don Iuan de Valesco de Varre, admirall and generall of the Spanish fleet, who caried with him in his ship, to be presented to the K. of Spaine, the anatomie of a giant, which was sent from China to Mexico, to the viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, to bee sent to the king of Spaine for a great wonder. It did appere by the anatomie, that he was of a monstrous size, the skull of his head was neere as bigge as halfe a bushel, his neckebones, shoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments of his other partes, were huge and monstrous to behold, the shanke of his legge from the ankle to the knee, was as long as from any mans ankle vp to his wast, and of bignesse accordingly.

At this time, and in this ship, were also sent to be presented to the king of Spaine, two chestes full of earth with ginger growing in them, which were also sent from China, to be sent to the king of Spaine. The ginger runneth in the ground like to liccoras, the blades grow out of it in length and proportion like vnto the blades of wild garlicke, which they cut euery fifteene dayes, they vse to water them twise a day, as we doe our herbes here in England, they put the blades in their pottage, and vse them in their other meates, whose excellent sauour and tast is very delightfull, and procureth a good appetite.

A description of ginger.

1570.

When we were shipped in the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua, the Generall called our master Robert Barret and vs with him into his cabbin, & asked vs if wee would fight against Englishmen, if we met them at the sea, we said that we would not fight against our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able. He said if we had said otherwise, he would not haue beleeued vs, and for that we should be the better vsed, and haue allowance as other men had: and he gaue a charge to euery one of vs, according vnto our knowledge, Robert Barret was placed with the pilote, I was put in the gunners roome, William Cawse with the boat-swaine, Iohn Beare with the quarter-masters, Edward Rider & Geffrey Giles, with the ordinary mariners, Richard the masters boy attended on him and the pilote: shortly after we departed from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua with all the fleete of Spaine, for the port called Hauana: wee were 26. dayes sayling thither. There wee came in, ankered, tooke in fresh water, and stayed 16. dayes for the fleete of Nombre de Dios, which is the fleet that brings the treasure from Peru.

Hauana.

The Generall of that fleet was called Diego Flores de Valdes. After his comming, when he had watred his ships, both the fleetes ioyned in one, and Don Iuan de Velasco de Varre was the first fifteen daies Generall of both the fleets, who turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to haue cast away all the fleet vpon the Cape called Cannaueral, which was preuented by me Iohn Hortop, & our master Robert Barret: for I being in the second watch escried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke ouer boord, for I saw land vnder the lee-bow of the ship: he called to the boat-swaine, & bid him let flie the fore saile sheat, and lay the helm vpon the lee, and cast the ship about. When we were cast about, we were but in seuen fathome water: we shot off a piece, giuing aduice to the fleet to cast about, and so they did. For this we were beloued of the Generall, and all the fleet. The Generall was in a great rage, and swore by the king, that he would hang his pilote: for he said, that twise before he had almost cast away the Admirall. When it was day, he commanded a piece to be shot off, to call to councill: the other Admirall in his ship came vp to him, and asked what the matter was, he said, that his pilote had cast away his ship and all the fleet, had it not bene for two of the Englishmen, and therefore he would hang him. The other Admirall with many faire words perswaded him to the contrary.

When we came in the height of Bermuda, we discouered a monster in the sea, who shewed himselfe three times vnto vs from the middle vpwards, in which parts hee was proportioned like a man, of the complection of a Mulato, or tawny Indian. The Generall did commaund one of his clearks to put it in writing, and hee certified the King and his Nobles thereof. Presently after this, for the space of sixteene dayes we had wonderful foule weather,

A sea-monster in the shape of a man.

and then God sent vs a faire wind, vntill such time as we discouered the Iland called Faial.

On S. Iames day we made rackets, wheeles, and other fire-workes, to make pastime that night, as it is the order of the Spaniards. When we came neere the land, our master R. Barret conferred with vs, to take the pinnesse one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our selues from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed: none had any pinnesse asterne then but our ship, which gaue great courage to our enterprize: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would haue serued vs nine dayes, and prouided our selues to goe: our Master borrowed a small compasse of the Master gunner of the ship, who lent it him, but suspected his intent, and closely made the Generall priuy to it, who for a time dissembled the matter. In the ende seeing our pretense, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to bee put in the stocks, and a great payre of yron bolts on his legs, & the rest of vs to be set in the stocks by the legs. Then he willed a peece to be shot off, and hee sent the pinnesse for the other Admirall, and all the captaines, masters and pilotes of both fleetes to come aboord of him. He commanded the mayne-yard to be strooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on euery yard-arme one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confesse our selues, for he swore by the king that he would hang vs.

When the other Admiral, and the rest were come aboord, he called them into his counsel-chamber, and told them that he would hang the master of the Englishmen, and all his company. The Admirall, whose name was Diego Flores de Valdes, asked him wherefore: he sayd, that we had determined to rise in the night with the pinnesse, and with a ball of fire-worke to set the ship on fire, and goe our wayes: therefore, sayd he, I will haue you the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes, to set your hands vnto that, for I sweare by the king that I will hang them, Diego Flores de Valdes answered, I nor the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes wil not set our hands to that, for hee said, if he had bin prisoner as we were, he would haue done the like himselfe. He counselled him to keepe vs fast in prison, till he came into Spaine, & then send vs to the Contratation house in Siuil, where, if we had deserued death the law would passe on vs, for hee would not haue it said that in such a fleet as that was, sixe men and a boy should take the pinnesse, and goe away, and so he returned to his ship againe.

When he was gone, the Generall came to the maine mast to vs, and swore by the king, that we should not come out of the stocks til we came into Spaine: within 16. dayes after we came ouer the Bar of S. Lucar, and came vp to the Hurcados, then he put vs into a pinnesse in the stocks, and sent vs prisoners to the Contratation house in Siuil. From thence after one yere we brake prison, on S. Steuens day at night, 7. of our company escaped, Robert Barret, I Iob Hortop, Iohn Emerie, Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Gilbert were taken, and brought backe to the contratation house, where we remained in the stocks till twelfe tide was past. Then our keeper put vp a petition to the Iudge of the contratation house, that we might be sent to the great prison house in Siuil, for that we broke prison, whereupon we were presently led thither, where we remained one moneth, and then from thence to the castell of the Inquisition house in Triana, where wee continued one yere: which expired, they brought vs out in procession, euery one of vs hauing a candle in his hand, and the coate with S. Andrewes crosse on our backs: they brought vs vp on an high scaffold, that was set vp in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe street of Siuill: there they set vs downe vpon benches: euery one in his degree, and against vs on another scaffold sate all the Iudges, and the Clergy on their benches: the people wondered, and gazed on vs, some pittying our cases, other said, burne those heretikes. When we had sit there two houres, we had a sermon made to vs: after which one called Bresinia, secretarie to the Inquisition, went vp into the pulpit with the processe, and called Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquisition brought from the scaffold before the Iudges, where the secretarie read the sentence, which was that they should be burnt, and so they returned to the scaffold, and were burnt.

Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert burned.

Iob Hortop his condemnation.

Then I Iob Hortop, and Iohn Bone were called, and brought to the place, as before, where we heard our sentence, which was, that we should go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ende ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquisition house, to haue the coate with S. Andrewes crosse put on our backs, and from thence to goe to the euerlasting prison remedilesse, and so we were returned from the scaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, & Thomas Ellis were called, and had sentence to serue in the Galleys eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Emery to serue fiue yeeres, & so were returned to the benches on the scaffold, where we sate till foure of clocke in the afternoone. Then we were led againe to the Inquisition house, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning Bresinia the treasurer came thither to vs, and deliuered to euery one of vs his sentence in writing. I with the rest were sent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together: euery mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of course blacke bisket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two shirts, two paire of breeches of course canuas, a red coat of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shauen euery month, hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes we lacked none, til our seuerall times expired. And after the time of 12. yeeres, for I serued two yeeres aboue my sentence, I was sent backe to the Inquisition house in Siuill, and there hauing put on the coat with S. Andrewes crosse, I was sent to the euerlasting prison remedilesse, where I wore the coat 4. yeers, & then vpon great suit, I had it taken off for 50 duckets, which Hernando de Soria treasurer of the kings mint lent me, whom I serued for it as a drudge 7. yeres, and vntil the moneth of October last, 1590. and then I came from Siuill to S. Lucar, where I made meanes to come away in a 1590. flie-boat, that was laden with wines and salt, which were Flemings goods, the king of Spaines subiects, dwelling in Siuil, maried to Spanish women, and sworne to their king. In this moneth of October last departing from S. Lucar, at sea, off the southermost Cape, we met an English ship, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, & me out of him, & brought me to Portsmouth, where they set me on land, the 2. day of December last past, 1590. From thence 1590. I was sent by M. Muns the lieutenant of Portsmouth, with letters to the R. honorable the Earle of Sussex, who commanded his secretary to take my name and examination, how long I had bene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Christmas euen I took my leaue of his honor, and came to Redriffe.

The Computation of my imprisonment.

I suffered imprisonment in Mexico two yeeres.

In the Contratation house in Siuill one yeere.

In the Inquisition house in Triana one yeere.

I was in the Gallies twelue yeeres.

In the euerlasting prison remediles, with the coat with S. Andrews crosse on my back 4. yeres.

And at libertie I serued as a drudge Hernando de Soria 3. yeeres, which is the full complement of 23. yeeres.

Since my departure from England, vntill this time of my returne, I was fiue times in great danger of death, besides the many perils I was in, in the Gallies.

First in the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where being on shore, with many other of our company, which were all slaine sauing I, and two other that by swimming got aboord the Iesus of Lubek.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the viceroy would haue hanged vs.

Fourthly, because he could not haue his mind to hang vs, he would haue burnt vs.

Fiftly, the Generall that brought vs into Spaine, would haue hanged vs at sea.

Thus hauing truely set downe vnto you my trauels, misery and dangers, endured the space of 23. yeeres, I ende.

A relation of the Hauen of Tecuanapa, a most conuenient place for building of ships, situate vpon the South sea not farre from Nicaragua, which was sent vnto the viceroy of Mexico or to the king of Spaine: wherein are described the riuers of Ometepec, Tlacamama, and Tlacolula falling into the said Hauen, with the townes, people, and mountaines adioyning to the said riuers, and other things fit for the building and victualling of ships.

The Port of Tecuanapa.
The Bishopricks of Guaxacan, & Tlarcali.
Cuahintla.
Tulaningo a small lake.
Quacapotla.

THe Port and small harbour of Tecuanapa hath in the driest time of Sommer in the chanell little lesse then one fathome at low water, and at full sea one fathome and an halfe: in the time of raine, with the increasing of the land-water it hath three fathoms and more. It lyeth toward the West, and there the Bishopricks of Guaxacan and Tlarcali are separated. From hence toward the point called Punta de Intla and Dordaci there is a Bay 2. leagues distant, which though it be no special harbour, yet vpon an extremity ships may come and ride there, as in times past they haue done. This Bay on the right hand toward the North maketh a lake somewhat large towards the midst of the chanell, and in some parts deepe, but specially on the side of Cuahintla, but on either side it is but shallow. As you passe betweene the sea & certaine great and large woods of orenge trees, and trees of other nature which grow along the sea coast, which are of no great bredth, al the countrey appeareth very open: howbeit on the side of Cuahintla the mountaines haue many creeks and a small lake called Tulaningo, and the countrey cannot be trauelled, except you take the way betweene the sea and the end of this lake, which may be about two leagues of sandy way. And on the North side there is another small creeke. And going by the sands side one quarter of a league, you come to the way that leadeth vnto Quacapotla a mansion of Intla.

The riuer of Ometepec.
Nicaragua.

The riuer of Ometepec being the principal riuer which commeth to this hauen hath his head in the mountaines of Xicayan de Touer about 24. leagues frō this hauen, from diuers brooks which come out of the mountaines of Cacatepec, and beneath a towne called Suchistlahuaca litle more then 3. leagues all the brooks ioyne together: and from that place you may passe downe to the sea with Canoas and Lighters; and you might come farther but for the fall of a furious streame or current which rūneth between two great rocks, passing from Cocahulapa a mansion of Ometepec vnto Yanguitle a mansion of the said Ometepec. These inconueniences being past (which in my iudgement may be about one league) the riuer is more nauigable, so that you may sayle in the same about 12. leagues. During the space of which 12. leagues, about a league and a halfe distance from the waters side, and in many other parts of the same riuer it hath great quantitie of woods which vse to grow in hot soiles, fit for ship-timber, as Huber-trees, & Suchicuhitil, whereof they of Nicaragua make great profit. Also there be white okes and Tehegurtes in great quantitie, and many other kinds of timber: and in the mountaines there be firre-trees, okes, and cork-trees, which easily may bee caried downe the riuer, because they may be cut some 2, 3, 4, and 5. leagues from the riuer, and may be brought downe to the waters side with the seruice and helpe of those that dwell in the townes thereabout.

Xicaian.

At the head of these brooks where the riuer beginneth is the towne which is called Xicaian, belonging to the heires of Francis de Touer y de Guillen, containing about 350. Indians of rude speech and of little policie, being 24. leagues from the sea, little more or lesse. The place it selfe is hot, although the mountaines round about be cold.

Aioanapa.

A little from this is the towne of Aioanapa possessed by the heires of Perez Gomez, hauing in it about 300. Indians of the selfe same speach and qualitie. The countrey is more subiect to heate then cold; yet hath it neere it cold countreys and mountaines. It is distant from Xicaian de Touer 4. leagues, and from the sea 20. leagues.

Suchistlahuaca.

Sixe leagues downeward toward the South is the towne of Suchistlahuaca on the said riuer, and the inhabitants are of the same speach and qualities. The countrey is more subiect to heate then cold. It is in the charge of Gonzaluo Fernandez a citizen of Mexico, and hath about 150. Indians, and is 15. leagues distant from the sea.

Ometepec.

From this towne vnto the towne of Ometepec are 6. leagues. The place is very hoat, and in the same gouernment, and is situate betweene certaine hils one league from the riuer: he and his followers haue vnder them about 700. Indians, which speake the Ayacastecan, Amusgan, and Niciecan tongues, and this place is from the sea nine leagues.

Ihualapa.

From this towne vnto Ihualapa are two great leagues: it is in the gouernment of the heires of Laurence de Castro, of the foresaid temperature, and the people vse the said language, and are of the like stature: and it standeth three leagues from the riuer, and from the sea ten leagues.

Niciecan.

These are the best townes, and of the best traffique that are vpon all this coast. The Indians are rich in Cacao and victuals, and in these townes doe the Indians of Niciecan principally trade. And in the towne of Ihualapa the chiefe Alguazil of the prouince is resident for the most part of the yeere.

Pio a frontier towne against the Mexicans.

More lowe beneath the riuer of Tlacolula, about a league or a league and an halfe from the towne of Ometepec is the towne called Pio, which was wont to be a towne of Tlacolula, and was a frontier towne against the Mexicans. There be in it about 50. Indians of the ancient inhabitants: one Grauiel de Chiauez *a citizen of Mexico hath the gouernement thereof*: it is 4. leagues from Ihualapa, and 6. from the sea.

Huehuatlan.

A little below this is the towne of *Huehuatlan in the selfe same gouernement standing one* league from the riuer on certaine high hils: it hath 10. Indians, and is from the sea 5. leagues.

Cuahucapotla.

And one league from this towne stands the towne of Cuahucapotla a mansion of Antla or Intla: it hath to the number of 15. Indians; it standeth one league and a halfe from the riuer, and 4. leagues from the mouth thereof.

Cacatepec.

At the fountaines or heads of the rest of the brooks is the towne of Cacatepec being in the gouernment of Raphael de Treyo: he and his tenants haue vnder them some 700. Indians of Niciecan: it is from the sea some 22. leagues.

The riuer of Tlacamama.

The riuer which is called Tlacamama commeth from the mountains of Atoyaque and Amusgos, which are some 17. leagues from the sea. There it maketh a formed riuer, so big, that it is nauigable to the sea with canoas and lighters: I say from a litle below Tolistlahuaca a mansion of Xicaian. It is nauigable 8. moneths in the yeere, and the other 4. not, because that the sands of the plaines do soke and drink vp the water in such wise, that there remaineth so little, that there is no passage: howbeit in small lighters timber may bee brought downe this riuer one league from the place where it is cut, vnto the place that I haue spoken of; whereas bigger vessels may bee made; for nigh vnto that place other brooks and running waters doe ioyne and meet, which make it a maine riuer. It hath nigh vnto it in the mountaines of Atoyaque, Cacatepec, and Amusgos many woods of pine-trees, cork-trees, and okes of great bignesse: and beneath those mountaines in the warme countrey, neere vnto the riuers there is much timber of those sorts which I mentioned before to be about the riuer of Ometepec, which may easily be cut and carried downe vnto Tecuanapa in the time before specified.

Atoiaque.

This riuer hath likewise townes adioyning to it; the first at the foote of the mountaines is the town of Atoiaque belonging to the king, & to the heires of Pronetto: their language is Niciecan, the countrey hot, the people politique, & it is from the sea 15. leagues. It hath about 200. Indians.

Xicaian.

One league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne of Xicaian belonging likewise to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto. They are Niciecan people and very comely, and in a hot countrey. It hath by account 300. Indians. There are resident in it the Vicar and Iustice; it is from the riuer a league and a halfe.

Pinotespan.

A league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is situate the mansion of Pinotespan subiect to Tututepec, which hath with the manors subiect vnto it 500. Indians.

The towne of Tlacamama.

Two leagues from the towne, and one from Xicayan, and 13. from Tecuanapa, and 3. from the riuer is the towne of Tlacamama: the people are very comely and politique. It containeth some 100. Indians, and belongeth to the king.

More toward the South 5. leagues from the riuer, and two from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne called Pinotespan del Rey: They are handsome people, but of slow speach: this towne conteineth about 100. Indians like vnto the former. They be wealthie, because they make great quantitie of salte; for they haue a lake in which salte groweth vnder the water, (a thing repugnant to nature, that two contraries doe grow and are conserued together) whereout they take it in breaking it with stones vpon the ground vnder the water.

A lake hauing hard salt growing vnder the water.

It hath also the towne of Amusgos, which is in the gouernment of Fernando de Auila, which may be from Tecuanapa 18. leagues. They speake the Amusgan tongue. The countrey is hotte: it standeth on the highway from Nicieca: it hath 400. Indians, few more or lesse.

These are all the townes of account situate neere this riuer.

Neere vpon this riuer are two farmes, the one belonging to Pedro Brauo, and the other to him that maketh this relation vnto your Excellencie, which may be from the sea some 8. or 9. leagues all plaine ground. And in this territorie there is but one towne called Quesala situate vpon the riuer, and 6. leagues from the sea; which in times past hath beene a great towne, and nowe hath but three Indians onely, and it is from the farmes 3. leagues.

Quesala.

The mansion house of Don Mattheo is more toward the South, standing in a large mountainous and waste countrey, which aboundeth with cattell being 3. leagues from the riuer; and as farre from Tecuanapa, as from the place where all the cattell is; and the sea that way is from it but one league.

A little below this mansion about 4. leagues, and 7. leagues from the sea, is a garden of Alonso Pedraza which beareth Cacao.

And 2. leagues from this garden, and 6. leagues from the sea standeth the towne of Cuahintlan belonging to the king a towne of 19 housholds, but very rich, for they gather much Cacao and the best in that countrey. They speake the Tlapanecan tongue. This towne hath the sea that way within halfe a league.

Cuahintlan del Rey.

And this coast from Cuahintlan to Tecuanapa, and the coast which runneth to Huatulco is a coast of much pearle, for in olde time the Indians gathered much pearle there.

Huatulco or Guatulco in 15. deg. and 50. minutes.

And 2. leagues from Cuahintlan and 4. from Tecuanapa is a garden of Cacao in the landes of Francisco Maldonado, which is called Cacahu-Atoyaque.

These are the things worthy of relation from the head-springs of this riuer of Tlacamama vnto the sea: and this foresaid riuer entreth into the riuer of Ometepec 5. leagues from Tecuanapa.

The riuer of Tlacolula.

The riuer of Tlacolula springeth within the boundes of Chilsiztlahuaca subiect to Comastlahuaca a towne of Suchistlahuaca, neere which are many mountaines. This riuer is nauigable little more then 2. leagues before it entreth into the riuer of Ometepec, where it is 5. leagues from the sea.

Azoyoque.

Hard by it is the towne of Tlacolula abouenamed; and 3. leagues from it is the towne of Azoyoque an olde manour of Tlapa. The towne of Chilsiztlahuaca hath but 3. Indians; and the towne of Azoyoque hath more then 300. Indians. But because in this hauen must bee the building of ships, the prouinces of Tlapa and Tututepec may stand them in great stead; the prouince of Tututepec being neighbour to the riuer of Tlacamama, and the prouince of Tlapa to the riuer of Tlacolula. For they may, as I haue sayd, carrie the timber in lighters or rafts downe the riuers, and may vse the Indians in the townes thereabout to fell and draw the same out of the cold mountaines; for in the warm countreyes the most is plaine ground, whereas with very fewe men and oxen it may be brought vnto the place where it should be imbarqued.

The prouinces of Tututepec and Tlapa.

There may come flat bottomes, and canoas vnto the townes thereabout, and lade themselues with victuals: For they haue already come by that riuer to the rode of Ometepec, & made there prouision at the mansion of Don Mattheo, and at the farmes, at that time when his Maiestie did people the plaines which are betweene these riuers, conteining a large and voyde countrey sufficient for the erecting of 20. manours, being a countrey well furnished with water and pasture without any danger or perill, according to the description hereunto annexed.

This small harbour of Tecuanapa being seene and viewed, seemeth very commodious for to build shippes in, by reason of the great abundance of mountaines full of good timber for that purpose, with the commodities of riuers, and with the seruice and victuals from the townes thereabout, which be very good for coast townes.

Tecuantepec a meet & harborough to build ships for the South sea.

The desire of him that made this relation, hath bene with zeale to serue your excellencie; who therewithall desireth the Lord God to giue the successe.

THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES

OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO THE ISLES OF TRINIDAD, MARGARITA, DOMINICA, DESEADA, MONSERRATE, GUADALUPE, MARTININO, AND ALL THE REST OF THE ANTILLES; AS LIKEWISE TO S. IUAN DE PUERTO RICO, TO HISPANIOLA, IAMAICA AND CUBA: AND ALSO TO TIERRA FIRMA, AND ALL ALONG THE COAST AND ISLANDS THEREOF, EUEN FROM CUMANA AND THE CARACOS TO THE NECKLAND OF DARIENE, AND OUER IT TO THE GULFE OF S. MICHAEL AND THE ISLE OF PERLES IN THE SOUTH SEA: AND FURTHER TO CABEÇA CATIUA, NOMBRE DE DIOS, AND VENTA DE CRUZES, TO PUERTO BELO, RIO DE CHAGRE, AND THE ISLE OF ESCUDO, ALONG THE MAINE OF BERAGUA, TO THE CAPE AND GULFE OF THE HONDURAS, TO TRUXILLO, PUERTO DE CAUALLOS, AND ALL OTHER THE PRINCIPALL TOWNES, ISLANDS AND HARBOURS OF ACCOMPT WITHIN THE SAID GULFE, AND VP RIO DOLCE FALLING INTO THIS GULFE, ABOUE 30. LEAGUES: AS ALSO TO THE ISLE OF COÇUMEL, AND TO CAPE COTOCHE, THE TOWNE OF CAMPECHE, AND OTHER PLACES VPON THE LAND OF IUCATAN; AND LOWER DOWNE TO S. IUAN DE VLLUA, VERA CRUZ, RIO DE PANUCO, RIO DE PALMAS, &C. WITHIN THE BAY OF MEXICO: AND FROM THENCE TO THE ISLES OF THE TORTUGAS, THE PORT OF HAUANA, THE CAPE OF FLORIDA, AND THE GULFE OF BAHAMA HOMEWARDS.

WITH THE TAKING, SACKING, RANSOMING, OR BURNING OF MOST OF THE PRINCIPALL CITIES AND TOWNES VPON THE COASTS OF TIERRA FIRMA, NUEUA ESPANNA, AND ALL THE FORESAID ISLANDS; SINCE THE MOST TRAITEROUS BURNING OF HER MAIESTIES SHIP THE IESUS OF LUBEC AND MURTHERING OF HER SUBIECTS IN THE PORT OF S. IUAN DE VLLUA, AND THE LAST GENERALL ARREST OF HER HIGHNESSE PEOPLE, WITH THEIR SHIPS AND GOODS THROUGHOUT ALL THE DOMINIONS OF THE KING OF SPAINE IN THE MONETH OF IUNE 1585. BESIDES THE MANIFOLD AND TYRANNICALL OPPRESSIONS OF THE INQUISITION INFLICTED ON OUR NATION VPON MOST LIGHT AND FRIUOLOUS OCCASIONS.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, which was the yere 1516. to Brasil, Santo Domingo, and S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

THat learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epistle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553, called A treatise of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discouerie vndertaken out of England by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the ouerthrow thereof vnto the cowardise and want of stomack of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saith he, (like vnto that which hath bene seene & proued in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this our countrey) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soueraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes vnder the gouernance of Sebastian Cabot yet liuing and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage tooke none effect; if, I say, such manly courage, whereof wee haue spoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily haue come to passe, that that rich treasurie called Perularia, (which is nowe in Spaine in the citie of Siuill, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfoundland of Peru) might long since haue beene in the tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambassadour sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whose wordes bee these. Now rest to be discouered the North parts, the which it seemeth vnto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you haue taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so litle cost, labour and danger be followed and obteined. Though hitherto your grace haue made thereof a proofe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shalbe none impediment: for there may be now prouided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is, the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and prouision, an order may be deuised and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto: by reason whereof, & by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. And whereas in the aforesayd wordes M. Robert Thorne sayth, that he would haue the old courses to bee changed, and the newe courses (to the North) to be followed: It may plainely be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twise or thrise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set foorth by the king, was made towarde Brasill and the South parts. Moreouer it seemeth that Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, a famous Spanish writer, alludeth vnto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius. Nel 1517. Vn Corsaro Inglese, sotto colore di venire á discoprire se ne venne con vna gran naue alla volta del Brasil nella costiera di Terra ferma, & indi attrauerso á questa isola Spagnuola, & giunse presso la bocca del porto di questa città di S. Domenico, & mandò in terra il suo battello pieno di gente, & chiese licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negotiare. Ma in quello instante il castellano Francesco di Tapia fece tirare alla naue vn tiro d'artiglieria da questo castello, perche ella se ne veniua dìritta al porto. Quando gli Inglesi viddero questo si ritirarono fuori, & quelli del battello tosto si raccolsero in naue. Et nel vero il Castellan fece errore: perche se ben fosse naue entrata nel porto, non sarebbono le genti potuto smontare à terra senza volontà & della città & del castello. La naue adunque veggendo come vi era riceuuta, tirò la volta dell' isola di San Giouanni, & entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Inglesi con quelli della terra, & dimandarono vettouaglie & fornimenti per la naue, & si lamentarono di quelli di questa città, dicendo che essi non veniuano per fare dispiacere, ma per contrattare, & negotiare con suoi danari & mercantie. Hora quiui hebbero alcune vettouaglie, & in compensa essi diedero & pagarono in certi stagni lauorati & altre cose. Et poi si partirono alla volta d'Europa, doue si crede, che non gungessero, perche non se ne seppe piu nuoua mai. This extract importeth thus much in English, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an English Rouer vnder the colour of trauelling to discouer, came with a great shippe vnto the parts of Brasill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto this Iland of Hispaniola, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this citie of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leaue to enter into this hauen, saying that hee came with marchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the gouernour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the hauen. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselues out, and those that were

This sir Thomas Pert was Vice-admirall of England, and dwelt in Poplar at Blackwall.

Note.

An English great shippe at Brasill 1517.

San Iuan de puerto Rico.

in the shipboate, got themselues with all speede on shipboord. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an ouersight: for if the shippe had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on lande without leaue both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were receiued, sayled toward the Iland of S. Iohn, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gaue and paid them with certain vessell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for wee neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rouer, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that they came to discouer, and by their traffique for pewter vessell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. Iohn de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoeuer is conuersant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rouers and theeues, which visite any heathen coast that they haue once sayled by or looked on. Howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee preiudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterprises and honourable trauels in discouerie.

A briefe note concerning a voyage of one Thomas Tison an English man, made before the yeere 1526. to the West Indies, & of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which vnder hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder, a worshipfull marchant of Bristol.

IT appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by master Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Bristol, vnto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his seruant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the sayd yeere one Thomas Tison an Englishman had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident: vnto whom the aforesayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd. This Thomas Tison (so farre as I can coniecture) may seeme to haue bene some secret factour for M. Thorne and other English marchants in those remote partes; whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies euen in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the Spaniards should debarre vs from it at this present.

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight sir Iohn Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Maiesties nauie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562.

MAster Iohn Haukins hauing made diuers voyages to the Iles of the Canaries, and there by his good and vpright dealing being growen in loue and fauour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof hee had receiued some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the aduertisments and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured, that Negros were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negros might easily bee had vpon the coast of Guinea, resolued with himselfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that deuise with his worshipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunson his father in law, sir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributers and aduenturers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediatly prouided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himselfe went as Generall: The second the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went

M. Thomas Hampton.

for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the Ionas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaines roome: in which small fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not aboue 100. men, for feare of sicknesse and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subiect.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his course touched first at Teneriffe, where hee receiued friendly intertainement. From thence he passed to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the countrey is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth. With this praye hee sayled ouer the Ocean sea vnto the Iland of Hispaniola, and arriued first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable vtterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negros, trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwaies vpō his guard: from thence also hee sayled to Monte Christi another port on the North side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he receiued in those 3. places by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted also two other hulkes with hides and other like commodities, which hee sent into Spaine. And thus leauing the Iland, he returned and disemboqued, passing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesayde aduenturers, he came home, and arriued in the moneth of September 1563.

Sierra Leona called Tagarin.

The Iles of Caycos.

The voyage made by M. Iohn Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the Iesus of Lubek, one of her Maiesties shippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Noua Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564.

October 18.

MAster Iohn Hawkins with the Iesus of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the Salomon a shippe of 140. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marueilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand, being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out ten leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queenes Maiestie, whereof was Captaine Dauid Carlet, and also her consort the Iohn Baptist of London, being bounde to Guinea also, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merlin of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptist her other consort.

The Minion, the Iohn Baptist, and the Merline bound for Guinea.

Thus sayling forwards on their way with a prosperous winde vntill the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the winde being at Northeast about nine a clocke in the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the companie of the Iohn Baptist aforesayd, and of his pinnesse called the Swallow, his other 3. shippes being sore beaten with a storme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no small reioycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, he hauing put roomer, not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary winde at Southwest. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in Galicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained fiue dayes, and appointed all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The small shippes to bee alwayes a head and

Good orders for a fleete in a long voyage.

aweather of the Iesus, and to speake twise a day with the Iesus at least: if in the day the Ensigne bee ouer the poope of the Iesus, or in the night two lights, then shall all the shippes speake with her: If there bee three lights aboord the Iesus, then doeth she cast about: If the weather bee extreme, that the small shippes cannot keepe companie with the Iesus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes; If any happen to any misfortune then to shew two lights, and to shoote off a piece of ordinance. If any lose companie, and come in sight againe, to make three yawes, and strike the Myson three times: Serue God daily, loue one another, preserue your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

The 25. day the Minion came in also where hee was, for the reioycing whereof hee gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance, after the courtesie of the sea for their welcome: but the Minions men had no mirth, because of their consort the Merline, whome at their departure from Master Hawkins vpon the coast of England they went to seeke, and hauing met with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast strooke out her poope, and therewithall lost three men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly, to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sunke before their eyes.

A dreadfull mischance by fire.

The 20. day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and companie of the Minion, hauing nowe both the brigandines at her sterne, wayed anker, and set saile on their voyage, hauing a prosperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of Nouember they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the sixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to haue beene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselues to haue beene to the Eastward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Minion being three or foure leagues a head of vs, kept on her course to Teneriffe, hauing better sight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the West, vpon which course hauing sayled a while, hee espied another Iland, which hee thought to bee Teneriffe, and being not able by meanes of the fogge vpon the hils, to discerne the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer vntill the morning, being the seuenth of Nouember, which as yet hee could not discerne, but sayled along the coast the space of two houres, to perceiue some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelyhood thereof at all, accompting that to bee, as it was in deede, the Ile of Palmes: and so sayling forwards, espied another Iland called Gomera, and also Teneriffe, with the which hee made, and sayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the sixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arriuall somewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoysed out his shippes pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to haue sent one with a letter to Peter de Ponte, one of the gouernours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the shoare: but as hee pretended to haue landed, suddenly there appeared vpon the two points of the roade, men leuelling of bases and harguebuzes to them, with diuers others to the number of fourescore, with halberds, pikes, swordes and targets, which happened so contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, because hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to auoyde it without some mischiefe. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himselfe to bee an especiall friend to Peter de Ponte, and that he had sundry things for him which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while hee was thus talking with them, whereby hee made them to holde their hands, hee willed the marriners to rowe away, so that at last he gat out of their danger: and then asking for Peter de Ponte, one of his sonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiuing, desired to put his men aside, and hee himselfe would leape a shoare, and commune with him, which they did: so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, master Hawkins desired to haue

The Iles of Palmes, Gomera, and Teneriffe.

Santa Cruz.

A briefe description of the commodities of the Canarie Ilands.

Fierro.

Trees dropping water in Guinie.

The pike of Teneriffe.

certaine necessaries prouided for him. In the meane space, while these things were prouiding, hee trimmed the maine mast of the Iesus which in the storme aforesayd was sprung: here he soiourned 7. dayes, refreshing himselfe and his men. In the which time Peter de Ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gaue him as gentle intertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To speake somewhat of these Ilands, being called in olde time Insulæ fortunatæ, by the meanes of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulnesse of them doeth surely exceede farre all other that I haue heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they haue grapes of such bignesse, that they may bee compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none: for sugar, suckets, raisins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for rosine & raw silke, there is great store, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule: they haue many Camels also, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are vsed for caryage of necessaries: whose propertie is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and vnlading againe: his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beastes: of vnderstanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long misshapen legges, and feete very broad of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, sauing the great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath giuen him in his breast to leane vpon. This beast liueth hardly, and is contented with strawe and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of these Ilands called Fierro, there is by the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are satisfied with water, for other water haue they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in such abundance, that it were incredible vnto a man to beleeue such a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowen to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whose power therein wee ought not to maruell, seeing he did by his prouidence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israel were going into the land of promise, feede them with Manna from heauen, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid wee saw in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a peare tree. About these Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which haue beene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished: as the like hath bene of these Ilands nowe knowen by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it should seeme hee is not yet borne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Teneriffe there is a hill called The Pike, because it is piked, which is in height by their reports twentie leagues, hauing both winter and summer abundance of snowe in the top of it: this Pike may bee seene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great heigth in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in heigth, but in the Indias I haue seene many, and in my iudgement not inferiour to the Pike, and so the Spaniards write.

Cape de las Barbas.

The 15. of Nouember at night we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the same wee had sight of ten Carauels, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would haue spoken, but they fearing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

The twentieth, the ships pinnesse with two men in her, sayling by the ship, was ouerthrowẽ by the ouersight of them that went in her, the winde being so great, that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driuen halfe a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recouerie, had not Gods helpe and the Captaines deligence bene, who hauing wel marked which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24 of the lustiest rowers in the great boate, to rowe to the wind-wardes, and so recouered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting vpon the keele of her.

Cape Blanco.

The 25 we came to Cape Blanco, which is vpon the coast of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fish there in the moneth of Nouember especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fish. In this place the Portugals haue no holde for their defence, but haue rescue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there and for their fishing vpon that coast of Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, hauing long haire without any apparell, sauing before their priuie members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

The 26 we departed from S. Auis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selues with fish, and other necessaries: and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, sauing before their priuities: of stature goodly men, and well liking by reason of their food, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, rise, fruits, and fish. Here wee tooke fishes with heades like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a iolly thickenesse, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans: the people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of all other, sauing the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperança. These Leophares haue warres against the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negros: for whereas the other vse a long dart to fight with in their hands, they cary fiue or sixe small ones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more ciuill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and louing: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the plankes of their Barke with a sea brake out vpon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to saue themselues in their boats: but by Gods prouidence, the wind being Westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got to the shore, to the Isle Braua, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained sixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman hauing forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortuned to come to the waters side: and communing with certaine of his countreymen, which were in our ship, by their perswasions came away with vs: but his entertainement amongst them was such, that he desired it not: but through the importunate request of his Countreymen, consented at the last. Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gaue them there to vnderstand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoyde the snares we had layd for them.

Cape Verde in 14 degrees.

Leophares.

Ieloffes.

The trafficke of the French men at Cape Verde.

The 8 of December wee ankered by a small Island called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shore, we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals, called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gaue the said Island the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being vsed to the sight of men, flew so about vs, that we stroke them downe with poles. In this place the two shippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a riuer which they could not passe ouer, they espied on the otherside two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebuzers to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but vsed a marueilous crying in their fight with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was most strange to see, and gaue vs great pleasure to beholde them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebuz vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiuing no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many

Alcatrarses or Ganets.

The Sapies.

Rio grande.

many sholes, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The Idols.

The Island called Sambula.

The Samboses.

Sapies.

The Samboses man-eaters.

The Sapies burie their dead with golde.

The Canoas of Africa.

The 10 of December, we had a Northeast winde, with raine and storme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occasion that the Salomon, and Tygre loste our companie: for whereas the Iesus, and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Island we stayed certaine daies, going euery day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. These Samboses had inhabited there three yeres before our comming thither, and in so short space haue so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rise, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of small frye dried, euery house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods prouidence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countery so aboundantly, whereby they liued more deliciously then other. These inhabitants haue diuerse of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their slaues, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselues, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboses haue white teeth as we haue, farre vnlike to the Sapies which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a brauerie, to set out themselues, and doe iagge their flesh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Ierkin maker with vs pinketh a ierkin. These Sapies be more ciuill then the Samboses: for whereas the Samboses liue most by the spoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also. The Sapies doe not eate mans flesh, vnlesse in the warre they be driuen by necessitie thereunto, which they haue not vsed, but by the example of the Samboses, but liue onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they haue great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapies desire not warre, except they be thervnto prouoked by the inuasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of foode are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not woont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that they take, vntill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion that prouoketh the Samboses to warre against the Sapies, which is for couetousnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies haue an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses digge vp the ground, to haue the same treasure: for the Samboses haue not the like store of golde, that the Sapies haue. In this Island of Sambula we found about 50 boates called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough but of a good proportion, being about 8 yards long, and one in breadth, hauing a beak-head and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out side artificially carued, and painted red and blewe: they are able to cary twenty or thirty men, but they are about the coast able to cary threescore and vpward. In these canoas they rowe standing vpright, with an oare somewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largest sort. They row very swift, and in some of them foure rowers and one to steere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London.

The forme of their townes.

Their townes are pretily diuided with a maine streete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another ouerthwart street, which maketh their townes crosse wayes: their houses are built in a ranke very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round, like a douecote, with stakes set full of Palmito leaues, in stead of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of heigth, & thatched with Palmito leaues very close, other some with reede, and ouer the roofe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reede, pretily contriued like a louer: in the inner part they make a loft of stickes, whereupon they lay all their prouision of victuals: a place they reserue at their enterance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is deuided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bedsteades are of small staues layd along, and raysed a foote from the ground, vpon which is layde a matte, and another vpon them when they list: for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the towne there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adioyning vnto the which there is a place made of foure good stancions of woode, and a round roofe ouer it, the grounde also raised round with claye a foote high, vpon the which floore were strawed many fine mats: this is the Consultation-house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portugals affirme: in which place, when they sitte in Counsell the King or Captaine sitteth in the midst, and in the Elders vpon the floore by him: (for they giue reuerence to their Elders) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is sold to the Portugals for a slaue. They consult also, and take order what time they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainely reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the season of the yeere, and also of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourde set for the receiuing thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth fresh wine againe within a moneth, and this deuided part and portion-like to euery man, by the iudgement of the Captaine and Elders, euery man holdeth himselfe contented: and this surely I iudge to be a very good order: for otherwise, whereas scarsitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the same, which might breed great strife: but of such things, as euery man doeth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it to his owne vse, so that nothing is common, but that which is vnset by mans hands. In their houses there is more common passage of Lizardes like Euats, and other greater, of blacke and blew colour, of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with vs of Mise in great houses. The Sapies and Samboses also vse in their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads of yron poysoned with the iuyce of a Cucumber, whereof I had many in my handes. In their battels they haue target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the same length made to counterpease it, that in casting it might flie leuel, rather then for any other purpose as I can iudge. And when they espie the enemie, the Captaine to cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and they answere Heygre, and with that euery man placeth himselfe in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will couer themselues, and shoote as they see aduantage: and when they giue the onset, they make such terrible cryes, that they may bee heard two miles off. For their beliefe, I can heare of none that they haue, but in such as they themselues imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof wee sawe some like vnto deuils. In this Island aforesayde wee soiourned vnto the one and twentieth of December, where hauing taken certaine Negros, and asmuch of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well cary away, (whereof there was such store, that wee might haue laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure diuers of our men being desirous to goe on shore, to fetch Pompions, which hauing prooued, they found to bee very good, certaine of the Tygres men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his fellowes hauing fet many, and caryed them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellow to tary while he might goe vp to fetch a few which he had layed by for him selfe, who being more licorous then circumspect, went vp without weapon, and as he went vp alone, possibly being marked of the Negros that were vpon the trees, espying him what hee did, perceauing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupyed in binding his Pompions together, came behinde him, ouerthrowing him and straight cutte his throate, as hee afterwardes was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

The consultation house or towne-house.

Palmito is a wilde date.

A venemous Cucumber.

Idoles like deuils.

The extreme negligence of one of the companie.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the Riuer, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the Iohns Pinnesse, and the Salomons boate, leauing at anker in the Riuers mouth the two shippes, the Riuer being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the fiue and twentieth, and dispatched his businesse, and so returned with two Carauels, loaden with Negros.

The riuer Callowsa.

The 27. the Captaine was aduertised by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but

The Towne of Bimba.

also

Portugals not to be trusted. Want of circumspection in our men.

M. Field Captaine of the Salomon slaine.

also that there were not aboue fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if hee would giue the aduenture vpon the same, hee might gette an hundreth slaues: with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst giue them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more prouoked with the prosperous succèsse hee had in other Islands adiacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and diuers of our men scattering themselues, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negros came vpon them, and hurte many being thus scattered, whereas if fiue or sixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to giue the ouerthrow to 40 of them, and being driuen downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negros, who by *that tooke courage to pursue them to their* boates, that not onely some of them, but others *standing on shore, not looking* for any such matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the *first, and our companie remained in the* towne, were suddenly so set vpon that some with *great hurt recouered their boates*; othersome not able to recouer the same, tooke the water, *and perished by meanes of the oaze.* While this was doing, the Captaine who with a dosen *men, went through the towne,* returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters side, shooting at *them in the boates*, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose comming, they ranne all away: so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe somewhat discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: hauing gotten by our going ten Negros, and lost seuen of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the same houre while this was doing, there happened at the same instant, a marueilous miracle to them in the shippes, who road ten leagues to sea-ward, by many sharkes or Tiburons, who came about the ships: among which, one was taken by the Iesus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very sore hurt escaped: and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Iesus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift hauing twentie wounds was rescued, and scaped with much adoe.

Taggarin.

The 28 they came to their ships, the Iesus, and the Salomon, and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin.

The riuer of Casserroes.

A new assault by the Negros. Great townes. Very great Canoas.

The first of Ianuary the two barkes, and both the boates forsooke the ships, and went into a riuer called the Casserroes, and the 6 hauing dispatched their businesse, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ships were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two ships thither, they put their water caske a shore, and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to haue filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some on shore, and some at their boates, the Negros set vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the caskes, and cut of the hoopes of twelue buts, which lost vs 4 or 5 dayes time, besides great want we had of the same: soiourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went vp the riuer about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: there they vnderstood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would haue seene, to the intent we might haue taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sickenesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made vs to make hast away. The contagion of the countrey of Sierra Leona.

The 18 of Ianuarie at night, wee departed from Taggaria, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied an Negro in a white coate, standing vpon a rocke, being ready to haue receiued thē when they came on shore, hauing in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in one place leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselues streight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had bene such a mischiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we vnderstood of a Portugal that came downe to vs, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee vnderstood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of vs, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I iudge also, vpon other occasions prouoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, Tangomangos. by meanes that in the euening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the only marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not haue it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be praysed for it.

The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the West Indies, and for the space of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, hauing nowe and then contrary windes, and some Ternados amongst the same calme, which happened to vs very ill, beeing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negros, and our selues, which pinched vs all, and that which was worst, put vs in such feare that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themselues: but the Almightie God, who neuer suffereth his elect to perish, sent vs the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which neuer left vs, till wee came to an Island of the Canybals, called Dominica, where wee arriued the ninth of March, vpon a Saturday: Dominica Island. and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canybals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros. The Canybals of that Island, and also others adiacent are the most desperate warriers that are in the Indies, by the Spaniardes report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of those Islands: Canybals exceeding cruell, and to be auoyded. of very late, not two moneths past, in the said Island, a Carauel being driuen to water, was in the night sette vpon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driuen a shore, and so taken by them and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in March also, came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driuen to water, could not doe the same for the Canybals, who fought with him very desperatly two dayes. For our part also, if we had not lighted vpon the desertest place in all that Island, wee could not haue missed, but should haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them deuils in respect of me.

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos: The Testigos Island. and the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the Alcalde, Margarita Island. and had both Beeues and sheepe giuen vs, for the refreshing of our men: but the Gouernour of the Island, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet giue him any licence to trafficke: and to displease vs the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to haue gone with vs, they would not onely not suffer him to goe with vs, but also sent word by a Carauel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth represent the kings person, of our arriuall in those partes, which had like to haue turned vs to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Vice-roy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should trafficke with vs, but should resist vs with all the force they could. In this Island, notwithstanding that wee were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not onely the Gouernour himselfe, but also all the inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them and fled into the mountaines, as wee were partly certified, and also sawe the experience our selues, by some of the Indians comming to see vs who by three Spaniards a horsebacke passing hard by vs, went vnto the Indians, hauing euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conuersant with vs.

Cumana.

Santa Fe.

Here perceiuing no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driuē to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newely come thither, and were not able to by on Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found marueilous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboord the shore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came down to vs, presenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Maiz, in bignesse of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a spanne in length, hauing thereon a number of granes. Also they brought down to vs Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, kniues, and other trifles.

The description of the Indians of Terra firma.

The vse of Sorrell.

Armour of quilted canuas two yaches thicke.

The making of their poison.

These Potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our passeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bignes of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rinde of a Cucomber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious than any sweet apple sugred. These Indians being of colour tawnie like an Oliue, hauing euery one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging downe to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but dayly pull it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their yard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a thrid about their loynes, leauing the other parts of their members vncouered, whereof they take no shame. The women also are vncouered, sauing with a cloth which they weare a hand-breadth, wherewith they couer their priuities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for trauelling they cary but two small bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the iuice of Sorrell whereof they haue great store, and in the other flowre of their Maiz, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men cary euery man his bowe and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bignesse of a mans arme, other some with broad heades of iron wherewith they stricke fish in the water: the experience whereof we saw not once nor twise, but dayly for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselues and their horses with quilted canuas of two yaches thicke, and leaue no place of their body open to their enemies, sauing their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling: their poyson is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith dyeth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards do affirme, & in my iudgement it is like there can be no stronger poyson as they make it, vsing thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a strong poyson, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The maners of the yong women.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them haue hanging breastes which they account to bee great deforming in them, and vpon that occasion while they bee yong, they destroy their seede, saying, that it is fittest for olde women. Moreouer, when they are deliuered of childe, they goe straight to washe themselues, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Gossopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they cary about with them when they trauell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people be surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to liue peaceably, or els had it bene vnpossible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue now peaceably, they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

The Isle of Tortuga.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maine land, and the Island called Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere of our Lorde God one thousande fiue hundred sixty fiue aforesaide, and sayled along the coast vntill the first of Aprill, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Iesus pinnesse to discerne the coast, and saw many Caribes on shore, and some also in their Canoas, which made tokens vnto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he stayed to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles they gaue such things as they had about them, and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to haue them come on shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not haue denyed them, because the Indians which we saw before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But as God would haue it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would haue bene his confusion: for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more deuilish a thousand partes and are eaters and deuourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared vnto vs at Burboroata, by a Carauel comming out of Spaine with certaine souldiers, and a Captaine generall sent by the king for those Eastward parts of the Indians, who sayling along in his pinnesse, as our Captaine did to descry the coast, was by the Caribes called a shoore with sundry tokens made to him of friendshippe, and golde shewed as though they desired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard beeing mooued, suspecting no deceite at all, went ashore amongst them: who was no sooner a shore, but with foure or fiue more was taken, the rest of his company being inuaded by them, saued themselues by flight, but they that were taken, paied their ransome with their liues, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toll with their golde the ignorant to their snares: they are bloodsuckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps, not sparing their owne countreymen if they can conueniently come by them. Their pollicie in fight with the Spaniards is marueilous: for they chuse for their refuge the mountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horseman may ouer-runne 100. of them, they haue a deuise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselues politique warriers. They haue more abundance of golde then all the Spaniards haue, and liue vpon the mountaines where the Mines are in such number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure ynough.

The crueltie of the Caribes.

Burboroata.

Thus hauing escaped the danger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ships came to an ancker, and hee himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Vnto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therefore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subiects, and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as he might not so do: for being in one of the Queens Armadas of England, and hauing many souldiours in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, vnlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free traffique in Spaine and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reason why he should not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answere, that it lay not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a gouernour to whom the gouernment of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their gouernour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answere within the space appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time they were contented hee should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promise, the Captaine aduised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good answere from the gouernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to haue licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die vpon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would bee recouered well ynough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals & for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Gouernour his answere because they would keepe themselues blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marueiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as euer they sawe the shippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, & were not yet returned, & yet asked two dayes to seeke their wiues and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day diuers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sory that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the gouernour to come downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marueiled much, and asked him what cause mooued him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to haue his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceiued was not there to bee had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and mens wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence, that he should not loose his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted vnto. And the next day did sell some of them, who hauing bought and payed for them, thinking to haue had a discharge of the Customer, for the custome of the Negros, being the kings duetie, they gaue it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to giue the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing else was done vntill the Gouernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queenes Maiesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driuen by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Nauie, and also great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, vnto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, & for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to trafique with strangers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing perteined to our Queenes highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great seruice, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with diuers others put in request, were presented vnto the Gouernour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted vnto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being vpon euery slaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too vnreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceiued by the Gouernour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward vntill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should haue. So our Captaine declaring how vnreasonable a thing the Kings Custome was, requested to haue the same abated, and to pay seuen and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Gouernour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, wee departed, beginning our trafique, and ending the same without disturbance.

An hundreth Englishmen in armour.

Thus hauing made trafique in the harborough vntill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because nowe the common sort hauing imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eger, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ship called the Greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion: besides the Captain Dauie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arriuall thither, and remayning prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misaduentures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh

The reports of the mishaps of the Minion in Guinie.

water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for vs to vnderstand.

May.

Thus hauing ended our trafique here the 4. of May, we departed, leauing the Frenchman behinde vs, the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I haue made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroata, intending by night to haue burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiuing them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horsebacke, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses ready sadled, in the night set vpon them, & tooke one, but the rest making shift for themselues, escaped away. But this one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that diuers times they had made inuasion vpon them, had for his traueile a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his necke.

Horses kept ready sadled.

The sixt of May aforesaide, wee came to an yland called Curaçao, where wee had thought to haue anckered, but could not find ground, and hauing let fal an ancker with two cables, were faine to weigh it againe: and the seuenth sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and finding none, wee came to an ancker where we rode open in the Sea. In this place we had trafique for hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that sauing the skinnes, we had the flesh giuen vs for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundant, that the worst in the ship thought scorne not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdained to eate vnrosted.

Exceeding plentie of cattle in Curasao.

The increase of cattell in this yland is maruellous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the gouernour, in 25. yeres he had a hundreth thousand at the least, & of other cattel was able to kill without spoile of the increase 1500. yeerely, which hee killeth for the skinnes, and of the flesh saueth onely the tongues, the rest hee leaueth to the foule to deuoure. And this I am able to affirme, not onely vpon the Gouernours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, which so remaineth vnto this day, but also by that I saw my selfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, sauing the skinne and tongue taken away. And it is not so marueilous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the ylands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate fruites and meates ynough besides to feede vpon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleeue, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an yland called by the finders thereof Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattell, and such increase therof, that notwithstãding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to asswage the number of them, but they are deuoured by wilde dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no marueile, for the said yland is almost as bigge as all England, and being the first place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, it ought therefore of reason to be most populous: and to this houre the Viceroy and counsell royall abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies, to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet haue they but one Citie and 13. villages in all the same yland, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

Great numbers of wilde dogs.

The 15. of the foresaid moneth wee departed from Curaçao, being not a little to the reioycing of our Captaine and vs, that wee had there ended our trafique: but notwithstanding our sweete meate, wee had sower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blastes whereby our anckers being a ground, three at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shore we were faine to hale off to haue anker-hold, sometimes a whole day and a night we turned vp and downe; and this happened not once, but halfe a dozen times in the space of our being there.

uba.

The 16. wee passed by an yland called Aruba, and the 17. at night anckered sixe houres at the West ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our course, in the which time the Captaine sailing by the shore in the pinnesse, La Rancheria.

Rio de la Hacha.

came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards vse to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which because he would not ouershoot, he ankered that night againe, & the 19. came thither; where hauing talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, & shewed a certificate of the same, made by the gouernour thereof, & therefore he desired to haue the like there also: but the treasurer made answere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and council of S. Domingo, who hauing intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist vs, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not trafique with vs in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that hee was in an Armada of the Queenes Maiesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driuen besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those parts, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduenture to try whether he or they should haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: So vpon this it was determined hee should haue licence to trade, but they would giue him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their vnconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his cōmodities, which were so reasonably rated, as they could not by a great deale haue the like at any other mans handes. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakefast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee shot off a whole Culuering to summon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went a shore, hauing in his great boate two Faulcons of brasse, and in the other boates double bases in their noses, which being perceiued by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the sands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weauing vs a shore, whereby they made a semblance to haue fought with vs in deed. But our Captaine perceiuing them so bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small feare to see, (as they afterward declared) such great pieces in a boate. At euery shot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approched neere vnto them, they broke their aray, and dispersed themselues so much for feare of the Ordinance, that at last they went all away with their ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as braue a shew as might be, coursing vp and downe with their horses, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their iauelings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when wee landed, they gaue ground, and consulted what they should doe, for little they thought wee would haue landed so boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to haue encountred with them, they sent a messenger on horsebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treasurer marueiled what he meant to doe to come a shore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to euery reasonable request that he did demaund: but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and saide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treasurer would come and speake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together, the Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the Treasurer on horsebacke with his iaueling, was afraide to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he said was worse than his weapon, and so keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requests. Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they desired to haue pledges for the performance

M. Hawkins his letter to the Treasurer of Rio de la Hacha.

of all things, doubting that otherwise when they had made themselues stronger, they would haue bene at defiance with vs: and seeing that now they might haue what they would request, they iudged it to be more wisedome to be in assurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were sent, and we made our trafique quietly with them. In the mean time while we stayed here, wee watered a good breadth off from the shore, where by the strength of the fresh water running into the Sea, the salt water was made fresh. In this Riuer we saw many Crocodils of sundry bignesses, but some as bigge as a boate, with 4. feete, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whose skinne is so hard, that a sword wil not pierce it. His nature is to liue out of the water as a frogge doth, but he is a great deuourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beastes, nor men, if hee take them, as the proofe thereof was knowen by a Negro, who as hee was filling water in the Riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer seene after. His nature is euer when hee would haue his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to prouoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is applied vnto women when they weepe, Lachrymæ Crocodili, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about most to deceiue, so doeth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the Master of the Iesus watched one, and by the banks side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after three or foure times turning in sight, hee sunke downe, and was not afterward seene. In the time of our being in the Riuers Guinie, wee sawe many of a monstrous bignesse, amongst the which the captaine being in one of the Barkes comming downe the same, shot a Faulcon at one, which very narrowly hee missed, and with a feare hee plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them some harme before we departed, or for any treason that they intended towards vs, I am not able to say; but then came thither a Captaine from some of the other townes, with a dozen souldiers vpon a time when our Captaine and the treasurer cleared al things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the gouernors of Burboroata, which was to be payd by the said treasurer, who would not answer the same by any meanes. Whereupon certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the Captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce haue sought the same, did immediately command his men to armes, both horsemen and footemen: but because the Captaine was in the Riuer on the backe side of the Towne with his other boates, and all his men vnarmed and without weapons, it was to be iudged he ment him little good, hauing that aduantage of him, that comming vpon the sudden, hee might haue mischieued many of his men: but the Captaine hauing vnderstanding thereof, not trusting to their gentlenesse, if they might haue the aduantage, departed aboord his ships, and at night returned againe, and demanded amongst other talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that order, & they answered, that their Captaine being come to towne did muster his men according to his accustomed maner. But it is to be iudged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpose hee might haue done it sooner, but the trueth is, they were not of force vntill then, whereby to enterprise any matter against vs, by meanes of pikes and harquebuzes, whereof they haue want, and were now furnished by our Captaine, and also 3. Faulcons, which hauing got in other places, they had secretly conueyed thither, which made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a conuenient place to do such a feat, and time also seruing thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely vnarmed and vnprouided, as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harme: these were occasions to prouoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that *I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards vs, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I marueiled, and reuoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the vnreadinesse of our men, of whom aduantage might haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediatly to giue knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a

The author of this storie.

flight-shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere vs, being sent, as wee did gesse, to stay vs least wee should cary newes to our Captaine, but seeing vs so neere our men they stayed their horses, comming together, and suffring vs to passe, belike because wee were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediatly would haue departed, whereby they should haue bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espie what we did, and seeing vs gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspition might bee had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Captaine, that standing in doubt of their courtesie, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with Bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none: and thus dissembling all iniuries conceiued of both parts, the Captaine went ashore, leauing pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, sauing for the gouernours debt, which the one by no meanes would answere, and the other, because it was not his due debt, woulde not molest him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two Barkes which rode neere the shore to weigh and go vnder saile, which was done because that our Captaine demanding a testimoniall of his good behauiour there, could not haue the same vntill hee were vnder saile ready to depart: and therefore at night he went for the same againe, & receiued it at the treasurers hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leaue and departed, shooting off the bases of his boat for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the first time that he knew of the conueyance of their Faulcons.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of Iune wee had sight of an yland, which wee made to be Iamaica, maruelling that by the vehement course of the Seas we should be driuen so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fel with the middle of Iamaica, notwithstanding that to al mens sight it shewed a headland, but they were all deceiued by the clouds that lay vpon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the said yland. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a Marchant, and inhabitant in Iamaica, hauing occasion to go to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negros, & afterwards bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his countrey, who perceiuing the land, made as though he knew euery place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboord of all places, and found our selues at the West end of Iamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting vp againe, so that by trusting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would haue done as his custome was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him loose by ouershooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might haue gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his Countrey, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negros and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friendes, as he made sure accompt, in that at his going into the pinnesse, when he went to shore he put on his new clothes, and for ioy flung away his old, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we sailed all along, but it fell out euer by one occasion or other, that wee were put beside the same, so that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, & being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a bushell of flower should be sold for a sickle, would not beleeue him, but thought it impossible: and for that cause Elizæus prophesied hee should see the same done, but hee should not eate thereof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to haue seene his own countrey, did see the same, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his desire.

Iune.

The deceitfull force of the current.

Thus hauing sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seuenth of Iune, being made to beleeue by the Spaniard that it was not Iamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the Captaine also was, because that which hee made Iamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleeue he was so farre driuen to leeward, and therefore setting his course to Iamaica, and after certaine dayes not finding the same, perceiued then certainly that the yland which he was at before was Iamaica, and that the cloudes did deceiue him, whereof he maruelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the ouershooting of Iamaica: for by this did he also ouerpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: & thus being disappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to haue raised great profite by his trafique and also to haue found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shore to obteine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes ouerpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine ylands in number two hundred, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants: by the which ylands the Captaine passing in his pinnesse, could finde no fresh water vntill hee came to an yland bigger then all the rest, called the yle of Pinas, where wee anckered with our ships the 16. of Iune, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the Sea was brackish, yet did wee not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee should haue bene another time with fine Conduit water. Thus being reasonably watered we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very conuenient for such ships of charge as they were, because there were many shoales to leeward, which also lay open to the sea for any wind that should blow: and therefore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not vnneedfull: for little sooner were their anckers weyed, and foresaile set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest, was faine for haste to cut the cable in the hawse, and loose both ancker and cable to saue herselfe.

Two hundred ylands for the most part not inhabited.

The Cape of S. Anthony in Cuba.

Florida.

Thus the 17. of Iune, we departed and on the 20. wee fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Antony, where for the space of three dayes wee doubled along, till wee came beyond the shoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Brise taking vs, which is the Northeastwinde, put vs the 24. from the shoare, and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch wind, and also to the coast of Florida to haue the helpe of the current, which was iudged to haue set to the Eastward: so the 29. wee found our selues in 27. degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selues the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelue fadome water, hauing all the while no sight of land.

The Isles of Tortugas. Great store of birds.

The fift of Iuly we had sight of certeine Islands of sand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might haue done the like. These Islands beare the name of Tortoises, because of the number of them, which there do breed, whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land also, but breed onely vpon the shore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred, and couering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne; and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch: the fish whereof we proued, eating much like veale; and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly. Heere wee ankered sixe houres, and then a faire gale of winde springing, we weyed anker, and made saile toward Cuba, A hill called the Table.

The port of Hauana.

The state of the current of Florida.

whither we came the sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the forme thereof: here we lay off and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to haue plied to wind-ward to Hauana, which is an harborow whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tary to haue one the company of another. This hill we thinking to haue beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Hauana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perswasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleeue he knew the Table very well, and had beene at Hauana, sayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was Hauana. To which persuasion credit being giuen by some, and they not of the woorst, the captaine was persuaded to goe to leeward, and so sailed along the seuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table ; and then perceiuing his folly to giue eare to such praters, was not a little sory, both because he did consider what time he should spend yer he could get so far to wind-ward againe, which would haue bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelue dayes worke, & what it would haue bene longer he knew not, and (that which was woorst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therfore knew not what shift to make : but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to goe further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, & whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoalds he might haue such accesse with his ships, that he might conueniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesayd, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no ship escapeth which commeth thither, (as the Spanyards haue very wel proued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a faire Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoeuer had happened ; and taking the sayd winde, the ninth day of Iuly got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot Hauana ; at which place wee thought to haue watered : but the next day, not knowing that wee had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certeine knowen marks, we vnderstood that we had ouershot it 20 leagues : in which coast ranging, we found no conuenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to disemboque, and to water vpon the coast of Florida : for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoalds, which are very dangerous ; and because the current shooteth to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be set vpon them, and therefore durst not approch them : so making but reasonable way the day aforesayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the Islands vpon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes that fearing the shoalds to the Eastwards, and doubting the current comming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of ; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current, that bearing all sailes against the same, yet were driuen backe againe a great pace : the experience whereof we had by the Iesus pinnesse, and the Salomons boat, which were sent the same day in the afternoone, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could finde any water vpon the Islands aforesaid ; who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde springing at sea, the ships departed, making a signe to them to come away, who although they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well enough : but they spent so much time in filling the water which they had found, that the night was come before they could make an end. And hauing lost the sight of the ships, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the shippes were in no current; and sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could not preuaile against the same, but were driuen backe: whereupon the captaine sent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the shore all night, because the current was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light, with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The Iesus also bare a light in her toppe gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ships and barkes ceased not to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past; and therefore determined to tary no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Iesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almost out of sight; but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them vp: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, hauing sight of the ships, and seeing them tacking about; whereas before at the first sight of them they did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then euer they were: for by this they thought themselues vtterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to haue found them. Truly God wrought maruellously for them, for they themselues hauing no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestow any further time in seeking the shippes then that present noone time; so that if they had not at that instant espied them, they had gone to the shore to haue made prouision for victuals, and with such things as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would haue bene very hard for them to haue done, because they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to haue remained amongst the Floridians; at whose hands they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victuals sufficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, vntill which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to iudge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the rest; which the Spanyards well prooued, who being fiue hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same: and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking vpon him to persuade the people to subiection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being a shore, found a dead man, dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodies of men: so that these sorts of men are eaters of the flesh of men, aswel as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The foureteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Iesus, bringing them newes of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and so from sixe and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe, where the French men abode, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night, because we would ouershoot no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ships pinnesse sailed along the shore, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of the Floridians, because hee would vnderstand where the French men inhabited; and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees, as it was declared vnto him, maruelled thereat, and neuer left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited

M. Hawkins ranged all the coast of Florida.

in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and standing in thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be all an Island, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was maruellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found sorell to grow as abundantly as grasse, and where their houses were, great store of maiz and mill, and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also Deere great plentie, which came vpon the sands before them. Their houses are not many together, for in one house an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for they haue stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are couered with palmito-leaues, hauing no place diuided, but one small roome for their king and queene. In the middest of this house is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they sleepe vpon certeine pieces of wood hewin in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fields, where they dresse their meat, and make prouision for victuals, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be maruelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negros doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In their apparell the men onely vse deere skinnes, wherewith some onely couer their priuy members, other some vse the same as garments to couer them before and behind; which skinnes are painted, some yellow and red, some blacke & russet, and euery man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antike worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuiseth, which painting, to make it continue the better, they vse with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may haue better hold. In their warres they vse a sleighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themselues shew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they wash away againe. In their warres they vse bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the most part passing the strength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points, both in length and also for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very stedy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of kniues, which they hauing gotten of the French men, broke the same, & put the points of them in their arrowes heads: some of them haue their heads of siluer, othersome that haue want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they vse a maruellous pollicie for their owne safegard, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding: this policy they vsed with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triste, that is to say, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the French men found them so witty in their answeres, that by the captaines owne report, a counseller with vs could not giue a more profound reason.

The riuer of May.

Floride found to be cut into Islands.

Sorell.

The commodities of Florida.

The houses of Florida.

The maner of kindling of fire in Florida.

The women also for their apparell vse painted skinnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the same surplesse wise, wearing their haire downe to their shoulders, like the Indians. In this riuer of May aforesayd, the captaine entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourescore tun, and two pinnesses of fifteene tun a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in which their captaine Monsieur Laudonniere was, with certeine souldiers therein. To whom our captaine sending to vnderstand of a watering place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the same, he straight, because there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer fiue leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in

The French fort.

Monsieur Laudonniere.

in one of his barks, which going in with other boats prouided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went; where hee was by the Generall, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently enterteined, who declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was fourteene moneths, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them; in which place they being two hundred men at their first comming, had in short space eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driuen certeine of them to serue a king of the Floridians against other his enemies, for mill and other victuals: which hauing gotten could not serue them, being so many, so long a time: but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed, to take away the bitternesse of them, they did vse for bread, eating withall sundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and holesome, and such as serue rather for medecines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paines so much as to fish in the riuer before their doores, but would haue all things put in their mouthes, they did rebell against the captaine, taking away first his armour, and afterward imprisoning him: and so to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoiling their store of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Iamaica a rouing, where they spoiled and pilled the Spanyards; and hauing taken two carauels laden with wine and casaui, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughty stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborow in Iamaica, going dayly ashore at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such euill doers vnpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galliasse being made out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest caried into Spaine, and some (to the number of fiue and twenty) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida; where at their landing they were put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the souldiers, did passe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were the best souldiers that they had: for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly crauing of maiz, hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were inforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certeine of their company in the woods, and slew them; whereby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen: and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but at such time as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the same: and going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were set vpon by eighteene kings, hauing seuen or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, & droue them all downe to their boats; whose pollicy in fight was to be maruelled at: for hauing shot at diuers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiuing that their arrowes did not preuaile against the same, they shot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue forty souldiers left vnhurt, whereby they might ill make any more inuasions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must haue beene driuen vnto, had not God sent vs thither for their succour; for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meale, & foure pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and necessaries which he might conueniently spare: and to helpe them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our comming, at their request we spared them one of our barks of fifty tun. Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would haue taken paines to get the same; but they being souldiers, desired to liue by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by weares which they made to catch the

Bread made of acorns.

The occasion of the falling out with the Floridians.

The French greatly relieued by M. Hawkins.

same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogsheads of wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good, Deere maruellous store, with diuers other beasts, and fowle, seruiceable to the vse of man. These be things wherewith a man may liue, hauing corne or maiz wherewith to make bread: for maiz maketh good sauory bread, and cakes as fine as flowre. Also it maketh good meale, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beuerage, sodden in water, and nourishable; which the Frenchmen did vse to drinke of in the morning, and it assuageth their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this maiz was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisite to haue labourers to till and sowe the ground: for they hauing victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away frõ vs, although we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all too little for our selues: for surely we haue heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians with the head of maiz rosted, will trauell a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs & maiz: and in this order I saw threescore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when they trauell, haue a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therwith they liue foure or fiue dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water & fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowen to any man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with medow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other sorts, as better can not be in the world. They haue for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummes great store, as Storax liquida, Turpintine, Gumme, Myrrhe, and Frankinsence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, & russet, very perfect, wherewith they so paint their bodies, and Deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and siluer they want not: for at the Frenchmens first comming thither they had the same offered them for little or nothing, for they receiued for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the souldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giuing them nothing for it: the which they perceiuing, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigourously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be knowen they had any more, neither durst they weare the same for feare of being taken away: so that sauing at their first comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and siluer the French men know not as yet, but by gesse, who hauing trauelled to the Southwest of the cape, hauing found the same dangerous, by meanes of sundry banks, as we also haue found the same: and there finding masts which were wracks of Spanyards comming from Mexico, iudged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that diuers wracks haue beene made of Spanyards, hauing much treasure: for the Frenchmen hauing trauelled to the capeward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a carauel comming from the Indies, which was cast away foureteene yeeres ago, & the other twelue yeeres; of whose fellowes some escaped, othersome were slain by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their golde & siluer, for it is wrought flat and grauen, which they weare about their neckes; othersome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to boulster vp their breasts withall, because they thinke it a deformity to haue great breasts. As for mines either of gold or siluer, the Frenchmen can heare of none they

Twentie hogsheads of wine made in Florida, like to the wine of Orleans.

Labourers necessary to inhabit new countreys.

Tobacco & the great virtue thereof.

The variety of commodities in Florida.

Colours.

Golde and siluer.

Two Spanyards liued long among yͤ Floridians.

Pieces of Gold grauen among yͤ Floridians.

they haue vpon the Island, but of copper, whereof as yet also they haue not made the proofe, because they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and siluer as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obteined pearles of them of great bignesse, but they were blacke, by meanes of rosting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spanyards doe, but for their meat: for the Spanyards vse to keepe dayly afishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choise a thousand: and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinnesses, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should vse dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beds of them. The oisters which haue the smallest sort of pearles are found in seuen or eight fadome water, but the greatest in eleuen or twelue fadome.

Florida esteemed an Island.

This copper was found perfect golde, called by the Sauages, Sieroa pyra.

Pearles.

The Floridians haue pieces of vnicornes hornes which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obteined many pieces. Of those vnicornes they haue many; for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which comming to the riuer to drinke, putteth the same into the water before he drinketh. Of this vnicornes horne there are of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the Frenchmen brought home thereof to shew. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabit the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reueale the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shal take it in hand. Of beasts in this countrey besides deere, foxes, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, & leopards, I am not able certeinly to say: but it is thought that there are lions and tygres as well as vnicornes; lions especially; if it be true that is sayd, of the enmity betweene them and the vnicornes: for there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a sheepe the woolfe, the elephant the rinoceros; and so of other beasts the like: insomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be missing. And seeing I haue made mention of the beasts of this countrey, it shall not be from my purpose to speake also of the venimous beasts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bignesse, whereof our men killed some of a yard and halfe long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, vpon the which a faulcon seizing, the sayd adder did claspe her tail about her; which the French captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the faulcon, and tooke her slaying the adder; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaim her, and kept her for the space of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of vs, and affirmed the same to be a delicate meat. And the captaine of the Frenchmen saw also a serpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bignesse of a great spaniell, which for want of a harquebuz he durst not attempt to slay. Of fish also they haue in the riuer, pike, roch, salmon, trout, and diuers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, hauing a snout much like a sword of a yard long. There be also of sea fishes, which we saw coming along the coast flying, which are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof haue foure wings, but the other haue but two: of these wee sawe comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chased by the gilt-heads, otherwise called the bonitos, do to auoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, because of the drying of their wings, which serue them not to flie but when they are moist, and therefore when they can flie no further, they fall into the water, and hauing wet their wings, take a new flight againe. These bonitos be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not only in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them sometimes aboue the water. There were some of those bonitos, which being galled by a fisgig, did follow our shippe comming out of Guinea 500 leagues. There is a seafowle also that chaseth this flying fish as well as the bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowle pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then an hundred times: for the

Vnicornes hornes, which yᵉ inhabitants call Souanamma.

Beasts.

Faulcons in Florida.

Serpents.

Flying fishes.

the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yoong frie of these flying fishes, which commonly keepe about the ship, and are not so big as butter-flies, and yet by flying do auoid the vnsatiablenesse of the bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our ship, and there was not one of them which was not woorth a bonito: for being put vpon a hooke drabling in the water, the bonito would leape thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white cloth made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and so is deceiued. We tooke also dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no lesse delicate in taste. Fowles also there be many, both vpon land and vpon sea: but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the fowle of the fresh riuers, these two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, hauing all red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, whereof the vpper neb hangeth an inch ouer the nether; and an egript, which is all white as the swanne, with legs like to an hearnshaw, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the estridge his feather. Of the sea-fowle aboue all other not common in England, I noted the pellicane, which is fained to be the louingst bird that is; which rather then her yong should want, wil spare her heart bloud out of her belly: but for all this louingnesse she is very deformed to beholde; for she is of colour russet: notwithstanding in Guinea I haue seene of them as white as a swan, hauing legs like the same, and a body like a hearne, with a long necke, and a thick long beake, from the nether iaw whereof downe to the breast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, as is able to receiue a fish as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her seem so ougly.

Dolphins.

Flemengo.

The egript.

The pellicane.

Here I haue declared the estate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme vnto some, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and siluer, is not so abundant as in other places, that the cost bestowed vpon the same will not be able to quit the charges: yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I haue seene in other Islands of the Indians, where such increase of cattell hath bene, that of twelue head of beasts in fiue & twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raise a thousand pound profit yerely, that the increase of cattel only would raise profit sufficient for the same: for wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaines in such short time, what would a greater do in many yeres? and surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Summer with vs: which surely is not to be maruelled at, seeing the countrey standeth in so watery a climate: for once a day without faile they haue a shower of raine: which by meanes of the countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not the thing we all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaines, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requisit for a prince, who is of power able to go thorow with the same, rather then for any subiect.

Meanes to reape a sufficient profit in Florida and Virginia.

From thence wee departed the 28 of Iuly, vpon our voyage homewards, hauing there all things as might be most conuenient for our purpose: and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speede after, as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with vs, so that we were diuers times (or rather the most part) in despaire of euer comming home, had not God of his goodnesse better prouided for us, then our deseruing. In which state of great miserie, wee were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which mooued him to heare vs, so that we had a prosperous winde, which did set vs so farre shot, as to be vpon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eue, and we sounded thereupon, finding ground at an hundred and thirty fadoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh codde-fish, which greatly relieued vs: and being very glad thereof, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the

Their arriual in Padstow in the moneth of September, 1565.

the space of foure or fiue dayes, at the ende of which we sawe a couple of French shippes, and had of them so much fish as would serue vs plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and siluer, to the iust value thereof, vnto the chiefe owners of the saide shippes, but they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themselues to meete with such good intertainement at sea, as they had at our hands. After which departure from them, with a good large winde, the twentieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, siluer, pearles and other iewels great store. His name therefore be praised for euermore. Amen.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. Iohn Hawkins.
M. Iohn Chester, sir William Chesters sonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurst.
M. Fitzwilliam.
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie, with diuers others.

The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath beene approoued by me Iohn Sparke the younger, who went vpon the same voyage, and wrote the same.

The third troublesome voyage made with the Iesus of Lubeck, the Minion, and foure other ships, to the parts of Guinea, and the West Indies, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. Iohn Hawkins.

A storme.

Gomera.

Enuenomed arrowes.

THe ships departed from Plimmouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567 and had reasonable weather vntill the seuenth day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape Finister, there arose an extreme storme, which continued foure dayes, in such sort, that the fleete was dispersed, and all our great boats lost, and the Iesus our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serue the voyage: whereupon in the same storme we set our course homeward, determining to giue ouer the voyage: but the eleuenth day of the same moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the Islands of the Canaries, where according to an order before prescribed, all our shippes before dispersed, met at one of those Ilands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of Nouember, towards the coast of Guinea, and arriued at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of Nouember: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtaine some Negros, where we got but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their enuenomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawen of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouthes shut some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I my selfe had one of the greatest woundes, yet thankes be to God, escaped. From thence we past the time vpon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence the riuers from Rio grande, vnto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Ianuarie, in which time we had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negros: yet notwithstanding the sicknesse of our men, and the late time of the yeere commanded vs away: and thus hauing nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indias, I was with the rest of our company in consultation to goe to the coast of the Mine, hoping there to haue obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to haue defraied our charge. But euen in that present instant, there came to vs a Negro, sent from a king oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise that as many Negros as by these warres might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure: whereupon we concluded to giue aide, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15 of Ianuarie, assaulted a towne of the Negros of our Allies aduersaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being

A towne of 8000 negros taken.

being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was so well defended that our men preuailed not, but lost sixe men and fortie hurt: so that our men sent forthwith to me for more helpe: whereupon considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the king of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being couered with dry Palme leaues) obtained the towne, and put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 persons, men, women, & children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to haue had our choise: but the Negro (in which nation is seldome or neuer found truth) meant nothing lesse: for that night he remooued his campe and prisoners, so that we were faine to content vs with those few which we had gotten ourselues.

No trueth in Negros.

Now had we obtained between foure and fiue hundred Negros, wherwith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, for our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with some gaines, whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before hath bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, called Dominica, vpon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Gouernors in those parts, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainement, from the Ile of Margarita vnto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, sauing at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer vs to take water, he had fortified his towne with diuers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, so that he thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negros: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, vnlesse we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his fauour) we were enforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake in vpon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Dominica.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

Thus hauing the town with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards desire of Negros, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to vs by night, and bought of vs to the number of 200 Negros: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of vs, and traded willingly.

At Cartagena the last towne we thought to haue seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the gouernor was so straight, and because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of Iuly, hoping to haue escaped the time of their stormes which then soone after began to reigne, the which they call Furicanos, but passing by the West end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida there happened to vs the 12 day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of foure dayes, which so beat the Iesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and withall was in so extreme a leake that we were rather vpon the point to leaue her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor Hauen for our ships, because of the shalownesse of the coast: thus being in greater despaire, and taken with a newe storme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our succour the Port which serueth the citie of Mexico called Saint Iohn de Vllua, which standeth in 19 degrees: in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ships which carried passengers to the number of an hundred, which passengers we hoped should be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, & a quiet

Cartagena.

Furicanos.

Storme.

a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entered the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua and in our entrie the Spaniardes thinking vs to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboord vs, which being deceiued of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediatly when they sawe our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforted.

Saint Iohn de Vllua a Port. The Spaniards dismayed.

I found also in the same Port twelue ships which had in them by the report two hundred thousand pound in gold & siluer, all which (being in my possession, with the kings Iland as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat: onely because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from vs, to the Presidentes and Councell there, shewing them of our arriuall there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our shippes and victuals, which wantes we required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidents and Councell there should with all conuenient speede take order, that at the arriuall of the Spanish fleete, which was dayly looked for, there might no cause of quarrell rise betweene vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe.

Our requests.

This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arriuall, in the next morning which was the seuenteenth day of the same moneth, we sawe open of the Hauen thirteene great shippes, and vnderstanding them to bee the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediatly to aduertise the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to vnderstand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions passe betweene vs for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace.

The fleete of Spaine.

Now it is to be vnderstood that this Port is made by a little Iland of stones not three foote aboue the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shoot of length any way, this Iland standeth from the maine land two bow shootes or more, also it is to be vnderstood that there is not in all this coast any other place for shippes to arriue in safety, because the North winde hath there such violence, that vnlesse the shippes be very safely mored with their ankers fastened vpon this Iland, there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Hauen was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboord the other, so that we could not giue place to them, nor they to vs: and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receiue the one of them.

The maner of the Port S. Iohn de Vllua.

North windes perilous.

That was, either I must haue kept out the fleete from entering the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to doe, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they neuer faile to execute, where they may haue opportunitie, to compasse it by any meanes: if I had kept them out, then had there bene present shipwracke of all the fleete which amounted in value to sixe Millions, which was in value of our money 1800000. li. which I considered I was not able to answere, fearing the Queenes Maiesties indignation in so waightie a matter.

1800 thousand pound.

Thus with my selfe reuoluing the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Iutt of the vncertainty, then the certaintie. The vncertaine doubt I account was their treason which by good policie I hoped might be preuented, and therefore as chusing the least mischiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our first messenger come and returned from the fleete with report of the arriuall of a Viceroy, so that hee had authoritie, both in all this Prouince of Mexico (otherwise called Nueua Espanna) and in the sea, who sent vs word that we should send our conditions, which of his part should (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both fauourably granted, and faithfully performed, with many faire wordes how passing the coast of the Indies he had vnderstood of our honest behauiour towardes the inhabitants where we had to doe, aswell elsewhere as in the same Port, the which I let passe:

A Viceroy.

Faire wordes beguiled.

thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and licence to sell as much ware as might furnish our wants, and that there might be of either part twelue gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Iland for our better safetie might be in our owne possession, during our abode there, and such ordinance as was planted in the same Iland which were eleuen peeces of brasse: and that no Spaniard might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon: these conditions at the first he somewhat misliked, chiefly the guard of the

Our requests.

The peace concluded.

Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had soone knowen our fare: for with the first North winde they had cut our cables and our ships had gone ashore: but in the ende he concluded to our request, bringing the twelue hostages to ten, which with all speede of either part were receiued, with a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blowen with commandement that none of either part should be meane to violate the peace vpon paine of death: and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleetes should meete, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses which was so done. Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was concluded & the fleete entered the port, saluting one another as the maner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before, Thursday we entred the Port, Friday we saw the fleete, and on Munday at night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2. daies placing the English ships by themselues, & the Spanish ships by themselues, the captaines of ech part & inferiour men of their parts promising great amity of al sides: which euen as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, so the Spaniards ment nothing lesse on their parts, but from the maine land had furnished themselues with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next Thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time, to set vpon vs on all sides. The same Thursday in the morning the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordinance from the ships to the Iland where our men warded, passing too and fro of companies of men more then required for their necessary busines, & many other ill likelihoods, which caused vs to haue a vehement suspition, and therewithall sent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which sent immediatly straight commandement to vnplant all things suspicious, and also sent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not satisfied with this answere, because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tunnes, which was mored next vnto the Minion, sent againe to the Viceroy the master of the Iesus which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy now seeing that the treason must be discouered, foorthwith stayed our master, blew the Trumpet, and of all sides set vpon vs: our men which warded a shore being stricken with sudden feare, gaue place, fled, and sought to recouer succour of the ships; the Spaniardes being before prouided for the purpose landed in all places in multitudes from their ships which they might easily doe without boates, and slewe all our men ashore without mercie, a fewe of them escaped aboord the Iesus. The great ship which had by the estimation three hundred men placed in her secretly, immediatly fell aboord the Minion, but by Gods appointment, in the time of the suspicion we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the Minion was made readie to auoide, and so leesing her hedfasts, and hayling away by the sternefastes she was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe she defended the violence of the first brunt of these three hundred men. The Minion being past out, they came aboord the Iesus, which also with very much a doe and the losse of manie of our men were defended and kept out. Then there were also two other ships that assaulted the Iesus at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cut our head-fastes and gotten out by the sterne-fastes. Nowe when the Iesus and the Minion were gotten about two shippes length from the Spanish fleete, the fight beganne so hotte on all sides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunke, their Viceadmirall burned and one other of their principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the shippes were little able to annoy vs.

A Viceroy false of his faith.

The treason brake foorth.

The Minion escaped hardly.

The Iesus escaped hardly.

Sharpe wars.

3. ships of the Spaniards consumed.

Then it is to be vnderstood, that all the Ordinance vpon the Ilande was in the Spaniardes handes, which did vs so great annoyance, that it cut all the mastes and yardes of the Iesus, in such sort that there was no hope to carrie her away: also it sunke our small shippes, whereupon we determined to place the Iesus on that side of the Minion, that she might abide all the batterie from the land, and so be a defence for the Minion till night, and then to take such reliefe of victuall and other necessaries from the Iesus, as the time would suffer vs, and to leaue her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the Minion from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards had fired two great shippes which were comming directly with vs,

A hard case.

vs, and hauing no meanes to auoide the fire, it bredde among our men a maruellous feare, so that some sayd, let vs depart with the Minion, other said, let vs see whether the winde will carrie the fire from vs. But to be short, the Minions men which had alwayes their sayles in a readinesse, thought to make sure worke, and so without either consent of the Captaine or Master cut their saile, so that very hardly I was receiued into the Minion.

Small hope to be had of tyrants. A miserie.

The most part of the men that were left aliue in the Iesus, made shift and followed the Minion in a small boat, the rest which the little boate was not able to receiue, were inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which I doubt was very little) so with the Minion only and the Iudith (a small barke of 50 tunne) we escaped, which barke the same night forsooke vs in our great miserie: we were now remooued with the Minion from the Spanish ships two bow-shootes, and there rode all that night: the next morning we recouered an Iland a mile from the Spaniardes, where there tooke vs a North winde, and being left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes vpon death which euer was present, but God preserued vs to a longer time.

Small hopes of life.

Hard choice.

Miserie.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday we set saile, and hauing a great number of men and little victuals our hope of life waxed lesse and lesse: some desired to yeeld to the Spaniards, some rather desired to obtaine a place where they might giue themselues to the Infidels, and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: so thus with many sorowful hearts we wandred in an vnknowen Sea by the space of 14 dayes, till hunger inforced vs to seek the land, for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they serued the turne one dinner: thus in the end the 8 day of October we came to the land in the botome of the same bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to haue found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the repaire of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and brused with shooting off our owne ordinance, that our wearie and weake armes were scarce able to defende and keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuall, nor hauen of reliefe, but a place where hauing faire weather with some perill we might land a boat: our people being forced with hunger desired to be set on land, whereunto I consented.

An hundred men set on land in 23. deg. and a halfe.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to goe homewardes, I put apart, so that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one side and a hundred of the other side: these hundred men we set a land with all diligence in this little place beforesaid, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remaine of victuals to take the sea.

The greatest miserie of all.

The next day hauing a land with me fiftie of our hundreth men that remained for the speedier preparing of our water aboord, there arose an extreame storme, so that in three dayes we could by no meanes repaire aboord our ship: the ship also was in such perill that euery houre we looked for shipwracke.

But yet God againe had mercie on vs, and sent faire weather, we had aboord our water, and departed the sixteenth day of October, after which day we had faire and prosperous weather till the sixteenth day of Nouember, which day God be praysed we were cleere from the coast of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Lucayo. After this growing neere to the colde countrey, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into such weakenesse that we were scantly able to manage our shippe, and the winde being always ill for vs to recouer England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieue our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arriued the last day of December in a place neere vnto Vigo called Ponte Vedra, our men with excesse of fresh meate grew into miserable disseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to goe a land, yet by accesse of the Spaniards, our feeblenesse was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seeke by all meanes to betray vs, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships and twelue fresh men, wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of Ianuary 1568 arriued in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the liues and deathes of the Martyrs.

IOHN HAWKINS.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI

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